WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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C. I. Turn to the United Front in Germany

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has made a distinct turn in the policy of the united front. Now that its Manifesto of March 6 has finally been made public in the United States, it is possible to give a more detailed and thorough evaluation of its significance.

Three days before the publication of the Manifesto in the **Daily Worker**, its new editor Sam Don declared in the leading editorial of March 15, 1933 that no turn at all had been made by the Communist International, that the categorical refusal to make a united front "with the social democratic leaders" remained the policy of Stalinism. The copy of the Manifesto came the following day—not through the regular channels to the Central Executive of the party, but in the form of a copy of the London Daily Worker which had, in turn, translated it from the Paris L'Humanite. Forty-eight hours—enough time, in the editor's opinion, for his readers to forget what he said on the 15th—were allowed to elapse until, on March 18, the Manifesto finally made its appearance in the columns of the Worker. In direct contrast to the **Daily Worker** of three days before, and to what the Comintern leadership itself has been stating for the past four years, the Manifesto declares:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International, in view of Fascism which is unchaining all the forces of world reaction against the working class of Germany, calls upon all Communist parties to make yet another attempt (when was the last one?—S.) to set up the united front of struggle with the social democratic workers **through the medium** of the social democratic parties."

Not, therefore, the "united front from below" of yesterday. Not the "united front over the heads of the leadership". This time it is the united front of the masses "through the medium of the social democratic parties".

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International recommends the Communist parties of the various countries to **approach the Central Committees of the social democratic parties with proposals regarding joint actions against Fascism and against the capitalist offensive".**

Can there be any doubt about the sharpness of the turn after reading this passage, and more, which we quote below? At the New York party membership meeting, reported elsewhere in this issue, Hathaway had the effrontery to deny that any change in policy has been made by the Comintern. The bureaucrats of the party and the International, concerned primarily with their own tottering reputations, with their prestige which events have so cruelly undermined, with their posts, which are endangered, are making a miserable attempt to preserve the theory of infallibility by shouting to the membership whom they have bewildered and demoralized: We were right yesterday **and** we are right today. Our policy yesterday was correct, so is our policy of today. The situation may have changed, but our line has not changed. In this way, the Stalinists continue to confuse and disorient the party workers, who are consequently rendered incapable of ridding the working class in general of its confusion and disorientation.

Is it really necessary to prove at this date that the frightened Stalinist center has been **forced** to make a turn? The theories and practises which it dinned into the minds of the Communist workers in the last three years—is it conceivable that they have already been forgotten? To refresh the memory, we quote only from some of the most recent contributions to revolutionary tactics made by the Stalinists in this question:

Just a week before the Manifesto appeared, the "Educational Department, National Committee, Young Communist League' U. S. A." issued its "Paphlet Outline No. 1" entitled "What Is Happening in Germany?" So recent is its publication that it has not yet even been discussed in all the New York units of the youth League. On page 9 of this authoritative document, we read: "4. From the above it will readily be seen why **the Communist Party of Germany cannot propose a united front with the leadership of the Socialist Party of Germany. To do so would amount to making peace with these leaders and, therefore, with those whom they represent (capitalists) and would amount to betraying the proletarian revolution.** The Communist policy of united front is a weapon for struggle against the S. P. leaders, based on the immediate needs of the workers for which the S. P. leaders will not fight. For this reason, all the traitors from Communism (Trotsky, Lovestone) to bring about the unity of the C. P. and the leaders of the S. P. is in the final analysis, a betrayal of the German working class and the proletarian revolution". (Our emphasis.)

What was nothing short of a betrayal of the proletarian revolution a week ago, what was nothing else but "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism"—is now taught to the Communist workers as good, sound Bolshevism!

On February 20, Bedacht wrote in the **Daily Worker** (just two weeks before the Manifesto appeared in l'Humanite!): "Renoegades of Communism, Trotsky, Lovestone and others....come with proposals of united fronts between the Communist and Social Democratic Parties and accuse the Communist party of splitting the workers **because it insists on addressing its call for a united front not to the Noskes, the Scheidemanns and the Wells, but to the masses of the social democratic workers."** (Our emphasis.)

Could the difference between good Bolshevism and Trotskyist renegacy be put more bluntly and unmistakably?

The January 15, 1933 issue of the Communist International reprinted Thaelmann's speech at the 12th Plenum in which he specifically condemns the Berlin district of the party for proposing to the social democracy "a joint demonstration against Fascism" — a thoroughly correct proposal—and unlike the Manifesto of the Comintern, a **timely** proposal, less timely than when it was made by the Left Opposition, but still more timely than the present Manifesto.

"Trotsky", declared Thaelmann, "said as follows to quote him word for word: 'One must actually declare complete readiness to form a bloc with the social democratic against Fascism....One must compel social democracy to for a bloc against the Fascists.' **This policy would mean,"** Thaelmann concluded calumnly, **"that we would abandon our correct Bolshevik policy."**

How bitterly one must reflect upon the fact that this obstinate failure by Thaelmann and the Comintern leaders to "abandon our correct Bolshevik policy" (i. e., the thoroughly wrong Stalinist policy) in good time, is being paid for at the present moment by Thaelmann himself and thousands of other courageous proletarian revolutionists who are in the toils of the Fascist terror. How quick is the bourgeoisie to take advantage of our blunders! How criminal and disastrous have been the blunders of Stalinism! What a dreadful responsibility rests upon its shoulders!

And what scoundrels are those brass-templed bureaucrats who, for the base ends of saving their own hides and prestige, continue to befuddle the already badly befuddled Communist workers with the refrain: There is no turn, we were right yesterday, are right today, will be right tomorrow and forever!

But belated though the turn is, cowardly and evasive though it remains, it is clearly a turn in the right direction. Nevertheless, at the same time that the Left Opposition greets the turn, it is compelled to draw attention to the cloven hoof of opportunism which sticks right out of the Manifesto.

The social democracy, to cover up its cowardly capitulation to Fascism, to screen the cravens who flee to Switzerland and renounce all political activity, have sought to excuse their treacherous passivity by pompous declarations in favor of a united front with the Communists on the basis of a "non-aggression pact". By this they mean that in the period of this singular united front, the Communists shall pledge themselves not to criticize the social democracy, not to attack it, not to expose its weakness, its readiness to betray at the crucial moment, its vacillations at all times. In a word, the social democrats have been demanding that the Communist party **dissolve** itself into a socialist-dominated fusion, thus assuming equal responsibility for social democratic betrayal.

With indignation and contempt, the Communists have repeatedly spurned this "clever" proposal, and the Left Opposition, while polemizing against the Stalinist conception of the united front, has nevertheless supported the party wholeheartedly in its rejection of "non-aggression pacts" with the social democracy. Non-aggression pacts of a similar nature with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuo Min Tang, with Purcell and the Trade Union Congress leaders, brought about the destruction of the Chinese revolution and the British militant movement respectively.

Now, however, we read towards the end of the Comintern Manifesto: "In the adoption and practical carrying out of these two conditions, **the ECCI considers it possible to recommend the Communist parties during the time of common fight against capital and Fascism to refrain from making attacks on social democratic organizations**...The most ruthless fight must be conducted against all these who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strikebreakers

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LEON TROTSKY

Alarm Signal

The Second Five Year Plan

The Seventeenth party Conference, in February 1932, approved the directives of the second five year plan. Its annual coefficient of growth of industry was set at 25 percent, whereat Stalin explained that this coefficient would even be surpassed in the process of configuration and fulfillment. The Left Oppositionists cautioned against record-breaking leaps in industrialization. They were accused of counter-revolution, and placed in solitary confinement.

Eleven months later, in January 1933, Stalin proclaimed unexpectedly that the coefficient of growth during the second five year plan would be, in all probability, around 13 percent. None so much as dared to contradict him or to refer to the decision of the year before. Thus, the actual results of the first five year plan buried the fantastic project of the second five year plan, before the latter could have been supplanted by a new one. **At present, there is no second five year plan at all.** Nor is there any possibility of one in view of the chaotic condition of economy at the close of the first five year plan. The Januray plenum sketched out only hazy directives. Considerable time will yet be spent upon a formulation of the second five year plan and it will undergo more than one change.

The current year 1933 turned out to be separated factually from the second five year plan. The control figures for it have been designated apart from the general perspective. Obviously, the concocters of the plan for 1933 sought only to mitigate those disproportions, and to plug up those yawning gaps which were inherited from the first five year plan.

In their reports, Molotov and Ordjonikidze tried to mock at our proposal that 1933 be set apart as the year of "capital reconstruction of Soviet economy". The reporters cited as a fact that during 1933 new enterprises would also be undertaken. As if we had excluded this, as if we had made a point of putting patches on old rubbers, and not of the "reconstruction" of economy as a whole. The struggle to restore the disrupted balance presupposes, necessarily, also new constructions, but under the head of correcting mistakes made in the past, and not under the chapter of piling up new mistakes.

Thus, under the blows of the crisis, which it did not forsee, and which it does not openly admit even now after it has broken out, the leadership has been forced to retreat in the sphere of industrialization even as it had begun to retreat still earlier in the sphere of collectivization. However, it is executing its maneuvers of retreat stealthily, partially, without a plan, hiding the significance of its own actions from others as well as from itself, and preserving completely thereby, even redoubling its methods of barefaced bureaucratic commandeering. The new zigzag of Stalinist policies is an unmistakable proof of the profound dislocation of Soviet economy, but it is absolutely incapable of leading to a way out of the great wreckage.

Bonapartist Tendencies in the Party

Against the background of enforced silence and irresponsibility, the economic crisis becomes a double, triple danger. The more bankrupt and despotic the leadership is, the more widespread becomes the resistance of beings as well as things. The ruling clique takes for granted that only activities of the class enemy are manifest in all types of disharmony opposition, resistance dissatisfaction, passivity and friction which are engendered by objective obstacle, and be case of miscalculations and privations. The bureaucracy, which up to 1928 announced the kulak danger was a canard originated by the Left Opposition uncovers at present after "the liquidation of the kulak as a class", the kulak danger there and everywhere, within the Soviet

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First Daily of Opposition

We have just received the news that the paper of our Greek comrades, Pali ton Takseon (Class Struggle) which has been appearing twice a week for a long time, is now a daily.

Through their ardent devotion to the proletarian cause, our Greek comrades have raised themselves to the highest level of the international struggle for the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. They have extensive influence over the working class. The proletarian vanguard helps and supports them. Today they have attained this splendid result: in spite of the double repressions of the capitalist bourgeoisie, which has thrown hundreds of them into prison, and Stalinist slanders and provocations, they are at last publishing the first daily paper of the International Left Opposition.

We send them our most fraternal greetings. We will give them all the assistance at our disposal in the march towards victory, by making their struggles known to the American proletariat.

Hathaway Seeks to Explain Away C.I. Turn at Membership Meet

At a closed meeting of the Communist party membership on Monday, March 20, the district organizer Hathaway explained the united front to the party. His speech deserves the fullest analysis as a typical example of theoretical confusion, mis-statement of the German situation and misunderstanding of the factors involved.

Hathaway began his speech by a consideration of the capitalist crisis in America, but we pass over his false position on this score to an examination of the main question before the meeting.

The Hathaway Apologetics

After dealing with the economic situation in America, Hathaway turned to Germany. He stated that **there was a growing feeling among our party members that the German situation was due to the blunders of the German Communist Party.** In answer, he attacked the Left Opposition for its defeatism. He characterized its members as "yellow curs", said of the **Militant** that it was enough "to make any decent Communist vomit", and that the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the Left Opposition **"should arouse a lynch attitude in all Communists".** After this subtle refutation of sound Marxian-Leninist theory, Hathaway attempted an elaborate rationalization of the German situation by means of the theory of social Fascism. His argument in effect was this: As the forces of revolution grow, the forces of counter-revolution grow correspondingly. There cannot be a revolution without a counter-revolution. From this Marxian truth, Hathaway, and all other Stalinists, draw the false inference that this growth of counter-revolution is uniform and continuous. Thus it follows that Hitler's coming to power means no radical change in the correlation of forces, but only some intensification in the counter-revolutionary camp. Hence, at most the German proletariat has suffered a slight setback. Hathaway entirely forgot in stating his argument, that Fascism means, among other things, an attack upon all workers' organizations, complete suppression of the workers' press and propaganda, the loss to workers of all their weapons—guns, press and organizations. This fact, which refutes the whole social Fascism theory, which makes the German situation so desperate, Hathaway omitted. He said optimistically: "The German proletariat

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Sunday
O PENFORUM

THE BANKING CRISIS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Speaker:

B. J. FIELDS

Sunday, March 26, 1933, at 8 P. M.
at International Workers School Hall

126 East 16th Street

Auspices: New York Branch, (O.)

Admission: 15 Cents

Kincaid Miners Up For Trial

Chicago.—The famous Kincaid battle between Peabody's company thugs, scab miners, all armed for battle and the pickets of the Progressive Miners Union has been shifted to the court struggle for the moment. The result of this fight in which fifty pickets were attacked by two hundred thugs and scabs, has been the indictment of 54 members of the PMA and the Women's Auxiliary charged with law violations of various kinds.

Twenty-two of the indicted miners are under charges of murder or double murder.

The first trial scheduled for Mar. 13, has been continued to March 25. It becomes increasingly clear that the Peabody Coal Company in alliance with the UMWA and the state forces are intent upon gaining convictions in this case. For this reason a mere court struggle would be playing into the hands of the forces of reaction. In the interest of the indicted miners and the PMA it is of paramount importance to prevent this struggle from being sealed within the four walls of a capitalist court that is bound up hand and foot with the Peabody Coal Company, the Lewis machine and similar interests. What additional examples are needed to prove this, than the refusal of the Sheriff in Christian County to accept the warrant sworn out for the arrest of one of the thugs who shot and killed the wife of the striking miner, Cumerlatto? It is also significant that in the arrests following the fight at Kincaid only members of the PMA and the Women's Auxiliary were rounded up. So, it becomes obvious, that this affair is another attempt to railroad a group of militant workers engaged in struggle.

That briefly is the background to the meeting called by the Civil Liberties Union of Chicago on March 14, and participated in by some of the leading organizations in the city. The aim of this meeting to build a broad united front defense movement in the interests of the Taylorville miners. Present on that night were representatives of the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment, the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Socialist Party the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) represented by Joe Giganti and Albert Glotzer, and the Chicago Civil Liberties Union. Although not presented in person, the General Defense Committee, signified its intention to participate in the provisional committee that would be composed of the above-mentioned organizations.

The meeting opened with reports on the case by Tom MacKenna of the Civil Liberties Union and Glotzer of the Communist League. An interesting discussion followed, where agreement was reached upon the calling of another meeting of the provisional committee which

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Workers: Out On Saturday!

A demonstration of the militant working class of New York is to be held at 10 A. M. Saturday morning, March 25, 1933 to protest against the murder regime of Hitler-Hugenburg. The demonstration organized at the call of the Communist party, is to be held at the corner of Whitehall and South Streets, hard by South Ferry, in front of the German Consulate. It is the elementary duty of every class conscious worker in the city to join in this first important public demonstration to be organized in New York since the assumption of power by the Hitlerites. By our serried ranks and united deeds, by crying out in a single loud voice our vows of international solidarity, we will help to make the Brown Shirted assassins feel the pressure of the working class of the world, and give encouragement to the sore-pressed proletariat of Germany.

The Left Opposition wholeheartedly endorses the demonstration and plans to participate in it with all its forces. The New York branch of the Communist League (Opposition) has issued a mobilization call to all its members and sympathizers to participate in the demonstration. All friends and supporters are therefore urged to assemble first at the International Workers School Hall, 126 East 16 Street, at or before 10 o'clock in the morning, so that our contingent may march in a body in the demonstration before the Consulate. Attendance at the hall IN TIME is urgently needed.

First Underground Leaflet of Left Opposition Issued in Germany

The **Militant** has just received the first underground leaflet to be issued in Germany by the Left Opposition since the assumption of power by the Hitler gang. Together with the whole Communist movement, our brother section in Germany has been suppressed; so also has its weekly organ, **Die Permanente Revolution.** True to its revolutionary duty, however, our comrades are continuing with their work under the most difficult circumstances. The leaflet, issued in Hamburg, is mimeographed both in German and English and is addressed to all marine and railroad transport workers. We present it here in full!

TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT

To the Seaman, Transport Workers and Railroad Men!

Under the insignia of the bloody terror of the Swastika, the Fascist dictatorship is being established in Germany. The streets have been cleared for the brown terror troops of the Hitler army.

Thousands of proletarian corpses already litter the path of Fascism. Many thousands more will follow.

The terror of the Bismarck socialist laws are being surpassed a thousand fold.

The extermination of proletarian class consciousness—

The smashing of all workers' organizations—

The robbing of all the democratic rights conquered by the working class—

Back to barbarism—

These are the aims of Fascism.

A defeat of the German working class and a final victory of Hitler will be the signal for the world bourgeoisie:

To establish the blackest reaction in every country of the world.

To war against the Soviet Union,

To unleash a new world war.

The victory of the German proletariat, however, would signify a tremendous impulsion to the forces of the world proletariat in its struggle for emancipation.

The struggle of the German proletariat is not only a struggle for its own rights, for its own life. Victory or defeat for the German workers decides the fate of the first workers' state, the fate of the proletariat of the whole world.

Hitler will and must be beaten in the international arena. Proletarians of the world, support actively the struggle of the German proletariat!

NOT A SHIP, NOT A TRAIN, NOT A CHEST, NOT A BAG INTO HITLERITE GERMANY!

..Boycott the Germany of the Brown Terror!

International solidarity, a common will to struggle—that is the demand of the hour.

Demand of all workers' organizations the convocation of

A WORLD WORKERS' CONGRESS

to adopt a position on the following fighting measures:

Against international Fascism,

Against the war in the Far East,

Against the attacks on the Soviet Union,

Against wage-cuts and political oppression of the proletariat and the colonial peoples.

The initiative for this Congress must come from the Communist International, which must invite all the international labor organization to join it in organizing this Congress.

The international idea of the proletariat must become an **internationalism of deeds.** Force the international labor organizations to common action.

—Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Germany (Bolshevik-Leninists).

I.L.D. Allows Reactionary Lawyer To Injure Scottsboro Struggle

One of the bright spots in the recent record of the International Labor Defense has been the struggle for the nine Scottsboro boys. The ILD had the original good sense and courage to take this difficult case. It provided a good legal defense, built a fair mass movement and a good publicity campaign, won a series of impressive partial victories which saved the lives of the boys four times, and raised the issue of a rape frame-up to the level of a significant and clear political struggle. It would be unforgivable if, after all this, the ILD were permitted to weaken in that struggle. That there is grave danger of such a weakening is indicated, among other things, by the ILD's failure to react to a statement appearing in the New York **Times** of January 14.

The **Times** reporter states that Mr. Samuel Liebowitz, of ILD counsel in the new Scottsboro trial, has divorced himself "from the Communist activities which have helped crystallize sentiment in the South against the accused Negro since the ILD. interested itself in the case". After declaring himself a loyal Democrat and patriot, Mr. Liebowitz attacked the C. P. and "other radical organizations," and unctuously flattered Alabama's legal lynchers as follows:

Liebowitz's Attack

"I am....fully mindful of the sincere desire of the good people of the great South to give every living thing on God's green earth a square deal. If these men really committed this atrocious crime... they should suffer the penalty.... On the other hand, if these girls are making false accusations, then I know that there is not a red-blooded, upstanding American citizen below the Mason-Dixon line who will not pray with heart and soul for their acquittal. I cannot subscribe to what in some quarters is the prevailing notion, that the Southerner will not give these Negro youths an absolutely fair chance for their lives".

At the same time, Mr. Liebowitz gave the **Times** a copy of a letter of Jan. 9 which he had sent to the ILD. Therein he stated that he enters the case "to help keep

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New York Entertainment

The Fiftieth Anniversary of Karl Marx will be Celebrated at the Headquarters of the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

126 East 16th Street

on Saturday, March 25, 8 P. M.

Admission: 15 Cents

Auspices: New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

The Crisis In the Soviet Union

SPEAKERS:
JAMES P. CANNON
MAX SHACHTMAN
MARTIN ABERN

Stuyvesant Casino
2nd Avenue and 9th Street
ADMISSION 15 CENTS

FRIDAY MARCH 31, 1933
at 8 P. M.
Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

New League Branch In Springfield

Springfield, Ill.—A new branch of the Left Oppositon was organized here last night with six charter members. Comrade Hugo Oehler, member of the National Committee of the Communist League was present at the meeting and gave an explanation of the principles of the Left Opposition. The new members are all miners, active members of the Progressive Miners of America. The first activity of the new branch will be the organization of a public mass meeting on the German crisis on March 19 with comrade Oehler as the main speaker. We have a considerable number of other contacts whom we expect to draw into the organization. Plans are being made to start a study class for the new members in Communist fundamentals.

The struggle of the Progressive Miners Union against the Peabody Coal Company and the strike-breaking activities of the Lewis gang is still raging furiously here. The new branch of the Left Opposition will give a good account of itself in this struggle as well as in all the other affairs of the Progressive Miners. The Left Opposition has carried on its propaganda work and has made its ideas on policy felt over a long period of time in the Illinois miners movement. Up till now we did not succeed in crystalizing the effects of our propaganda work in Springfield in an organized form. The construction of a branch which will organize and regulate our collective work means a big step forward for the Left Opposition.

—JOE ANGELO.

Chicago Stalinist Again Try Gangsterism

Chicago. — Stalinist gangsters, last Wednesday night appeared at a session of the class in "Theoretical System of Marxism" conducted by comrade Giganti. The gangsters were armed with blackacks and clubs and came for the purpose of smashing the heads of the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyist" students.

Red Cruck, YCL member and leader of the crew, came up before the session started and told the comrades present that he was giving them half an hour to beat it out of the neighborhood, at the end of which time he was coming back up with a gang. Our comrades, however, refused to be terrorized and the class was opened as usual. While the meeting was going on, in marched Red Cruck and his crew of toughs, all YCL and party members. The instructor asked them what they wanted, to which they made no answer. However, in order to avoid provocations Giganti told them they could remain to listen in, provided they kept silent and made no noise.

However, in a little while, tiring of the knowledge that was being propounded, they left the room stating that they were waiting outside where they would get us. The session proceeded to a regular close. In the meantime the young toughs with clubs and blackjacks were slinking around the entrances. Our comrades decided that this should not be a one-sided affair, and immediately proceeded to improvize clubs out of chair legs. Viewing the determination of our comrades with evident apprehension, Red Cruck's army thought it best to disappear leaving their redoubtable leader to face the hostilities together with a creature by the name of Ben Brown, an individual who is said to be at the present time one of the leading party members of this city.

As our comrades marched out of the hall into the sidewalk Red Cruck and Brown advanced with open knives in hand with their faces leering; but soon that look changed to fear as they saw that our comrades were not in the slightest bit cowed. The last remaining member of Red's army took to his heels and left Red to face the music alone. Red submitted to a little chastisement which ought to be remembered on future occasions, should similar thoughts of breaking up Left Opposition meetings ever occur in his head.

When one considers that recently there has been a wave of terrorism against the Left Opposition, the obvious conclusion is that the campaign is being directed by responsible people higher up. It is nothing more than a desperate effort of the Centrists to answer our Marxian arguments with the only weapons they have left—those of the club.

The Chicago branch of the Left Opposition is protesting to the party officials in a formal letter in which it points otu the dangerous possibility as well as the further besmirchment of the name of the Communism on the part of Stalinist bureaucrats.

Austintown Jobless Forge Ahead

Youngstown.—Under the direction of the local Unemployed League, the unemployed workers of Austintown have started to move ahead again. After passing through a period of comparative inactivity they succeded in mobilizing their forces for a strike today and winning their demands. Here are the facts:

A township trustee, Ohl, succeeded in getting his son, Boyd Ohl, a job as foreman over the gangs of men who are forced to work on the county roads for their meager relief. The older Ohl has never done anything to make the workers like him, and the son was foolish enough to walk in his father's footsteps. He kept apart from the men, thought himself superior to them, domineered men who know more about construction work than he did, and bullied several men smaller than himself. This typical "boss" went just a little too far Friday when he struck a young defenseless worker in the face after he had provoked him into argument by continual nagging. That night an Enlarged Grievance Committee met and decided to call a strike Saturday morning, demanding that young Ohl be permanently removed from the payroll, and suggesting that he could work in the ditch for his relief like the rest of us.

The Grievance Committee was out on the road where the men were working at 7:30 Saturday morning. The 30 or 35 men reporting for this work "relief" responded to the plea of the Committee gladly and without much persuasion. The men ail agreed to stick together and strike until our demands were met; the Committee promised to fight to see that the men would get their grocery orders even though they didn't work. When the road superintendent showed up the Committee gave him a written copy of the demands and made it plain that the men were **not** going to work until the demands were met. The Committee then visited the Relief Headquarters to see the State Investigator and the Trustees.

In the meantime young Ohl, whom the superintendent had advised to go home, had gone to the County Courthouse to confer with his father who was there on business. Soon the County Commissioners called the Investigator who confessed that he thought Ohl "in te wrong" and that the thing had to be settled in order to avoid any "violence". News reporters phoned a committee member for the details, and later drove seven miles for the complete story. At the committee's request one trustee was sent after a third one; and we later learned that these two visited the scene of the strike in order to see whether or not we were bluffing. Trustee Ohl, of course, did not make his appearance. But the other two were anxious to meet our demands when they returned. In the Relief office, in the presence of many workers, these two trustees, Brickley and Shiveley, promised to call a meeting of the three trustees on Monday and to see that Ohl was discharged. On these conditions the committee directed the men to return to work at about eleven o'clock; the trustees are, of course, to pay the men the full day amount. And it was generally understood that unless young Ohl is removed immediately, as the trustees promised, that the more than 300 men working for "relief" in this township would be called out on strike.

This is just one step in a very high ladder. The next step is more adequate relief. The first measures in this battle have already been taken and the Austintown Unemployed League swears that it will use every resource at its disposal in order to gain another victory. More about this struggle later.

—N.

Miners Hear Opposition On Germany

Springfield Ill.—The Springfield meeting of the Left Opposition on the Danger of Fascism in Germany, with Hugo Oehler as the speaker, was attended by about 45 class conscious workers, representing all tendencies in the city. After the speaker had concluded, the chairman, comrade Angelo, asked the party members present to select a speaker, who would be given more than the regular time, so an active C. P. miner comrade took the floor. He did not deal with the German question but confined himself to a five minute discussion on the united front from below.

After the question period the chairman raised the question of the Taylorville cases and pointed out the danger of withholding mass pressure. The lawyers think they can take care of the case better in this way, and the defense committee is yielding to this false policy. The meeting unanimously went on record for a motion calling upon the miners of the PMA and the workers of America to proced to mobilize mass pressure at once in order to have a solid foundation under the cases when they come up for trial. The Peabody Coal Company intends to burn some of these miners in the electric chair. This can be prevented only through properly directed mass pressure.

The mass meeting also took up the case of Webb and two other miners who had just been framed up and sent to jail. The Right wing in the union object to Webb's popularity with the Left wing rank and file workers. They are not following up this clear cut, class, case and defending the victim of capitalist persecution. A committee was elected from the meeting to arouse the PMA to action on the frame-up and to demand that the case be appealed.

Second Big Meet In Minneapolis

Minneapolis.—The second large meeting on the crisis in Germany was held here in the Mayor's Reception Hall at the Court House, with comrade Oehler of New York a main speaker. This meeting followed the Minor meeting of the official party by three days, at which all Left Oppositionists were mobilized to cover with Militants and hand-bills advertizing the Oehler meeting. This was primarily the only place the branch distributed its advertising for its German meeting, the large turn out of 400 showed that we practically duplicated the party meeting minus the most hard-shelled Stalinists.

The concentration of 11 League members in front of the Finnish Hall where Robert Minor, editor of **Daily Worker** spoke, covered the bulk of workers attending the meeting with Militants. Near to the time of starting the meeting, the party bureaucrats sent out about a dozen strong-arm 'boys' who threatened to fight if we did not stop. They were told about the workers' struggle for free press, that they were facing a group of workers who were still ready to defend their press along with the right to distribute it. After a confab, "the gang" went back in the hall, we finished distributing what few militants we had left, and those comrades selected to go in, paid their dime, and also entered the hall. After the Internationale, the collection, Robert Minor was introduced.

After a few minutes of discourse in which he spoke sporadically on Germany but more on Soviet Union and the "world rise of Communism" as against "the decay of Capitalism" we were told off-hand about "the terrible fate of the German proletariat". Although the local capitalist press carried the announcement of the C. I. call upon the Second International for a united front against Hitler, Minor stuck to his old guns, the resolutions of the XIIth Plenum. He explained that we have socialism already achieved in Soviet Union! He did not mention the "offers" of a united front to the social democracy. Time and again he would break his speech to vilify comrade Trotsky.

In a din of howling and hooting organized by bureaucrats, the members of the Left Opposition asked their questions of Minor. On the united front, social Fascism, Socialism in one country, playing with the General Strike slogan, on the role of the Red Army. In reply Minor made curt restatements of the Stalinist politcal fallacus. "Trotsky says socialism cannot be built in one country; we say that it can be and is being built in one country"....etc.

Oehler covered the German political situation from all angles; answered dozens of questions on all aspects of Communism. In the discussion two rank-and-file leaders in the Unemployed Council spoke against "theoreticians" and wanted "action. Oehler in reply asked them if the Russian revolution would be possible if the Russian workers had such an attiude toward Lenin, Trotsky, and Marx, and other theoreticians. These workers were no doubt Party members for one had attempted to lead 'heckling' earlier in the meeting. It soon melted away before the ideas presented by the speakers. V. R. Dunne spoke with Oehler stressing organization and literature. The first down-town Open Forum this year was announced with comrade Oehler speaking on Soviet Economy for the following day. Fifty-seven workers attended the Forum meeting Sunday and heard more of the Left Opposition program. Three workers expressed their desire to be members of Left Oppositon at the Forum. At the last branch meeting we planned for further recruitments through an organization drive for members.

—C. FORSEN.

Mink & Co. Expel 'Trotskyist' Seamen

At the membership meeting of the Marine Workers Industrial Union on Wednesday, March 15, the Stalinist bureaucracy managed to unburden itself of another "disruptive" element. Mink, Hudson and company railroaded through the expulsion of Henry Weser, an unemployed seaman, on the main charge of "Trotskyism" as well as other subsidiary charges.

Comrade Weser had been especially spotted by the Stalinist henchmen for his agitation on the waterfront around the question of the German crisis, in which he defended the views of the Left Opposition, which have been confirmed by events, particularly since that time.

At the packed membership meeting, in which the majority of the participants were avowedly party members, the bureaucratic machine went into action against Weser, attacking him as a "Trotskyist" and charging him with the 'attempt to organize an opposition in an underhanded maner". The crew of hand-raisers assembled naturally supported the Stalinists.

Comrade Weser, who has for a long time been sympathetic to the Left Opposition, has in the past been one of the most active workers in the union and in the waterfront section of the party. Participating in a leading position in the Morgan Line strike of October 1931, Weser later on was prominent in the organization of the unemployed councils of the seaman, which showed especially good results last year. Under the direction the TUUL, he also took an active part in the organization work of the needle trades industrial union and in the strike of the Alteration Painters' Union, in the course of which he was arrested, his trial coming up in the near future.

It is not at all strange that militant workers, starting out by fighting against the ultra-Left policy and bureaucratic methods of the Stalinist in the past, should, as in this case, draw their conclusion and look for the principle causes of their fight which intimately link it up with the struggle of the Left Opposition. In is defense at the membership meeting of the MWIU, comrade Weser explained to those present the course he had taken in criticizing th leadership for their distortions and ultra-Left putsches (Philadelphia, New Orleans, etc.) as one which had brought him into fundamental antagonism to Stalinism. He concluded by pointing out that all the outrages he criticized flowed from the fundamental Stalinist position and called for a return to internationalism and the displacement of national socialism, declaring his support of the Left Opposition.

Litvinov at Geneva

Opportunist Diplomacy Plays Into Hands of Imperialists

The Moscow **Daily News** for February 15, 1933 contains the full speech made by the representative of the Soviet Union on February 7 in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. Litvinov, speaking on the security question, stated that the Soviet delegation "is glad to say" that some of the French proposals, 'if not all, have met with full support" by the Soviet delegation. Litvinov submits a sort of "self-criticism", pointing out that after all the travail, they find themselves at the same stage where they were five years ago. According to Litvinov, the Geneva Committee is to be blamed for that, because it does not agree with the Soviet delegation that "the best, if not the only guarantee of security for all nations is complete disarmament, or at least the maximum reduction of armaments in a short time".

As to the French proposals themselves, the Soviet delegation finds they "give a much wider interpretation to the obligations assumed by the signatories of the Kellogg-Briand Pact". On the basis of that he is again "glad to be able to state that the Soviet Delegation....will be ready to sign a convention incorporating them".

Thus it is plain that the Kellogg Pact continues to fulfill its great historical task as an imperialist sand heap into which the Stalinist ostrich is putting his head in order to forstall the dangers to the building of socialism in the Soviet Union alone, thereby also preventing that treacherous heap from crumbling under the blows of the world proletariat.

Lenin defined the gist of opportunism as readiness to sacrifice fundamental interests for the sake of partial and temporary advantages. The fundamental task of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva and all similar conferences, should consist in one thing only: to expose to the world proletariat the machinations of the imperialists from the very tribunal which they are sometimes compelled to offer it. But at a time when the Stalinized Comintern is quiet as a grave for four and half years, the People's Commissar of the Soviet Union is substituting for a tribune some other means which are "less dangerous" to the building of socialism in the Stalinist fashion. That exposure of the imperialists should consist only in playing up one of the imperialist wolves against the other, utilizing their fundamental antagonisms and their readiness to jump at each others' throats, not forgetting at the same time that it is the Soviet Republic which they hate more than anything else.

To hope that these imperialist powers will act as opportunists, sacrificing their fundamental aim of overthrowing the Soviet Union for the sake of restoring the capitalist relations there and thereby transforming it into a semi-colonial country—one of the very few ways to escape the revolutionary consequences of the present crisis—to hope for this, is to act, in Lenin's words, as a shyster politician and cheap diplomat. Lenin gave that definiton, in his speech on concessions, to those who would try to utilize not the fundamental differences between the imperialist powers, but the secondary ones, exactly as Litvinov is trying to do. He is attempting to convince the old sharks of capitalist diplomacy that the French proposals are acceptable to the Soviet Union, hoping thereby to put French diplomacy in a difficult position in relation to its old friends, the Japanese diplomats.

Litvinov is doing this at the time when the imperialist French robbers are doing everything in their power to strengthen the diplomatic position of Japanese imperialism in its preparatory work for an assault on the Soviet Union.

Litvinov did not find a word to say about the danger of German Fascism. That was not, you see, on the agenda.... —L. GREEN.

Hathaway at Membership Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

has been steeled in the struggle of 1918, it has been steeled in the struggles of 1923." He pointed out that although in 1923, 25,000 workers lost their lives and the insurrection was suppressed, the revolutionary movement continued. What he forgot to mention was that it took ten years after 1923 for another revolutionary situation to come into being in Germany and for the proletariat to be in a position to seize power—and at a disadvantageous position for the moment, at that. This fatalistic optimism of Hathaway and the Stalinists is as dangerous as the fatalistic pessimism of the social democracy. Neither permits accurate analysis of a situation. The Stalinists have delayed because they are not conscious of the meaning of Fascism, and because they forget the rudimentary fact that a revolutionary situation, once lost, may not reappear for a decade. The German proletariat has been "steeled in the struggles of 1918 and 1923"; it will survive 1933. That is true, but—The question is not at all one of the survival of the revolutionary movement; it is a question of whether the revolution is to triumph now or be smashed for a decade.

For years the Left Opposition has been pointing out the danger of Fascism being permitted to consolidate its power in Germany. For years the Opposition has been calling for a united front of the Communist Party of Germany and the reformist organizations to unite the German workers so as to be able to resist Fascism and be in a position to seize power. All this Hathaway "demolished" by stating that the Trotskyists say that if Fascism comes to power the revolution is lost!

Hathaway pointed out that for a succesful revolution, two conditions must exist: a revolutionary upsurge of the workers and a split in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. On the basis of the theory of social Fascism the split cannot be said to exist. The social democracy is simply the Left wing of Fascism, basically the same. But actually, when Fascism arises, there is a split in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Social democracy is the Left wing of the bourgeoisie; Fascism its Right wing. But the bourgeoisie cannot use both wings at the same time. When it uses the Fascist wing, it liquidates the social democracy. Fascism, to exist, must break and destroy all workers' organizations, including the social democracy. Thus the rise of Fascism creates a split in the bourgeoisie, since Fascism endangers not only the Communist party but the social democracy as well, leaders together with the rank and file. Thus, on Hathaway's own grounds, a revolutionary situation exists in Germany. But bound to the theory of social Fascism, the bureaucratic leaders of the Communist Party of Germany and the Comintern see the revolutionary situation. Hence they failed in the past both to unite the German working class and to strike at the strategic point.

The C. I. Turn

Now, with the manifesto of the ECCI, there is a turn. The Manifesto calls for a united front, both with the leaders as well as with the rank and file of the reformist organizations. This Hathaway had to admit on Monday evening. But the theoretical meaning of this united front and the change in policy of the ECCI he entirely ignored. He said, **"I state categorically that there is no change in the basic position of the Communist International as regards the united front and the social democratic leaders."** He explained that the Manifesto was caused by two factors: the increasing sentiment for unity among the workers and the treacherous calls for a united front by the social democrats and the Trotskyists. This Manifesto is simply a maneuver by which the Comintern checkmates the counter-revolutionary demands of the Trotskyists. The united front demanded by the Left Opposition was characterized by Hathaway as one contingent upon the willingness of the social democratic leaders to agree. Thus it must be based on the limits of the social democratic program. It would in reality make the Communist party a partner in the social democratic betrayal of the workers....

Comrade Hathaway either has never read the proposals of the Left Opposition (He has!—Ed.) or else he has very conveniently distorted them. From the beginning, the Left Opposition has fought for a real united front. From 1923 till 1928 we fought against the false united front in which the independence of the Communist party was sacrificed. We have consistently stated that the party must always remain independent and distinct. Since 1928, with the ultra-Leftist swing of the ECCI, we have fought for a real united front—not the socalled united front from below, which is in reality no united front whatsoever.

Hathaway then elaborated upon the Comintern Manifesto calling for a united front with all possible organizations against Fascism, against wage-cuts, for unemployment relief and insurance. He said it was the duty of all party members to fraternize with members of reformist organizations, to show them the call for a united front, and bring a united front call to every reformist organization, branch and local. This position in Hathaway's speech showed that the ECCI has made at least a partial turn, away from the old united front from below. The danger is that the swing of the ECCI will go too far to the Right, as indicated by the more than ambiguous sentences in the Manifesto, Point C.

This Point Hathaway interpreted as a threat to the reformists if they violate the united front. But he said nothing to reassure the party that the party press will not be silent about the social democracy until it be too late. As he interpreted it, the party will not criticize the social democracy until it has broken the agreement clearly and completely.

The danger of this united front Manifesto lies in its failure to say a word about the independence of the party and the freedom to criticize the social democracy. Instead, the paragraph referred to has a statement that almost forbids criticism and also a threat not only to the socialists but to any Communist who dares to criticize the social democracy. All these points Hathaway ignored. At no time did Hathaway define the Communist position in a united front. The Communists can merge with the social democrats without violating any point in Hathaway's speech.

Hathaway's speech is interesting as an example of theoretical confusion and also because by its vicious atacks and misstatements against the Left Opposition, it shows how much our influence has increased due to the German situation and the about-face of the Comintern. Many of his remarks concerning the discouragement of the party members, their criticism of the Communist Party of Germany, the sentiment of the united front among the workers—all show that our correct criticism has penetrated deeply into the party. The epithets, the lynch demand, the falsification of our position, all demonstrate how hard pressed Hathaway and the Stalinist bureaucracy must be in their attempts to answer us. But curses and lies are flimsy defenses and still worse guides for a workers' party.

* * * *

Characterizing the confusion and demoralization into which the party members have been thrown by the zigzags in Stalinist policy, is the fact that out of all the questions asked, none dealt fundamentally with the question at stake; they were all of a technical nature. Discussion, what little there was of it, was of the same kind. But the Communist workers will yet speak up, and when they do their language will be unmistakable.

—PARTY MEMBER.

The American Capitaiist Paradise

HOOVERVILLE

Ambition and hope characterize almost every young man, who, leaving his family hearth, enters the cruel capitalistic world in search of his fortune. Ambition and hope makes his life bright and happy. The young worker, possessing these natural stimuli for working and fighting, needs no artificial substitute.

But when ambition and hope fade in the hopeless individual struggle against heavy odds—the cold industrial oligarchy and the boss class—different psychological characteristics appear in a worker. As an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, working at first steady job, and afterwards losing one job after another, he begins to lose ambition and hope for a better future in his life. Gradually, as he gets older and becomes less productive, he is pressed into the army of unemployed and very often the army of unemployables.

This is the road that the great multitudes of workers, who roam over our railroads and highways in a continuous stream, who fill the employment-offices, charity institutions and jails in our cities, have traveled; this is also the road that the residents, who make up the population of Hoovervilles all over the country—of shanty-towns, shack-cities and jungles, have gone over. First a steady worker, then a casual worker, and finally an unemployed worker: this is the lot of an average American industrial slave!

These latter institutions, popularily known as Hoovervilles, are of a recent origin. They have sprung up all over the country near the big cities, empty lots and river-edges only during the last few years. They consist of a number of generally crudely, but sometimes skillfully constructed one or two-room shacks, which sometimes reach into several hundreds in a cluster.

Its inhabitants form a community composed primarily of the aforementioned average American unskilled workers, but during the present great unemployment crisis many skilled workers and even professionals are moving into the "Shanty-towns", men who are thrown out of their jobs and constantly being evicted from their living quarters.

This last-mentioned layer of these working class elements, who have learned or who have been forced to learn through suffering the class composition of society and their position relative to these classes, therefore being more class-conscious, have a great mission to perform; to study the psychology and interests of their fellow-worker; to approach them correctly in order to educate and finally organize them, so that this section of the broad unemployed masses do not become lost for the revolutionary working-class who need all the help they can get in their bitter struggle against the master class.

The approach is a hard one. The citizens of Hooverville do not read anything of consequence; they seldom think of anything outside their miserable dwellings and hardly ever talk of the class struggle. They are devoted mostly to the accumulation of possessions with no purpose beyond the pleasure of the game, or their own pride or vanity—as collecting useless furniture, clothing, and cooking utensils which they cannot use. These dull, uninteresting, selfish, crude, human animals, with their petty lives and narrow visions, become absorbed in ragpicking and drunkeness. They have drifted into the Hoovervilles where they settle and become either passive or indifferent towards the class struggle and develop a peculiar anarchistic individualistic character or—degenerate into "lumpen-proletariat" that is, into the category of workers known as unemployables—**tramps,** bums, vagabonds, petty-criminals, etc.—in short the down-and-outers.

To the question, what is the matter with these men, and how could they be made again useful to society?—many varied answers have been given to the writer who has spent the last eight months in an East River shack town, by curious and interested visitors who flock to these places in singles and groups.

Bourgeois Explanations

The bourgeois element usually says that the men are too lazy to work; the laws, courts and police are too soft as regards begging, loafing and living in shacks that do not pay taxes; and the charity organizations demoralize rather than uplift the men, by giving them meals in the breadlines without working.

The charity "worker" says that the men themselves are defective and responsible for their misfortunes. They have acquired bad habits, have lost their rugged individualism and will-power. They indulge in drunkenness.

Of course the "sky-pilot" suggests for the men to turn to God and everything will be "hunky-dory".

The educator and moralist preach that the main cause is the lack of general character-building and the presence of too many speakeasies and disorderly houses.

And finally comes the technocrat and explains "scientifically": the existence of unemployed workers, who live in large numbers in various hack-towns, is an essential of the present organization of our industrial system; rapid introduction, and pressure of circumstances and environment in general. Only the "energy-certificate" and the "erg" will solve the problem.

The widely varied opinions of the capitalist spokesmen about the unemployed workers in general, show the complexity of the problem in their minds, and the lack of complete understanding.

They do not like to admit that the existing miserable conditions of the workers; low wages, long hours and unemployment are to be traced through the whole capitalist system, which is responsible for the existence of Hoovervilles, and the production of hoboes and tramps—that is, the surplus labor population. They refuse to see that there is nothing wrong with the men themselves; they are just as human as anybody. They do not like to hear the only solution, that of the overthrow of the capitalist system which will do away with these conditions—the products of industrial slavery.

How They Live

In the meantime the residents of the shanty-towns go about their way, and do not mind in the least what is said about them in the papers, or in what "pose" they are snapped for the tabloids. They are generally willing and desirous to work, if there are any wages. But in the present unemployment crisis they are supplementing their living by such means as beggars and stealing—"taking". At night they go for their "kill" like wild animals. But their "kill" consists mostly of loads of week-old bread from bakery back-doors, discarded vegetables from Wallabout and Washington markets, rotten fish from the Fulton Street pier and "nickels" from subway entrance. They do not overlook also the milk-bottles in the hallways and pastry-baskets outside the chain-store doors—though they usually take it only in such quantities as to satisfy their immediate needs. However, being workers they prefer to earn their living by working.

Some of the individuals are averse to work because their nervous systems, by suffering and privation, are exhausted. But this seeming laziness is nothing more than a kind of defense reaction forced upon them by this rotten system. In drunkenness they also find a sort of relief and forgetfulness. Rainbow-chasing is again an artificial means of making life newly "hopeful". Their lack of ability to concentrate their attention on anything could be explained by the fact that they are worn out, and as a result their will power has gone to pieces.

(To Be Continued)

—PAUL SCHWALBE.

International Workers School Notes

Two new classes in the New York International Workers School are now definitely under way. Comrade Max Shachtman's lectures on the "Principles and History of the International Left Opposition" is bringing a larger attendance with each session. The lectures take place each Wednesday evening at the hall of the International Workers School, 126 East 16th Street. The admission per lecture is 15 cents, and the public is invited.

Comrade Jack Weber's class in "American Working Class History" meets each Sunday afternon at 4 o'clock. Those who still wish to register for this course have an opportunity to do so at the next session.

The class by Martin Abern in the Principles of Communism will conclude, after having held ten straight and successful sessions, next Monday, March 27th.

Comrade Cannon's lecture course on American Labor Leaders has been indefinitely postponed. Those who desire are urged to join either or both of the two IWS classes that are now under way for this session.

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Trotsky Sounds the Alarm Signal on the Danger to the Soviet Regime

(Continued from Page 1)

and collective farms, in tractor and machine stations, in plants, factories and state institutions, in party organizations, even within the Central Committee itself. The "damager" is that image up against which the bureaucracy stumbles at every moment, while staring into mirrors and failing to recognize itself. On the other hand, the dislocation of economic relations and the growth of universal discontent do provide actually a culture medium for the bacilli of bourgeois counter-revolution.

Violently driven inward, the economic disproportions—first of all, the disjointure between the city and the village but least of all the commonplace kulak "remainders" or the "survivals" of bourgeois psychology—augment the absolutely unbearable tension in the political relations of the country, impelling the bureaucracy to take to the road of further suppressions of all Soviet social activities, thus breeding the malignant embryos of the Bonapartist regime.

Repressions become the chief method of economic management. With all the earmarks of civil war, the collection of seed takes place and preparations are made for spring sowing. The struggle against slackness which is bred from starvation by apathy proceeds in the form of savage penalties. Shortage of food is met by mass expulsions from cities. The press celebrates as a socialist victory the introduction of the passport system.

The helmsman of the October revolution, the builder of the Soviet state, the Bolshevik party is crushed, bulldozed, trodden under foot, demoralized, or driven underground. The dictatorship of the apparatus that smashed the party has been supplanted by personal dictatorship. Within the apparatus those are handpicked who are trustworthy; from among the trustworthy are chosen the most trustworthy. No one, in effect, trusts any longer in the "leader" whose infallibility has brought about a series of frightful miscarriages. Everybody knows and sees that his own policies have driven Stalin into a blind alley and that he does not know today what Stalin will do tomorow. But the more the apparatus loses its support in the masses, the more do those who are trustworthy and most trustworthy isolate themselves away from the apparatus, the more religious is the homage paid the sagacity of the "beloved leader" The personal oath of allegiance has completely superceded loyalty to the program. Only those articles and speeches are permitted which rehash the oracular maxims of the leader. The voice of the entire Soviet press has become the voice of swinish and loathesome toadyism. One cannot, without blushing from burning shame, look upon the outraged covenants of the party and the trampled down banner of the October revolution!

Defense of the U.S.S.R.

It is self evident how important are the successes of industrialization from the viewpoint of the technical reinforcement of the Red Army and the Red Fleet. The world wide situation imperiously imposes upon the armed forces of the Soviet Union a role of exceptional importance both in the West and the East. But it is precisely within this sphere that a policy of illusions would prove most dangerous and criminal. The Red Army is not reducible to military technique alone. In war, bread and meat play no less a role than projectiles for artillery; the horse occupies no less a place than does the tractor. The living forces of the army have as a reservoir the workers and peasants. The mood of the workers determines the mood of the army. Taken on the scale of a major war, military technique itself is a function of the entire economy, demanding from the latter inner harmoniousness and ability to operate without a hitch.

If Stalin seeks to justify the material privations of the toilers as a sacrifice they place upon the altar of state defense, then this explanation is as false as are all the bureaucratic totals of the first five year plan. In point of fact the disjointure between rural economy and industry hits directly at the army and saps at the will power of the Soviet government in the international arena. Without the acute disorganization of Soviet economy, the extraordinary insolence of Japanese imperialists as well as the free play for the activities of German Fascism would have been impossible. The Stalinist religion of pacifism, of the Geneva as well as the Amsterdam brand, is the religion of weakness. Today the chief defense of the proletarian State lies in the putrefaction of world capitalism. While that is very important, it is still an insufficient means of defense. In order to conquer the initiative in the world arena, it is necessary to rehabilitate the economic foundation of the Soviet state.

The Stalinized Comintern

If one were to leave aside for the moment the conscious and unconscious damage done by the bureaucracy, the onerous internal condition of the Soviet Union is rooted in the economic backwardness of the country and in the international isolation of the proletarian State. But, in its turn, the present isolation is the result of the policies of the Comintern. The vain glorious overestimation of the internal sucesses achieved in the USSR is just as criminal as the underestimation of the tasks of the international revolution. It is absolutely essential that Soviet economy be built up, step by step, thus reinforcing the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and preparing the elements of the future Socialist state—but that is not enough. Should the European bourgeoisie batter down the workers with the club of Fascism and retard the revolution for decades, no economic successes whatsoever can save the Soviet Union. The problem of capitalist encirclement poses us face to face with the strategy and tactic of the Communist International, its chain of mistakes and crimes.

Within the USSR, where the Stalinist bureaucracy has at its disposal the mighty resources of the State, its policies could still masquerade its bankruptcy for a number of years; squandering the basic capital of the revolution but not leading directly to catastrophic consequences. On the world arena, where the open struggle is compulsory against the social democracy and all other forces of bourgeois society, the policies of bureaucratic Centrism have already succeeded in exposing themselves in all countries and in all quarters of the globe, as the systematic, even if unconscious sabotage of the proletarian revolution. For the past ten years, the Stalinist leadership has contributed nothing to the struggle of the international proletarian vanguard, save mistakes, confusion, demoralization and defeat. Bulgaria, Germany (1923), Esthonia, once again Bulgaria (1924), China (the period of the bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek as well as all the subsequent policies), England (the Anglo-Russian Committee), Spain (the period of revolution)—such is the far from complete geographical inventory of the genuine deeds of damage perpetrated by the Centrist bureaucracy in the sphere of international revolution. The growing isloation of the Soviet Union cannot be compensated for by any "non-aggression pacts" whatsoever.

There has not remained a living spot upon the body of world capitalism. Reformism has drained to the dregs its fund of beggarly and slavish sagacity, and it stands before the proletariat exposed in its impotence, branded by its treachery. In the Soviet Union—as the Stalinists insist—the five year plan has been fulfilled, and socialism has been absolutely guaranteed. What other conditions are there required for the Comintern in order to overthrow the organizations of reformism that have rotted to the core, and to collect around itself the proletarian masses and lead them to the conquest of power? Concurrently, however, official Communism everywhere is losing positions and influence, is becoming isolated away from the masses, and is being forced out of the trade unions. At best, sections of the Comintern now serve as thoroughfares for the unemployed.

Its mode of action in Germany has been the tragic zenith of the international defeatism of the Stalinist faction. Were one to set as one's conscious goal: to save from disintegration the crime-splotched social democracy; and to open the shortest road to power for Fascists—none could have devised a tactic more direct than that employed. Stalin placed General Chiang Kai-Shek into the saddle with the friendly hand of an ally; as for Hitler, he made the road to power easy by guaranteeing the division of labor between the social democratic and Communist bureaucracies; screening themselves behind different phrases, they both have led and still lead the tactic of retreat, marasm, and cowardice. The results are an open book. To serve its class enemy under the guise of waging irreconcilable struggle against it—this is the curse that hangs heavy over Centrism!

Groupings in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern

The course of events within the CPSU shows that the economic crisis has turned into the crisis of the revolution, and that it is forcing its way more and more decisively from below to the tops, through the state and party apparatus.

The exclusive Stalinist faction that is mustered around the plebiscitary "leader", whom it has ceased to trust, exerts its efforts desperately in order to maintain itself. The first condition requisite for this is not to permit the party's awakening. Repressions against the opposition have now assumed a mass character such as did not obtain even in 1928 when promises were given and taken that all opposition would be "liquidated" once and for all. Naturally the chief blows are directed against the Bolshevik-Leninists, the only faction whose authority has grown immeasurably and continues to grow.

Two most recent facts are particularly significant of the situation in the party; the arrests and deportation of the leaders of the Left Opposition who capitulated about four years ago, and the complete and final capitulation of the leaders of the Right Opposition. A few months after the quite notorious deportations of Zinoviev and Kamenev to Siberia, Stalin arrested I. N. Smirnov, Preobrazhensky, Ufimtsev, Ter-Vaganyan and about 100 former Left Oppositonists connected with them. The significance of this fact must be plumbed to the bottom. Those concerned are old Bolsheviks; they had built the party, carried it through on their shoulders during the years it was driven underground participated in the October Revolution and the Civil War, and created together with us the faction of Bolshevik-Leninists. When (in February 1928) under the pressure of food shortages, Stalin made a sharp turn to the side of planned industrialization, and of struggle against the kulak, an influential section of the Left Opposition, became frightened by the perspective of a split, capitulated to the bureaucracy, and extended to it trust on credit. In its own time this fact played a major political role in that it strengthened the position of the Stalinist bureaucracy and retarded for a long period the influx to the ranks of the Left Opposition. **Today we have the balance sheet of the experiment made by the honest, sincere and not careerist capitulation:** after deporting Zinoviev and Kamenv, Stalin arrested Smirnov, Preobrazhensky, Ufimtsev and the rest! This blow at the top had been preceded in the course of the past year by the arrests of several hundred rank and file capitulators, who anticipated their leaders in returning to the road of the Left Opposition. Within the last two years, a truly gigantic shift has occurred in the consciousness of the party, for the regroupings at the top are only belated and diluted reflections of the profound processes that occur in the masses. Here we have an extraordinarily clear illustration of the power that is latent in the correct and undeviating line of politics; isolated individuals and groups, outstanding even in regard to their revolutionary qualities, may drift at times into the camp of the enemy, under the influence of temporary conditions, but they are forced ultimately, by the march of events, to return to the old militant banner.

There is an altogether different, but in its kind no less symptomatic significance in the 100 percent capitulation of Rykov, Tomsky and Bucharin. The political cohorts of these leaders spread far into the camps of class enemies. As we had forecasted more than once, the sharpening of the crisis of the revolution could not but inevitably throw the Bolshevik and tiny head of the Right Opposition up against its hefty counter-revolutionary tail. The moment for this has arrived. Alarmed by the mood of their own followers, leaders of the Right crawled unconditonally on their knees to the official leadership. They were able to go through with this surgery all the more easily because no matter how acute the internecine fight became from moment to moment, it nevertheless remained the fight between Left and Right shadings in the camp of bureaucratic Centrism.

In this manner, the capitulation of the Right wing leaders reflects the differentiation of the Right Opposition, which remained amorphous but which indubitably was the most numerous of all groupings of the last period. Workers by tens of thousands, party men among them, dismayed by the economic adventurism of the bureaucracy, gravitated all the more naturally to the side of the Right wing leaders, the more sincerely they were inclined to interpret Stalin's policies as the direct application of "Trotskyism", after they had been hoodwinked by the entire preceding anti-Trotskyist demagoguery. The differentiation of the Right wing means the liberation of these proletarian elements from under the Thermidorian influences; and their drawing inevitably closer to the Left Opposition, the true features of which are only now becoming distinct, in the light of their personal experience.

The political groupings in the party are becoming clear-cut, the levels of reservoirs come into clear view. Concurently the "Workers' Opposition" and "Democratic Centralism" have factually disappeared from the political arena. The proletarian elements from among the intermediate groupings in the oppositon of the last years are gravitating toward the Bolshevik-Leninists, the only faction that has a clear program, tested in the furnace of events; and that has not lowered its banners for an instant.

Even though not quite so clearly, an analagous process is to be observed also on the international scale. During the time when ruling Centrism, incapable even of posing the question of an International Congress, stopped giving any answers whatsoever to the most burning questions of the world revolution; during the time when the Right wing (Brandlerites) because of the centrifugal laws that govern opportunism, ceased completely to exist as an international tendency —the Bolshevik-Leninists, and they alone, proved capable of calling together an international conference, under the present and most difficult conditions, and at this conference they gave a clear answer to the most important and debatable problems of the world proletarian movement for the entire post-Leninist period.

No matter what course the development of the world proletarian revolution takes in the next few years—and this depends directly upon the outcome of the struggle against Fascism in Germany and upon the change of the course in USSR—for the Left Opposition, upon the international scale, there has opened the epoch of assured upsurge. The fiftieth anniversary of Marx's death is honored by official celebrations in two camps, reformism and centrism. But from now on the fate of the revolutionary Marxian, i. e., genuine Bolshevik policies is inextricably tied with the fate of the Communist Left Opposition.
position.

The Capital Reconstruction of Economy

In their appraisal of the possibilities and tasks of Soviet economy, Bolshevik-Leninists take as their point of departure not the vapid abstraction of socialism in one country but the real historical process in its world relations and living contradictions. Only the foundations that have been laid by the October revolution can guard the country from the fate of India or China and assure, in the present transitonal epoch, serious successes on the road of transforming capitalist society into socialism. The discussions concerning our supposed "denial" of the proletarian character of the October revolution are a hodgepodge of scholasticism, ignorance and lies. The whole gist of the matter lies in the fact that it is possible to pursue various policies upon the social and political bases of the Soviet Union. What still remains to be decided is —precisely which one?

In order to cure the economy which has been disordered by the epigone leadership, i. e., to mitigate the disproportions, strengthen the link between the city and the village, create a stable unit of currency, and improve the condition of the toilers, it is necessary first of all to break away from the bureaucratic muddling and lying. The general character of economic measures, which are dictated by the situation today, may be most correctly denoted by the word, **retreat.** It is precisely because the collective farms have spread over too extensive a field at one blow that the workers' government cannot find sufficient means to counteract the break-down of kolkhozi. The measures of repression must inevitably disclose their impotence. The only correct mode of activity lies in sacrificing quantity to gain in quality. Upon the political plane this same task may be formulated other wise, to wit, sacrifice space in order to gain time.

It is necessary to check the strength of centrifugal tendencies in the kolkhozi and to open up an economically rational outlet for these tendencies by leaning upon the peasant poor, the rural workers, the best kolkhozi, and the best colective farmers. It is necesary to preserve and develop those kolkhozi which have demonstrated their viability, or which may prove viable in the nearest future, in accordance with their available resources and the interest shown by their members.

The Stalinists, of course, will résume their din that our readiness to retreat from 60% collectivization to 40%, and maybe even to 25% (the percentage must be economically determined by actual test, and not set bureaucratically beforehand) signifies "capitulation" "the restoration of capitalism", etc., etc. If so, why then did these bravos desist from completing their collectivization 100%, as they set out to do? Why was it decreed sacred to hold to that line at which adventurism stalled at the well-known moment, and already well in the process of retreat? One must not be alarmed by the pseudo-revolutionary bogies lisped by the bureaucracy. Retreat without battle from revolutionary conquests is equivalent to betrayal. The retreat from bureaucratic aventurism is demanded by revolutionary realism. In relation to rural economy it is necessary first of all and regardless of everything else to restore the rule: **Leadership and not bulldozing!**

The differentiation in the peasantry is still inevitable for a protracted period; there will be well to do kolkhozi as well as poor ones; within isolated kolkhozi there will be not only preserved but also developed considerable social distinctions, with the development of productive forces. And over and above that, there exist 10 million individual enterprises! Such a correlation must be established with the peasant mass as would eliminate the "de-classed" kulak from leading the peasantry against the Soviet state. One must come to an understanding with the moujik. Concessions must be made to the middle peasant. And the village poor must be economically strengthened by the tax, credit, and co-operative systems, by the policies of machine and tractor stations, etc., etc., without at the same time depriving either individual peasants, or the prosperous kolkhozi, or the more well to do collective farmers of the stimulus to further accumulation. The insanity of mechanically liquidating the kulak must be rejected decisively, completely and unconditionally. It is necessary to understand and to admit that the kulak exists not in the guise of "remainders" or of "psychological survivals" but as an economic and social factor. The return must be made to the policy of systematically **confining the exploiting tendencies of the kulak,** in a serious manner, and for a prolonged period, practically unto the victory of the proletariat in the West.

Such a system of combined activities can be applied with success only in the event that the pauperized layers of the peasantry are organized in the **Union of the Village Poor,** the chief support of the party in the village.

The tempos of industrialization must be subordinated to the task of restoring the **dynamic equilibrium of economy as a whole.** One must reject the development of mistakes in the plan merely because they were declared holy in the specifications of the day before. The programs of capital undertakings must be radically gone over, and all those which are obviously no match for the forces of the country must be immediately stopped. The inevitable loss of billions today will safeguard against the future loss of tens of billions. It can be a safeguard against the worst thing possible, against catastrophe.

Even at this moment it may be said with assurance that the industrial growth of 16% for 1933, set for the sole purpose of not breaking too sharply with the adventuristic first stages of yesterday, will turn out absolutely unfeasible. In 1932, industry grew only 8 1-2% instead of 36% as was stipulated in the plan. The point of departure must be taken from these actual attainments in 1932, in order that still higher coefficients may be attained by gradually reinforcing the ground underfoot.

Those resources which are liberated by way of lowering the tempos must be immediately directed partly into the funds for consumption and partly into light industry. "The condition of the workers must be improved at any price." (Rakovsky). During the construction of socialism people must live like human beings. What is broached here is the perspective of decades and not a military campaign, or "a Saturday" or an isolated case of extraordinary intensification of forces. Socialism is the labor of future generations. But it must be so assembled as to permit the living generations to carry it on its back. The stable of **currency system** must be restored, as the only reliable regulator of planned economy at the present stage of its development. Without it, the locomotive of planned economy will inevitably fail to make the grade.

For An Honest Party Regime! For Soviet Democracy

No new revolution is necessary to save and strengthen the dictatorship. A profound and an all-sided and fully thought out **reform** will completely suffice. The whole question lies in who will put it through. This question touches not persons or cliques but **the party.**

It is absolutely self-evident that the ruling party in the USSR is in etxreme need of a purification from agents of the class enemy, careerists, Thermidorians, and the ordinary candidates for a meal ticket. But this job is not for the hands of the bureaucratic clique. Only the revived party itself, to be more exact, only its proletarian kernel is capable of riddling itself of the foreign and inimical elements.

The strangling of the party which took place in the course of the last ten years is the reverse side of the interminable attacks upon the Left Opposition. It is impossible to revive the party without returning the Opposition into its ranks. That is the first demand which we put forward and which we call upon all Communists, young Communists, and all class conscious workers to support.

We direct this slogan at the Right Opposition as well. We do not trust the selections of Stalin-Menzhinsky-Yagoda; they have as their criteria not the interests of the proletarian revolution but the interests of the clique. The purification of the party of real opportunists, to say nothing of the Thermidorians, must be carried out freely and openly, by the will of the party masses.

What is at stake is the fate of the party and of the Soviet regime. Lenin saw the democratization of the administration as the most important task of the dictatorship. "Every cook must learn how to manage the government." The process that has taken place is quite the reverse. The number of the administrators did not grow to include "every cook", it constricted instead to a solitary chef, and thereto only a specialist in peppery courses. The political regime has become unbearable to the masses, even as the name of its pack-bearer is becoming more and more hateful to them.

As far back as 1926 Stalin was told that he was clearly filing himself as a candidate for the post of undertaker to the party and the revolution. For the past six years Stalin has come very close to the fulfillment of this role. Throughout the party and outside of it, there is spreading ever wider the slogan, "Down with Stalin". The causes for the origin and the growing popularity of this "proverb" require no explanations. But nevertheless we consider this slogan incorrect. The question touches not Stalin personally, but his faction. It is true that for the last two years it has become extremely constricted in its scope. But it still includes many thousands of apparatus functionaries. Other thousands and tens of thousands, whose eyes have been opened as regards Stalin, continue to support him nevertheless, from fear of the unknown. The slogan, "Down with Stalin", may be understod, and could inevitably be understood, as the slogan for the overthrow of the faction now in power, and even more—the overthrow of the apparatus. But we do not want to overthrow the system but to reform it by the efforts of the best proletarian elements.

It is self-evident that an end must be and will be put to the Bonaprtist regime of a single leader, and of the pack compelled to revere him, because that is the most shameful perversion of the idea of the revolutionary party. But the matter touches not the expulsion of individuals, but the changing of a system.

It is precisely the Stalinist clique that indefatigably circulates rumors to the effect that the Left Opposition will return to the party not otherwise than with a sword in its hand, and that it will immediately begin merciless reprisals against its factional opponents. This poisonous lie must be refuted, repudiated, and exposed. There is no feeling for revenge in politics. Bolshevik-Leninists never were motivated by it in the past, and least of all do they intend to be motivated by it in the future. We know only too well those historical reasons which have driven tens of thousands of party members into the blind alley of bureaucratic Centrism. We are motivated by considerations of revolutionary expediency, and not by revenge. We make no exceptions beforehand. We are ready to work hand in hand with every one who seeks to prevent catastrophe through the restoration of the party.

For an honest party regime! This means: for a regime that allows members of the party to say out loud what they think; that eliminates double-dealing, this inner-lining of the Stalinist monolith; that has no leaders who inherit leadership for life; that freely reelects all the leading organs during congresses of the party; that has an apparatus which serves the party, and the party that serves the proletariat.

For Soviet democracy! This means that the party directs the system of proletarian dictatorship, but does not strangle the mass organizations of the toilers, but on the contrary leads them to the burgeoning of their initiative and independence. As one of the most important means for the disciplining of any and every apparatus and for subordinating them to the party, **the secret ballot** must be introduced within trade unions and the Soviets, during elections of executive organs,—this to be done gradually and regularly, widening the scope on the basis of what experience demonstrates.

The historically created groupings within the Bolshevik party must be bound to carry on their entire activities within the framework of regulations, and by means of serious discussions, free from personal persecution and calumny, prepare for the extraordinary congress of the party. This can be attained only by struggle. Bolsheviks by hundred and thousands must raise their voices in protest against the usurping clique, that tramples upon the party and leads the revolution to ruin. "We demand an honest party congress!" Let this slogan unite the Left Opposition with all party members who are worthy of the name.

This same system of activity must be extended to include the Comintern. The Third International can be saved from further degeneration and complete collapse only by the radical change of all its policies, first of all that in Germany. The political turn, here as well, is inseparable from the change in the regime. The re-admission of the Left Opposition into all sections must be the first step. The democratically prepared for congresses of national sections compose the second stage. The World Congress of the Communist International is the consummation.

The platform of the Left Opposition upon the questions of the world proletarian revolution, has been expounded in numerous documents, and has been consolidated in the program theses of the international pre-Conference of Bolshevik-Leninists, in the beginning of February, of this year. It is with this platform and not with the sword of vengeance that the Left Opposition will return to the ranks of the Comintern. This platform it shall place upon the table of the next world Congress.

* * *

Two and a half years ago, the Left Opposition gave the alarm signal because of the danger from German Fascism. Conceited and blind as usual, the Stalinist bureaucracy accused us of "over-estimating" National Socialism, and even of "hysteria". The events have brought their merciless verification.

Today—not for the first time but with tenfold force—we sound the alarm signal because of the situation in the USSR. Here the immediate danger threatens not from without but within. Bureaucratic Centrism has become the chief source of danger.

For the struggle against it we call upon all true revolutionists, all class conscious workers, all Leninists, who have remained Leninists. The task is difficult, and the struggle will cost lives. But it must be pursued to the end. The ranks must be closed, the cadres must be strengthened, and the connections must be spread wider. No repressions, no provocations, no persecutions whatsoever will paralyze our efforts, for the atmosphere of sympathy envelops more and more solidly the work of the Left Opposition in the party.

Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union, Bolsheviks of the World! Soviet economy is in danger! The dictatorship of the proletariat is in danger! The International Revoltion is in danger!

Upon all of you, upon all of us, there is placed the incommensurate responsibility before history.

—L. TROTSKY.

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(Continued from page 1)

sacred" such "ancient shrines of our civilization" as "our Caucasian sense of even-handed justice," he praises Alabama's "great heritage of honor", and he rings the chimes of white chauvinist condescencion as follows: "Persons of substance in the Southern states have recognized for many generations a moral obligation toward the simple and generous folk whom slavery brought them first as chattels."

The fact that the ILD has during the past two weeks issued numerous statements concerning Liebowitz's activities without once mentioning his attack on the ILD line, seems to indicate that his insolent letter of Jan. 9 was swallowed by the ILD and that the ILD proposed to make no reply

The ILD has always put itself forward as a class struggle organization. Its principles call for the defense of all victims of class justices by means of an able legal fight based on mass pressure. It has contended that this strategy not only provides the best defense for the case at issue, but that it alone defends the general principle involved in every case. It proclaims that it approaches all cases from the angle of the class struggle, reveals the political underpinnings of class justice, and fights a principled fight. To do less is to risk the defendants immediately concerned, or at best, as reformist organizations have repeatedly done, to jeopardize all future victims of class justice by trading the principles involved for an immediate partial concession.

This position the ILD was always explained to outside attorneys who accept legal assignments from it. It has not required them to espouse the philosophy of the ILD, but it has required them to remain silent on all points where they disagreed with it. It has insisted that they serve purely as court-room technicians entitled to interfere neither in word nor deed with the ILD's conduct of the political struggle. Such, for example, were the terms on which the ILD retained Walter Pollack, a liberal whose philosophy is distinctly not one of class struggle, for the trial before the Supreme Court of the United States. Pollack was, as Lenin insisted lawyers always must be, the instrument, the tool of the class which employed him. Only if the relationship is on such a basis can the ILD relate a good legal fight to the fundamental and essential political fight.

This does not seem to be the basis of Liebowitz's relation to the Scottsboro Defense. He is getting a free hand to attack that defense from a platform given him by the ILD. He attacks the mass struggle which has saved the Scottsboro boys four times, he maneuvers just as would an NAACP lawyer seeking to make a deal. When one considers these facts in relation to the equally regrettable fact that the mass defense movement has died down in recent weeks almost to the vanishing point, it begins to look as though the ILD were teetering on the brink of a rotten and dangerous piece of opportunism.

To force Liebowitz to hold his mouth on political questions while he conducts a court-room technical job will, however, not be enough. It is no surprise that New York's most notorious gangster lawyer behaves this way. Least of all is it a surprise to the leading functionaries of the ILD who had due warning from his letter of Jan. 9. Who was responsible in the first place for hiring a man of this stripe who so clearly announced his vicious intentions? The cynical opportunists who took that responsibility were betraying the basic political aspects of the case as well as the interests of the nine Scottsboro boys. They and along with them those functionaries of the Communist party who gave them permission to take the step, deserve a rap over the knuckles. It is up to the ILD and Party rank-and-file to administer that rap.

The Left Opposition favors, as it always has, the broadest united front movement on behalf of the Scottsboro boys as on all immediate working class issues. It demands that the Communist party maintain freedom of criticism in such united fronts. Similarly, the ILD must maintain its freedom and must not permit its allies or its employees to attack it while its mouth remains shut. Down with sectarianism and opportunism! Substitute for these the Leninist tactic of the united front! There is no other sound basis for mobilizing the American masses in defense of the Scottsboro boys, in attack on general persecution of Negroes, for the common interests of all workers, white and black.

World Economic Situation Today

How It Stands Today and Its Next Perspectives

The question of the position of world economy today is of primary importance, and above all for Marxist revolutionists. Comrade Trotsky has proved irrefutably the connection between the strategic errors of the Comintern for the past ten years and its wrong estimations of the world situation, with its persistence in ignoring the turns which it has not foreseen.

At the present moment, the crisis has lasted over three and a half years. The working class, which up to last year had reacted only feebly to the political and economic offensive of the bourgeoisie, has let loose a powerful wave of strikes in Germany, in England, in Belgium, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, lately in the United States. On the other hand, the crisis, which had kept increasing in sharpness day after day with little interruption from its very beginning, has entered into a period of relative calm on the world scale for over half a year; the more optimistic circles of the bourgeoisie are even beginning to speak of the coming upturn.

Are we now facing a real turn in the world economic situation? What effects may we expect of it on the strategy and the tactics of the labor movement? These are questions which justify a serious effort at an answer.

We all know that the crisis has reached a depth and a sharpness hitherto unknown. We can measure it by the number of unemployed, by the decline in production and trade, the number of bankruptcies, and a host of other indexes which show that it is not a question of an ordinary crisis such as capitalism has known ever since its birth. But besides these quantitative indexes, we have also the qualitative signs of an internal degeneration of capitalism. The banking crisis in the United States; the falling away from the gold standard of England, the Scandinavian countries, Japan, Spain and many other countries; the unstable and even fictitious character of the gold basis of many others, notably Germany; the strangulation of the world market by a host of restrictions on the international movement of commodities and capital; the fact that the regime of the bourgeoisie can no longer afford to back up its class domination by economic and political concessions to the workers, but reveals more and more nakedly its character as the organ of capitalism; the fact, of the most fundamental importance, that a sixth of the globe, the USSR, has torn itself away from capitalist domination—all this shows that we are dealing with a crisis of a different kind than the "healthy" crises of the past.

This means that, contrary to the claptrap of the social democrats, there is not only a cyclical, but also a general crisis of capitalism. But we must also take into account the fact that the converse proposition is also true—that there is not only a general crisis of capitalism, but also a cyclical crisis. We cannot afford to lose from our sight both of these facts in our discussion of the crisis.

We all know why there cannot be a capitalism without a cyclical crisis. As Marx said in his masterly analysis in the third volume of "Capital", "....The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way that only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit" (Vol. III, page 568.)

The cyclical crisis is therefore not an accident, but a normal part of the functioning mechanism of capitalism. It has, in other words, a definite role to play in the capitalist economic process, which Marx has described as follows, "Crises are only violent and temporary solutions of existing contradictions, violent eruptions which re-establish for a time the equilibrium which has been destroyed."

Evidently, these alternations of stabilization or even prosperity, depression and crisis, which take place in a cycle of five, seven or eleven years, are something entirely different from the fundamental movement of capitalism as a whole, which impresses its specific character on a whole historical epoch. For instance, the half-century before the war was a period of economic progress, punctuated by crises, while the past twenty years have been in the first instance a period of economic decline.

To envisage the possibility of a period of stabilization of the cyclical crisis, followed by an upturn, in no way implies the restoration of capitalism to its former vigor, that is, the solution of the general crisis of capitalism.

On the contrary, the fundamental character of the degeneration of capitalism in the present historical epoch must put its impress on any possible recovery in capitalist economy. This means that such a recovery may be expected to be limited, temporary, uncertain, and little inclined to extend to a point where it surpasses the peaks of production and of trade recorded during the preceding boom. In the same way as the cyclical crises of the ascending period of capitalism were, in general, short, and were followed by new periods of economic upswing which made new records at each cycle, so the crises of the descending period are prolonged and followed by relatively feeble and short recoveries which would be far from reaching the high points of economic activity attained in preceding cycles.

As long as the proletarian revolution has not definitely broken the back of capitalism, the latter will always have the possibility of completing its cyclical crisis, that is, of passing from the phase of acute crisis into that of depression and even to a recovery in business.

What then are the conditions which make possible an improvement in world economy, and are there reasons to believe that this possibility may be realized effectively in an upturn?

It is clear that the conditions for a turn in the world situation cannot be considered from the standpoint of "pure" economy—there is no such thing. The class struggle is fought out on all fronts—economic, political, ideological and the ups and downs of the struggle on each front affect the others. Politically the net result of the period of the past ten years has been—the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie, the set back of the proletarian offensive of 1917-21. It is painful to have to record this, but it is the truth. The responsibility of the Stalinist fraction in turning the policies of the Comintern away from the road of the world revolution, the permanent revolution, and in losing much of the enormous influence and prestige within the proletariat which Communism once enjoyed, is a heavy one in this respect.

It is not only true that a series of revolutions in the various advanced or colonial countries would have rendered impossible the recovery and the relative stabilization of capitalism after 1923. But more than this—every partial victory of the proletariat led by its revolutionary vanguard, in trade union organization, in strike leadership, in the struggle for social insurance, for shorter hours, against wage cuts and against taxes which strike the working masses hardest, weakens the bourgeoisie to that extent. It is the ravages which centrist tactics had made in this field which have permitted the bourgeoisie to carry out its policies since the crisis, without effective broad resistance from the working class.

What the policies of the bourgeoisie consist in, we know—mass unemployment, the attack on living standards and on social relief, new class taxes, the proletarianization of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

In the mass organizations, the workers' forces, split-up and mutually distrustful, have had to give way time after time. The social democratic leadership has been able to play its habitual and disastrous role of pacifying, lulling, putting a brake on the actions of the masses. The Communists have not been able to tear the masses away from the reformist leaders, but have weakened their possibility for action within the reformist organization by following the trade union policies of Stalin and Losovsky.

The political conditions which render possible the recovery of capitalism within the framework of the general crisis, that is to say, the possibility of throwing all the burden of the crisis on the working class by crusing or sterilizing its resistance, these conditions therefore exist.

But we must also take into account a whole series of factors of more strictly economic kind in order to be able to judge of the possibility of a cyclical upturn within the near future. The historical function of the crisis is to sweep away certain factors of economic instability which have grown out of the inherent contradictions of capitalism, and to replace them by conditions which permit of the temporary equilibrium of the system.

To be continued

—B. J. FIELD.

(*Based on a speech delivered before the Paris branch of the French section of the Left Opposition on Dec. 27, 1932.)

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

(Continued from last issue)

On the Reorganization of the International Organ of the ILO

1. After a period of delimitation and selection the ILO has passed into a new phase, which is characterized by the advanced crystallization of its cadres, the expansion of its organized forces, and the strengthening of its international cohesion.

The leading organ of the ILO has reflected and will continue to reflect necessarily, to a great extent, the general condition, the weaknesses as well as the progress of our sections and groups. The birth difficulties of the L. O. as an international organization have, through all weaknesses and mistakes, found their expression in the progress of our leading international organ.

2. The pre-Conference is of the opinion that the present stage of development of the ILO demands an improvement in the form of our leading international organ, which might assure its evolution into a real political center, capable of leading the ILO in its entirety.

3. The pre-Conference has decided on the following organizational form, which in its opinion best corresponds to the present stage and the degree of consolidation of the International Left:

(a) It has determined the formation of a so-called **"Plenum"** composed of one delegate each, of the Russian, Greek, German, Belgian and French sections, which is to meet at least once every three months to investigate and solve the most important problems raised before the ILO.

(b) The naming of delegates to the Plenum is to be assumed directly by the sections named.

(c) In case of conflicts of opinion on serious matters (expulsions, splits, approval or refusal of admission) the minority has the right to demand a final decision by means of a referendum of the national sections.

(d) The organ which assures the political continuity and practical execution of the work of the international leadership, is the **International Secretariat.** Composed, not of delegates of the sections, but of comrades who are capable of fulfilling this function, it is selected by the Plenum, is responsible to the Plenum, and can be deposed by the Plenum. (For the first time the pre-Conference itself has assumed the selection of the I. S.). The I. S. must be a real center for connection, information, control, and political impulsion. In accordance with the growing development of the I. S. the relations among the sections should be carried on more and more through the I. S. and not through individual correspondence.

(e) The pre-Conference has determined on Paris as the location of the I. S.

(f) International connection can be adequately assured only through the regular publication of the **International Bulletin,** which should be an organ of international discussion and not only a bulletin of information and of the exchange of experiences.

In order to assure the independent financial life of the Bulletin, it will be sent to the sections, cash payable on receipt.

(g) In order to assure the independent financial life of the I. S., an international membership contribution of the national organization is necessary.

P. S. The pre-Conference charges the I. S. to conduct, and to follow attentively, the reshaping of the sections in the sense of the organizational forms described in the theses of the first four Congresses of the C. I., as well as the adaptation of the section to the fundamental principles of a Communist organization (control of the work, collective and responsible work, etc.).

On the International Conference of the Left Opposition

In order to prepare seriously for the first International Conference of the ILO, the pre-Conference has decided to have theses prepared on the following political problems:

1. Theses on the German situation (by the German section).
2. Theses on the Spanish situation (each of the two tendencies will work out its own theses).
3. Project of a platform on the USSR (by the Russian section).
4. Theses on the international situation by the French Ligue).
5. Theses on the Balkan countries (by the Greek and Bulgarian sections jointly.
6. Theses on the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy and Fascism (by the New Italian Opposition).

Possibly the American League will prepare a thesis on American imperialism.

All the projects for these abovementioned must be prepared for publication, by **April 15, 1933.**

A discussion period of three months is to take place, and the International Conference is then to be called for the **month of July.**

The sections are called upon to prepare special funds beginning today in order to assure their representation at the International Conference.

Accepted by the pre-Conference of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) in Paris, February 4-8, 1933.

Kincaid Miners

(Continued from Page 1)

would plan the enlarged conference on as broad a basis as possible. The discussion centered around the character of the united front primarily. It is of particular importance to the members of the Left Opposition to know the position of the International Labor Defense which was represented by Andy Newhoff. When asked what the position of the ILD was in relation to the united front he said in effect: The ILD is prepared to participate in any united front effecting the interests of the workers. We are prepared to unite with anybody, no matter who they are, on any minimum basis, except of course, that we shall have the right to our independence. On such a basis, we are prepared to participate in this movement. That has always been our position.

This has not always been the position of the ILD as is known to everyone. Quite the contrary, it is a decided departure from the previously known position of the ILD and as such marks a positive step forward. How far the ILD will go in arriving at a correct position on the vital question of the united front remains yet to be seen, and this conference will be a test for the organization. But if it is really prepared to follow a correct position, it will be a decisive force in this movement. If not, if it will continue its previously disastrous line, it will only continue to lose prestige in the eyes of the working class.

The real work of the conference still lies ahead. There are excellent possibilities for the creation of a mass movement that will struggle in the interests of the indicted miners who run the danger of being railroaded to jail or to the electric chair by the allied interests of reaction. The working class of Chicago, as everywhere, must be made acquainted with the Taylorville case. They must be mobilized into action to prevent a deliberate attempt to cut into a movement of militant workers in struggle for their bread and butter. Silence will only help to defeat the miners.

—A. G.

Victory or Defeat in Germany?

Alternatives in the Decisive Class Battles

(We publish herewith a second article on the German situation, written by comrade Arne Swabeck who is at present in Europe, close to the scene of the events which he deals with in his correspondence.—Ed.)

* * * *

The course of the further developments in Germany will decide whether the epoch shall continue and finally secure the proletarian revolution or, whether we shall face an entirely new epoch. This decision, of course, extends far beyond the German borders. And in either case it will spell the beginning of the end to Stalinist domination of the movement.

On the one hand it is now possible to affirm that a victorious German revolution developing out of this juncture could be accomplished only in opposition to Stalinism and in violent collision with its policies. On the other hand it is just as certain that a defeat of the working class in Germany at present and the inauguration of a new and reactionary epoch would also signal the transformation of the revolutionary movement onto a new basis. Although a frightfully narrowed basis of retarded developments, it will nevertheless be one within which there will be no room for the curse of Stalinism.

The Possible Variants

The outcome of this gigantic struggle, that is in which direction the decision will turn, nobody can as yet predict. The Fascists have already gained an enormous advantage while the working class has been kept disarmed and unprepared. But in the process, which this struggle implies, the dialectics of class relations may turn the present proletarian disadvantage into its opposite. Many intervening factors will still have to be reckoned with their effects, however, primarily depending upon the strategy of the revolutionary vanguard. Yet it may be asked, are there no possibilities of a middle course in between these two extreme variants? The answer is that such possibilities are fading away and that they could at this stage only mean a postponement of the final decision. But likely also is a postponement creating new advantages to the proletariat for a decision in its favor.

The lines are now sharply drawn and extremely tense. Hitler proclaim the extermination of Communism and Marxism, not only in Germany but throughout the whole world. Conscious of their present advantage the Fascists in the government are particularly vociferous in declarations that they will not abdicate until they have reached the goal. In reality this means a recognition on their part that the power is not securely in their hands until the working class movement is completely destroyed. In this manner they serve as the most deadly instrument of the reactionary German junkers and big bourgeoisie.

To fully appreciate the serious menace constituted by the Fascists in this role it is important to understand the extent of their social basis within contemporary Germany. The Fascist movement is a plebian movement, composed essentially of the petty bourgeoisie and slum priletariat, but drawing recruits also from the bourgeoisie and from the proletarian masses to a certain extent. It has a large basis in Germany particularly by virtue of the numerous middle class there. Germany has yet a large farm population maintained through decades by protective tariffs imposed by the reactionary junker regimes. While this kept agricultural prices high it also served to maintain the farmers as a social counter-weight against the proletariat, England, by her industrialization, and by virtue of acquiring a large colonial empire could afford to sacrifice her agriculture and drive the peasants into the factories. The German bourgeoisie was not so fortunate. It did not attain such a wide expanse and therefore had to find specific means to create this social counterweight against the proletariat. To an extent that was also accomplished by the development of a large and conservative state bureaucracy. But its lower layers were hit hard by the general pauperization of the post-war crises. And hence it became so much more important at the present juncture to clean out the "unreliable" social democrats from their positions in this bureaucracy.

The German Fascist movement has passed through its evolution of demagogy, socialist in tone and coloring necessary to recruit a mass movement. In the beginning the leaders, who rose from the rank and file, promised to drive out the international bankers and all "foreign", particularly Jewish, exploiters. They promised to break up the landed estates and to rehabilitate the farmers. They promised to restore the middle class property and the losses it suffered during the inflation period. They turned the fire of aroused nationalism against the former enemies across the border, particularly against the Versailles treaty and all that it implied.

Now that the Fascist brigands believe that the maintenance of power is securely within their grasp the direction of their fire has entirely changed. While continuing their demagogy as a coat of arms under which a ruthless working class suppression is carried out, the international bankers and the land owners no longer appear in their vocabulary characterizing the enemy. They now feel that they can move their troops directly against the Communist and working class movement. For that the state powers are put at their disposal. This aim has moved up to the very center of their campaign. The Fascist hordes no longer direct their fire against the Versailles treaty. The annual payments of tribute have practically ended and further readjustments promise no great difficulties. Military equality for Germany can easily be obtained. And more so by virtue of the direction of the Fascist fire which is now turning eastward toward the Soviet Republic. The first intimations are the reports of straining relations between the two governments.

The German Fascists and the German big bourgeoisie know very well that within the working class of the Soviet Union lie the greatest sources of sympathy and support to the German working class movement. Its existence is no doubt clear to them even if they do not discount the present stranglehold of Stalinism paralyzing actual assertion of this sympathy and support. They recognize the world implications of the advance of the Communist movement and hence they hurl their challenge to the Comintern and to the proletarian dictatorship. In their threats to exterminate the Communist movement throughout the world they are already consciously and deliberately forging the spearhead of imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union. This is the double-edged sword by which they aim to accomplish their immediate goal in Germany and simultaneously rally the support of allies of the imperialist powers everywhere for the internaitonal objective.

Touching Reconciliations

The German southern states, recalcitrant to the early Hitler pronounciamentos, have now declared that their unity in the aims against world Communism. French imperialists ,who once greatly feared the Hitler ascension to power, are now completely reconciled to that fact and not at all disturbed. Voices in France indicating rapprochement to Germany are becoming more audible. While the international objective is yet concealed in these voices it undoubtedly is taking form in the minds.

Thus we see today in actual development the enormous danger against which the International Left Opposition a long time ago raised its voice of serious warning.

The events, however, will continue and develop their own inevitable logic. German capitalism today still constitutes the weakest link of the imperialist chain. Its tremendous convulsions lend emphasis to the unevenness of development existing also in the capitalist decay stage. But to the revolutionary proletariat this poses definite strategical problems which the Stalinist regime has completely failed to master. On the one hand it poses the possibility of breaking the weak links in the imperialist chain and the possibility of the proletariat seizing power. In this sense the uneven development of decay becomes a lever favoring the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR. But at the same time it also emphasizes the impossibility of building socialism within one single country, in the USSR which is still subject to the conditions of this very unstable equilibrium of the world market dominated by decay capitalism. These two problems of strategy cannot be separated but must go hand in hand so that a policy of building toward Socialism in the USSR first of all presupposes a policy of preparing the parties, of preparing the working class for the extension of the proletarian revolution by the seizure of power in the weak links of the imperialist chain.

Effects of Stalinist Strategy

The entirely false strategy of the Stalinist Comintern regime has run counter to the dialectics of the developing capitalist contradictions. As a result the proletariat has suffered defeats and become disarmed, despite the objectively favorable situations, and the most murderous reaction has at present gained the upper hand. What enormous crimes! But by this the Stalinist regime has only succeeded in postponing the shocks which will now reverberate with so much more titanic force and sweep it from its position of domination in the movement.

Without entering into discussion of the possibilities and implications of further developments in Germany, and without even excluding in advance the worst variant for the next stage, it is neverless well to remember that the at present attempted counter-revolution will still meet its complications. The economic conjuncture is by no means favorable to its development. The working class is not yet defeated. And it is more important yet to remember that the German working class, though unprepared still possesses great resources within itself. But these can be unfolded fully only when its vanguard has become freed from the curse of Stalinism.

To be continued

—ARNE SWABECK.

Danger in C.I. Turn

(Continued from Page 1)

who disrupt the united front of the workers." (Our emphasis.)

The Pravda comment on this passage repeats that "during the time of these revolutionary actions, that **solely during that time,** the Communists will refrain from 'attacks' against the social democratic organizations."

What "attacks" are meant? Obviously not physical attacks on the social democratic organizations. The only signifience that can be attached to the passage is that inside the united front the Communist International pledges itself to refrain from all **criticism** of the social democracy! The overnight swing from ultra-Leftism to that species of bureaucratic opportunism which characterized the whole course of the Stalin-Bucharin leadership from 1924 to 1928, is positively breath-taking! And therein lies the outstanding danger in the turn of the C. I. It must always be borne in mind that the ultra-Leftism of the Stalinists is itself of a peculiar kind. It is not so much kindred to the extreme radicalism that characterized certain sections of the Comintern in its infancy, as it is the specific trait of an **opportunist** group in Communism which has been frightened into a leap to verbal radicalism by the catastrophic consequences of its own Right wing policy of the day before. The bureaucracy of the Comintern is not ultra-Leftist "per se", but **Centrist,** that is, a petty bourgeois tendency swinging between Marxism and liquidationism. The innately opportunist ultra-Leftist, swinging to the Right in a second spasm of fear, is capable of the wildest plunges in that direction, with consequences no less disastrous for the revolutionary and working class movements. The first distinct signs of that swing are already visible. The Stalinist heroes who yesterday refused to sit down with the "murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg" now knock tearfully at the doors of the "united front" organized by the bloated Jewish bourgeoisie to protest mildly against Hitler's anti-Semitism. These who were too proud yesterday to take the leadership of a united **proletarian** front, today complain pathetically at not being allowed to march at the tail-end of a "united front" of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois frock coats of various religious denominations.

Against this dangerus opportunist trend, an alarm signal must be sounded immediately. The united front for which the Left Opposition fights is the united front of Lenin and Trotsky, and not of Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek, of Tomsky and Purcell, of Pepper and LaFollette, of Kolarov and Raditch. We are for the united front with the social democracy—from top to bottom, in which the social democracy is put to the wall and compelled to act or be discredited in the eyes of the masses, a united front in which, above all, the Communist party retains its independence, its freedom of criticism, of the press, of its ideas—in a word, in which it remains a Communist party and is not liquidated. We are as intransigeantly opposed to the non-aggression pacts proposed by the Stalinists as we are against those proposed by the social democracy. That price for the united front is not only too high but leads directly to disaster.

A Trade Union Balance Sheet In Germany

The failure of the German Communist Party to arouse the working class against Fascism is to a large extent explainable by its false trade union policies. When von Papen put through his coup l'Etat, on July 20th of last year, the party's call for a general strike met little response in the ranks of the workers. Similarly, on the occasion of the apointment of Hitler as Chancellor of the German Reich on January 30, the call of the Communist party for a general strike found all but the most advanced revolutionary workers, as the Hamburg dock workers, staying on their jobs. A revolutionary party which was able to rally over five millions to its parliamentary banner, could get tens or at best several hundred thousands to respond to its extra-parliamentary action, the general strike.

To understand this one must examine the party's trade union policies in the past few years and its relation to the general trade union movement.

The Third Period Policy

At the height of the "third period", when the social democracy and the reformist trade unions were called "social Fascist" and an integral part of the capitalist state apparatus, the German party organized its own trade union center. (It may be remarked that our American party was instructed to do likewise in the same period—the Trade Union Unity League was formed). On November 15 and 16 at Berlin, the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition as a center of Red trade unions and opposition groups in the reformists trade unions (which would try to split off locals for the red unions) was formed. The old policy of the Leftist Communist Labor Party, condemned by the Comintern and Red International of Labor Unions under Lenin and Trotsky of forming the General Labor Union which would try to destroy all reformist unions, withdraw the revolutionary and militant elements from the reformist unions, and organize "pure and simple" revolutionary unions—was revived.

The reformist trade union leaders did not at all dislike this policy. The need for struggling with the militants within the trade unions was obviated. Instead of expulsions being necessary, withdrawal of Communist workers took place. Nevertheless the reformist unions did not have any easy sailing.

The General Federation of Labor, affiliated to the reformist Amsterdam International showed a growth of membership up to January 1st 1930.

End of 1928: 4,866,926
July 1, 1929: 4,942,984
Jan. 1, 1930: 4,948,267

However, with the intensification of the economic crisis in Germany, the growing unemployment and the failure of the reformist unions to struggle for the workers'—jobless and employed—interests, hundred of thousands left the unions. In 1930 over two hundred thousand (233,068) workers quit the unions. In the following year, the unions lost 582,000 workers.

Despite this process, the reformist unions succeeded in maintaining their hold over the employed. The unemployed flocked in large numbers to the Communist party and its auxiliaries; the employed and organized remained under the control of the social democrats.

This is substantiated by an article in the **Communist International** of Feb. 1, 1933: "In the factories the reformist trade unions have not only not become relatively less powerful, but according to many indications their strength has even grown." (Page 69.)

The Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held in September of last year was compelled to record the practical futility of the party trade union course.

Admission of Failure

"In Germany, the red trade unions (metal workers, miners) have failed to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive and have now stagnated." (Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended, page 30.)

But mere admission of shortcomings is hardly sufficient. The policy of small Red trade unions combined with the slogans of "independent leadership", that is, leadership in strikes which in practise is independent of the union organizations and the workers themselves and "united front from below" divorced the revolutionary workers from the mass of organized labor.

Out of 13,129 local branches of the General Federation about 250 are led by Communist and Left wing groups. Even in branches controlled by the party the workers could not be aroused to the calls for "united front from below".

"Thus, in the district of Hessen-Frankfurt, the leaders of a number of local T. U. branches controlled by us refused to issue a call for strikes against Fascist terror because, they maintained, "as organizations affiliated to the All-German Federation of Trade Unions they must await a strike call from the federation.'" **Communist International,** Vol. X, No. 2. February 1, 1933, page 73.)

The same author, one S. Perevosnikov, give some interesting information which throws light on the present sitation.

"At the last Berlin District Conference of the party, it was revealed that about 250 delegates (nearly a quarter of the total) voluntarily quit the unions. At a district conference of the party in Elsnitz ninety-nine of 176 delegates were neither in trade unions nor the trade union opposition. In Saxony, of 4,000 party members, only 250 members of the revolutionary opposition." (Page 74.)

"Altogether, according to the figures of the National Committee of the revolutionary trade union opposition, 34,000 new members joined and 48,000 left the Opposition during the past nine months." (Page 78.)

Are such conditions due to a "wrong application of the correct line"? Hardly. They are the legitimate fruits of the Stalinist policies.

A decisive turn has to be made. The ultimatist slogan of "united front from below under revolutionary leadership" has to be thrown overboard. The several hundred thousand members of the Red trade unions must return, as a group, to the reformist unions and struggle for the workers' economic needs and fight for the revolutionary program of the united front of workers' organizations against Fascism.

Such a change of policy is especially imperative today when according to news reports (New York **Times**—3-13-33) thousands of workers are returning to industry. This lays the basis for broad strike movements. The workers will struggle for the positions lost in the past period; against worsening of economic conditions, wage cuts, etc. At such a time the revolutionary workers functioning militantly within the reformist unions can further the interests, both economic and political, of the entire class, and a cement a unity of the proletariat that can defeat Fascism and go over the struggle for a Soviet Germany.

—JOSEPH CARTER.