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UNITE

THE MILITANT

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LEON TROTSKY

Problems of the Soviet Regime

(The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

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

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

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

1. The Withering of the State

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

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

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

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

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National Youth Day: Fight Against War!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Young Workers, to the Fore!

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

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

Down with imperialist war! Turn the imperialist war into a civil war!

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

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Protest Admission of Hitler Agent on American Soil

HUNDREDS OF WORKERS JEER NAZI ENVOY IN SOLIDARITY WITH GERMAN WORKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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Mooney Acquitted; Evidence Muzzled

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

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

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

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

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

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

Workers Must Unite in Fight on Roosevelt Program

ADMINISTRATION MEASURES MEAN TO FORESTALL MILITANT LABOR STRUGGLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Revolt Gathers Against Machado Regime in Cuba

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

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

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

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Wave of Militant Struggles Sweeps Needle Trades

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the statement made by Reisberg, ILG representative in Philadelphia, it is obvious that the dressmakers forced the International into a struggle. He said: "We're willing to meet the employers more than half way, but since even the arbitration, the traditional American method of settling disputes was rejected, we were left with no alternative but to call a strike."

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

Needle Workers are Asserting Themselves

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

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

NTWIU Vacillating and Stalling

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

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

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

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

L. O. Addresses Party on Elections in Minneapolis

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

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

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

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L. O. & Stalinists in Toronto The Two Faced Policy of the Centrist Bureaucrats

Toronto, Can.—Stalinist forces in Toronto revealed in glaring fashion the confusion into which they have been thrown by recent events when on Friday, May 12th, at Spadina Hall, they attempted systematically to break up a mass meeting on the German situation called by the Toronto Branch of the Left Opposition. The happenings of the evening came as a climax to a period of successful anti-Fascist activity on the part of Opposition forces, and this demonstration of official Stalinist ideological bankruptcy has made a deep impression in Left wing circles.

The meeting was called by the L. O. as an extension of the activities of united front conferences against Fascism, which included both Opposition and Stalinist representatives. Events had already given the former ample opportunity to expose the utter incompetence of the Stalinist leadership. A prime example was the serious suggestion of one of the Stalinist leading lights that the Conference send a delegation to the City Board of Control asking them to protest against Hitlerite atrocities. Again, after the Stalinists had succeeded in keeping comrade Jack MacDonald off the executive of the con-

ference, they were forced to endorse him as its speaker at another meeting.

This cooperation is amazing in view of the fact that the night of the meeting called by the L. O. the party issued a leaflet denouncing the "Trotskyites" in the usual terms of meaningless fury, as disrupters of the solidarity of labor and "allies of Hitler." Why then, as comrade Spector pertinently asked, did they tolerate them at the anti-Fascist conference and elect comrade MacDonald to speak in Queen's Park? The crowning folly of the Stalinists was to sign the leaflet "Left Wing Organizations" which has naturally called forth objections from those bodies not associated with the party which are being dragged into supporting such vile tactics.

The meeting itself opened with an analysis by comrade Spector of the German situation which the audience of five hundred followed attentively. But when, in conclusion, he introduced Jack MacDonald, an organized storm of boosing and interruption broke out. The fact that the disturbance started suddenly and without warning, to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Unemployed Struggle in Youngstown

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

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

It was generally agreed that the basis for this minimum program would be the general points of immediate relief, unemployment insurance and the shorter work week without reduction in weekly pay.

A committee of four, consisting of a delegate from each organization, was selected to draft the appeal, issue it and place it before the various organizations to which it is made. This committee includes a Left Oppositionist.

The attitude and actions of the local Left Oppositionists will be generally determined by the spirit of Engel's letter to Mrs. Wischniewsky on January 27, 1932. He wrote: "I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class."

"EVERY ONE OF US SHOULD BE A MEMBER OF THE YCL OR HIDING OUR OWN ORGANIZATION AND EVEN ORGANIZATION, and I am afraid that if the Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake." Stalinists, take heed! — H. N.

Nat'l Youth Day

On this day, above all, we must not forget the criminal treachery of the socialist misleaders who drove their followers to the last world slaughter for the defense of capitalist fatherlands. For years the social democrats and their youth adjuncts have been mouthing fine phrases against the danger of war. On the foremost occasion to demonstrate the sincerity of their agitation against war, on National Youth Day, the YPSL leaders have sabotaged the united front and are preventing their members from joining the New York parade.

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

Clear the road for the mass united front of the youth in the fight against imperialist war. **Young workers and students: All out on National Youth Day!**

SECOND SHOWING OF RUSSIAN MOVIE

By popular request we are showing the picture of the Russian Revolution again at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, this Saturday evening, May 27, at 8 p. m. sharp. No tickets will be obtainable at the door. Subscription tickets at 35 cents must be obtained in advance.

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

Stalinists and L.O. in Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our comrades of course will demand an explanation at the next meeting of the anti-Fascist conference of this indefensible breach of the united front. Honest elements among the "Left Wing Organizations" who disclaim association with the Stalinists are up in arms never the forging of their approval of this cowardly slander of the L. O. Altogether, the Stalin functionaries are in a very uncomfortable mess.

Their behavior on this occasion constitutes another heavy blow, struck with their own hands, against the waning prestige of their organization. — C. N. K.

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Needle Trades Struggles

Why the Stalinists Have Been Caught Unawares

(Continued from page 1) situation is entirely contradictory to the first. I quote verbatim from the *Freiheit* report on the Plenum, May 16, 1933: "The coming strike must be organized on the basis of a united front between the members of the Industrial Union and the International and the unorganized."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OIL THE MACHINERY!!

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

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

But let no one have the idea that from now on it is all smooth sailing. This is a revolutionary movement, a young one struggling upward against tremendous odds. Let us take an example from our own press. When it is oiled it works fairly well. That is how it is with the movement. It needs lubricants constantly. Money lubricants. Oil the machinery! Help the *Militant*! Take all the financial squeaks and groans out of its machinery! Send all funds without delay to the *Militant* at 126 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

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

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

Revolt in Cuba!

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Muste and Brookwood

A Review of A Type of 'American' Centrim

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

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Anti-Nazi Riot

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

We regard the struggle for Negro rights as symbolized by the Scottsboro case as an inseparable part of the struggle for the complete unity of the working class, and as therefore an integral part of the struggle for the freedom of Tom Mooney. We urge the returning delegates in setting up local Councils of Action to secure the widest possible active support for the defense of the Scottsboro boys.

In addition, we urge the Councils of Action to develop united front support of the outstanding cases today involving workers' and Negroes' rights—the Kentucky miners sentenced to life for organizing a union; the Atlanta prosecutions for organizing unemployed black and white workers; the Centralla IWW prisoners; the Illinois Progressive Miners arrested and prosecuted for union activities; the Tampa Cigar workers; the deportations for working class activity; the 5 Negro share croppers convicted in Alabama; Matthew A.

Schmidt and J. B. McNamara, A. F. of L. organizers serving life sentences in San Quentin, and the Iowa and Michigan farmers prosecuted under the criminal syndicalism laws for organizing resistance to foreclosure.

The Free Tom Mooney Congress calls upon all workers' organizations to be on their guard against all illusions concerning the chances of Tom Mooney, Warren Billings, the Scottsboro boys or any other victims of capitalist class justice, obtaining their liberty through mere dependence upon the courts of law, or to secure their rights through constitutional and legal guarantees alone. They have too often been shown to be the instruments of class persecution.

Mass pressure, not the "justice" of the courts, is responsible for such victories as the working class alone has won. This congress calls upon the masses to enlarge this weapon of mass pressure by quickly establishing the united front of labor for the release of Tom Mooney, Warren Billings and the other victims of capitalist class justice, and for the defense of workers' and Negroes' rights.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Local Councils of Action This Congress calls upon all organizations here represented and upon the individual delegates to

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

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

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

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Letters from Germany Reveal Truth on Conditions in Labor Ranks

The letters published below and hailing directly from different parts of terror-stricken, Fascist Germany, paint, in many instances, a black picture of the conditions of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard.

We quote a short report from No. 10 of the Imprecoor, ("Rundschau") to indicate how even after the catastrophe the bureaucrats continue their work of deception and falsehood.

Who will carry on the work? The Storm Troopers? . . . The entire local group was arrested in Treblin . . . but the Communist local group will continue the work."

Letters from the Rhine and Ruhr Letter from comrade W. in S. The party is smashed here. Most of the units—at least 95 percent—do not meet any more.

elections) and one handbill. Almost the entire district and section leadership has been arrested.

The desertion to the Nazi camp is very great here. I personally know more than twelve men today in the Nazi party who were former functionaries in the Party.

The arrested men are often used to scrape off the (illegal) placards. Those who refuse are tortured and deported.

We are trying to make contacts with party comrades, so as to meet and discuss with them. The party comrades are quite amenable to our criticism.

With the best greetings. —W.

Letter from R. About Our Work

All the party comrades are very sympathetic to our cause. They come to us for advice as the party offers them absolutely nothing.

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

Here is a description of the situation after the burning of the Reichstag: While no one thought of resistance in Berlin, the workers here formed self-defense corps

With best greetings, P. K.

Letter of Comrade Herta from S.

The worst are the deserters. They betray everyone. A crowd of us were arrested in the last few days through the denunciations of former Communists.

Hail Red Flag!

The first number of the monthly organ of the British Left Opposition—Red Flag—has just appeared.

The prisoners are now taken not only to concentration and "forced labor" camps but also to convict prison. Preventive arrests in the convict prison!

The S. D. P. has a miserable attitude. They allow themselves to be beaten and lick the butcher's hand.

With the "Left" Socialists -- from the Top?

The Communist International recently initiated and participated in an international united front against Fascism that even the Stalinist press is silent about.

Heckert 'Explains' the Debacle

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

But Heckert is attacking a platform invented by himself and only attributed to Trotsky underneath, when he says that not even (!) a Welsh proposal such as Trotsky's platform to the C. P. G.!

Fascism has triumphed, the policy of the C. P. G. was correct. Trotsky has criticized this correct policy (which led to the victory of Fascism) and showed how the victory of Fascism could have been prevented.

The Marxist revolutionary Heckert, on the other hand, maintains that the defense of the mass trade unions on the basis of a united front with the social democrats would have been a deviation from Marx and Lenin

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

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

This is frightful! The Stalinists already today consider Austria, France, England as lost to Fascism! They have learned nothing from the German events!

The Stalinist Hypocrites Answer the Roll Call

acted against Fascism. No, they consider the "Fascisation of the social democracy" as inevitable.

In order to prove that the policy of the C.P.G. was correct, that it did not, in contradiction to 1923, rob the proletariat more and more of all ability to act, Heckert is forced to resort to an arsenal of conscience-lies and to the incense of self-deception.

Today the situation is such in Germany, that the workers do not dare to speak aloud in the streets. They do not dare to gather in groups of more than three in their homes.

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

Was the Party Prepared? And Heckert lies when he says that the German Communist Party forewarned against the coming Fascist danger!

No, according to Heckert, it had just begun, freely, "with its own forces," to organize some 300 strikes. Fortunately, he becomes somewhat more concrete in this instance and permits us to probe into these 300 strikes, of which 297 belong to the realm of imagination.

a manifestation of power. In Luebeck, the social democratic Reichstag deputy Dr. Leber was arrested. It resulted in a general strike lasting several hours.

What happened on occasions when Communists were attacked? What happened at the massacre in Eisleben? There, where the real forces of the Stalinists were showed up in full size?

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

"It is clear that no united front can be made with these people (social Fascists). It is clear that our dispute with social Fascism . . . will not be settled at some negotiation table, but on the battlefields of the final struggle and before the revolutionary tribunals of the German Soviet republic.

"Whoever demands today a bloc of the C.P. with the social democratic party helps the social Fascist leaders in the preparation and execution of their betrayal. Their role, like that of the social Fascist leaders, is an immediate Fascist role."

A Few Things to Explain Heckert appears to be unacquainted with his own literature. He only knows that the party several times flew into a frenzy and then quickly, on such a "theoretical basis," proceeded to make united front proposals.

Heckert cites the strikes in Stassfurt, Harburg and Lubek. What happened in Strassfurt? A one-hour protest strike against the shooting of the social democratic mayor, Kastan. The workers were aroused and decided to resist.

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

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

There was a provocateur in the R. F. B. (Red Front League.) I am giving you his name and you must warn against him in your bulletins.

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

Now, on the state of mind of the petty bourgeoisie. The small shopkeepers complain about the cancelled orders following the anti-Jewish policy. The people say that they should not have acted thus against the Jews, they should not have closed their establishments.

But some excellent elements of the party have joined us or are in the major part agreeing with our view. Some have struggled with the party on questions of the utility and even harmfulness of the establishment of "Anti-Imperialistic League" running parallel with the party or YCL on the one hand, and the Anti-Japanese Mass Conventions on the other.

Labor Writhes Under Nazi Whip

(Continued from the last issue) The factory councils are now compelled to beat a hasty retreat, in many places already passing into oblivion set aside by the Fascists.

The Fascists and the Trade Unions

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

Their answer is leaflets, in which they plead with the workers to stay at home and not to resist. "Congregating at the headquarters," said the Berlin leadership, "will be taken advantage by the Communists. What do they seek at our headquarters?"

Thus the road is cleared for the Nazis. They pursue their destruction so far unimpeded. Perhaps the clearest indication of how they proceed by stages to destroy the present union basis and to transfer the unions into pure organs of the Fascist state is given by the Bavarian government appointed by police commissioner von Epp.

The Fascist and the workers organizations are the two opposite poles, mutually exclusive. Within the latter the trade unions form the great reserve. Even these the Fascists cannot tolerate as they will always offer a basis for struggle against capitalism, including the mere struggle for reform demands.

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

The Fatal Policy of the R.G.O. In this work of destruction, the Nazis are proceeding quite unhampered as far as the militant minority is concerned. It is practically entirely outside of the trade unions, not merely by persecution or default but by deliberate and particularly now proven—false policy.

Trade unions to be effective must embrace all workers of the industries or at least a sufficiently decisive section. That will include workers of varying political opinions. The R.G.O., a rival union, based upon withdrawal of the revolutionary minority and based upon acceptance in advance of party policies and leadership, remained a paper organization playing no serious role at all in the class struggle.

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

Left Opposition Overcomes Obstacle Strengthens Organization in China

Peiping, China. Since our last letter, although there was not any broad mass movement in China, yet important things have been going on within the party and the Left Opposition.

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

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

We are concentrating our work in the three important movements: The German Revolution, the Anti-Japanese Imperialism movement, and the national assembly question which was "hotly" brought out by the bourgeoisie recently.

Labor Writhes Under Nazi Whip

any party is to gain influence upon the working masses and particularly those organized in the trade unions. The R.G.O. became precisely the most formidable obstacle to this basic aim.

A fatal injury to the movement is the record of this R.G.O. policy. Its consequence contributed heavily to the party's impotence in face of the Nazi advance, to its being wiped out without a struggle and to the defeat of the working class as a whole.

That is still, despite all the positions lost, an imperative necessity. It does not diminish with the transformation of the trade unions into organs of the Fascist state. On the contrary, it increases in importance.

All political activities are prohibited, the unions are not to hold any public meetings and regular membership meetings to be held only upon notification given to the police.

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

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— ARNE SWABECK (Continued in next issue)

Problems of the Soviet Regime

(Continued from page 1)
The problem will become more concrete when we take into consideration the basic changes in the class structure for the period of the revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat as an organization for the suppression of exploiters was necessary against landlords, capitalists, generals and kulaks insofar as they gave support to the higher possessing strata. Exploiters cannot be drawn to the side of socialism. Their resistance had to be broken, no matter at what cost. The years of civil war marked the greatest exercise of the power of the dictatorship by the proletariat.

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

2. Political Regime of the Dictatorship and its Social Foundations
On January 30, 1933, Pravda wrote: "the second five-year plan will liquidate the last remains of capitalist elements in our economic life." It is clearly evident that from the standpoint of this official perspective the state should have withered away completely during the second five-year plan, since where the "last remnants" (!) of class inequality are liquidated, there is no room for the state.
In reality however we witness processes of a diametrically opposite character. The Stalinists do not dare to assert that the dictatorship of the proletariat has assumed more democratic forms in recent years, but on the contrary, try tirelessly to prove the inevitability of a further sharpening of state coercion. Reality itself, however, is more important than all the perspectives and prognoses.
If we should estimate Soviet reality through the lens of the political regime—such an estimate, although insufficient, is absolutely justifiable and extremely important—we should get not only a gloomy picture but an outright ominous one. The Soviets have lost the last remnants of independent significance and ceased being Soviets. The party does not exist. Under the cover of the struggle with the Right deviation, the trade-unions are completely crushed. The problem of the degeneration and stifling of the party and the Soviets has been discussed many times. Here we find it necessary to take up in a few lines the fate of the trade-union organizations during the period of the Soviet dictatorship.

The relative independence of the trade-unions is a necessary and important corrective in the system of the Soviet state which finds itself under the pressure of the peasantry and bureaucracy. Until the classes are liquidated, the workers must defend themselves, even in a workers' state, through their trade-union organizations. In other words: the trade unions remain trade unions while the state remains a state, that is, an instrument of coercion. The "stagnation" of the trade-unions can only go parallel with the "destatization" of the state itself. This means: to the extent that the liquidation of classes deprives the state of its functions of coercion, dissolving it in society, the trade-unions lose their special class tasks and dissolve themselves in the "withering away" state.
This dialectic of the dictatorship, imprinted in the program of the Bolshevik party, is recognized in words also by the Stalinists. But the actual relations between the trade-unions and the state develop in a diametrically opposite direction. The state not only does not wither away (despite the heralded liquidation of classes), not only does not moderate its methods (despite the economic successes), but on the contrary becomes ever more openly the instrument of bureaucratic coercion. At the same time, the trade-unions transformed into offices of functionaries, have completely lost the possibility of fulfilling the role of buffers between the state apparatus and the proletariat masses. Worse than that: the apparatus of the trade-unions themselves has become the weapon of an ever-growing pressure on the workers.

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

(Degeneration of Theory; Theory of Degeneration)

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

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

(Continued from Page 2)

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

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

1. The establishment of a National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues with city, county, sectional and state federations to coordinate them into one national organization. These organizations to retain their organizational independence, but to coordinate their organizations, through the Federation, in struggle against unemployment upon the basis of the immediate demands confronting our class.
 2. The conference went on record favoring the establishment of the closest relationship with the EMPLOYED through their trade unions, industrial unions, and all other working class organizations.
 3. The conference went on record favoring the perspective of the establishment of one national unemployed organization, in which there would be no discrimination against race, color, creed or political beliefs.
 4. The conference adopted its position on united action of the unemployed workers and defined it as: the united action of organizations, around immediate demands, in struggle, where each organization retains its organizational independence, refrains from slander and personal attacks against each other, with the right of minority expression and political criticism; where no organization of the unemployed will be excluded and where continued effort will be made to draw in any organization that does not unite in action for our immediate demands.
- The conference ended by electing a national committee of 15, with headquarters in Chicago, that is instructed to carry out the program, policy, resolutions and constitution adopted by an overwhelming ma-

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

Resolution

Our old perspective on the reform movement for the inner regime of the Soviet Republic remains that the intensification of pressure from outside can lead to the bureaucratization of the Soviet system only to the extent that it is coupled with the growth of inner contradictions. Under conditions in which the workers must be squeezed between the vise of the passport system and the peasantry between the vise of political departments, the pressure from without must inevitably weaken the inner ties ever more. And vice-versa, the growth of contradictions between town and country must incontrovertibly sharpen the danger from the outside capitalist governments. The combination of these two factors pushes the bureaucracy along the road of ever greater concessions to the external pressure and ever greater repressions against the working masses of their own country.

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

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

(Signed)
Tom Dixon, Chairman
Leach, Secretary

Discussion on Tasks in Germany

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

Resolution

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SUB DRIVE

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

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

Resolution of the N.C. of the German Opposition

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

L. O. Addresses Official Party on Stand in Minn. Elections

By correct action and leadership the Communist party gains the confidence of ever more workers, educates them in struggle against capitalism, unites their scattered forces and leads them in daily struggles, always keeping before the workers the perspectives of a social revolution. How did the Communist party fare in this election? While receiving more votes than in the last election (1931), the vote for Mayor was about 50 percent less than the vote in the city elections of 1929. The figures were all low. During the same period Farmer-Labor reformism was growing by leaps and bounds among the workers.

The Communist party is the only political party that is interested and that can clear up the prevailing confusion among the workers about politics. But instead of doing this, it adds to the confusion by wrong tactics. When the Communist party entered the elections under the false name, **United Front Workers Ticket** it used the same cheap political practices as the corrupt bosses' parties. It prevented the C.P. from teaching the workers to identify candidates with a Party, a Program and Principles. True, this maneuver of a **United Workers Ticket** was to allow the well-known, politically unreliable Walter Frank to enter the elections on a common program with the Communist candidates. But this is rank opportunism. The party was forced to break with Frank or else be partners in a political crime against the working class along with Frank. Rather than call a spade a spade and openly admit the error, the Communist party leaders tried to cover up the traces. In doing so, they did untold damage to Communism. Aside from other things their actions pushed scores of the best workers coming toward the Party back into the political confusion that Frank represents.

Therefore the Communist League (Left Opposition), a faction of Communism, takes this form, an Open Letter, to address the Official Party upon certain vital questions of policy in the coming city elections, June 12.

I. The party must come out in this campaign under its own name, put up a **Sticker Candidate** for Mayor, print stickers and get into

Resolution of the N. C. of the German Opposition

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Fight Roosevelt Program

(Continued from Page 1)
Communists must expose these maneuvers, place in the foreground the independent demands of the working class, and build the organizational machinery for enforcing these demands which is possible only on the basis of the Leninist united front of all working-class organizations.

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

Even such slight signs of economic recovery as are now visible (steel production up to 38 percent of capacity, the highest in two years; employment in New York State in April up 1.0 percent in March, and payrolls because of longer hours, up 4.5 percent) amply warrant a nation-wide effort for genuine unemployment insurance to be administered by the workers, as an immediate demand. The increased profits which would follow any kind of improvement, even if limited and temporary, must be immediately claimed by the workers on whose backs the burdens of the crisis have been piled.

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

Leon Trotsky

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