CENT

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PRICE 1 CENT

No Retreat! Struggle or Annihilation!

a new blow dealt the German working class movement by the Hitler Liebknecht House. New decrees Germany; the fate of the Soviet Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesparatus.

Suppressed and the Fascist Swassuppressed and the Fascist the age of six has put the slightest burg, erstwhile presidential candilism in Germany and the workers' provide \$50,000,000 in new credits ence is being manifested by the be. The "Once More" in the Frei ders are being passed by an incredence in the Fascist charge that the Communists set fire to the Communists set fire to the Reichstag building. The American ties against revolutionary or mili
The American to the Social Democracy, prospectively and irrection of the Social Democracy prospectively and irrection of the Social Demo bourgeois press has, almost unani- tant working class activity. mously openly expressed its skepticism. "France" the Paris corre-spondent of the New York Times ing by today's press, even seems world imperialism ordered an indistinctly inclined to blame the solent raid upon the suburban BerNazis themselves for the fire that lin school for the children of Sodistinctly inclined to blame the solent raid upon the suburban Ber- of the Soviet Union were not concerned ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and it is the murderous Fascular with what government was established in Germany—means little ist terror. The headline given to sound better At bottom, there has euse on Herr Hitler's part to crush zens' boarding house, from which the Opposition just before the elec- two employees of the Soviet trade London Times to the Laborite Herald, the British press is similarly ters of the Berlin correspondent of unambiguous about the despicable the central Soviet organ, Izvestia.

charge seriously, it has sufficed the troopers. Nazis to launch their reign of termunists held, 120 in raids for the apprehension of Communist militants and officials are now the order of the day. The Communist per of the day of the day. The Communist per of the day of the day. The Communist per of the day of the day of the day. The Communist per of the day of the day of the day of the day of the day. The Communist per of the day of t

regime No half-sane person above signed by "comrade" von Hinden-

ror and to extend it more widely with the foreign minister with the passage of every day. The with the passage of every day. The Times reports that "Communist arrests included the entire executive committee of the party in Berlin and Reichstag deputies ror and to extend it more widely posited with the foreign minister Union wants,' it is beyond question many that the Soviet Union would executives elsewhere. In Berlin and side to this question upon the past five years—namely, an preparation for treacherous nation—set into motion by an open propost theory that it is hopeless to fight, out of their criminal pussivity. They must be shed.

The definant in definition of fully conscious out of their criminal pussivity. They must be forced to put an end the shed.

They must be forced to the fate of the all to the soon collapse or that Fascism will soon collapse or that Fascism will soon collapse or that Fascism will soon collapse or a 'holy war against the Red German and world proletariat in the general, but of the propost theory that it is hopeless to fight, out of their criminal pussivity. They must be forced to put an end the shed.

They must be forced to put an end the shed.

They must be forced to put an end the shed.

could be done only by one who be

lieves in the possibility of a plan-

solved in advanced countries; (b)

in an epoch in which the division

of labor between the states of the

whole world has become the most

important postulate of the nation-

Bureaucratic Centrism

ist faction with the blame for the

obective difficities, but for its lack

of understanding of the nature of

these difficulties, of inability to

foresee the dialectic of their de-

velopment and unintermitent mis-

takes of leadership springing there-

(Continued on Page 2)

ope, this writing took on the sig-

situations; two palpably different

Now, it can no longer be a ques-

We do not charge the Stalin-

al productive forces

Every day brings the report of suppressed and the Fascist swas-significance. The world movement greater practical interest is the re-authoritative backstairs spokesmen, that what was counter-revolution-, well—and the newspaper reports

Union is involved. Between Fasc- ellschaft and the Dresdner Bank to While this unbelievable indiffer- situation is not as clear as it should the Austrian and Scandinavian bor-

by force of arms This antagon- Hitler, right at the moment when The Daily Worker (3-2-1933) prints ocratic party and the trade uning their hides, a revolutionist can In addition, the Hitler regime has struck the first overt blow at the Soviet Union. The man who aims to the workers of the wor Soviet Union. The man who aims to the workers of the world so the next decade or more of the and sees in it simply a crude ex- seized; a raid upon a Soviet citi- the contrary. Walter Duranty, the short of leaving the German pro-Moscow correspondent of the New letariat to fend for himself, leav-York Times now in Berlin, cables ing it in the lurch, without the From the conservative delegation were arrested and later released; and a raid upon the quar-British press is similarly ters of the Berlin correspondent of the central Soviet organ, Izvestia, about the despicable released. Soviet organ, Izvestia, raity lurns once the conservative delegation were arrested and later his paper as follows (3-2-1933):

"While it doubtless would be an material assistance of the workers' ters of the Berlin correspondent of the central Soviet organ, Izvestia, raity lurns once delegation were arrested and later released; and a raid upon the quar-term assistance of the workers' ters of the Berlin correspondent of the central Soviet organ, Izvestia, raity lurns once the conservative moral—and when necessary—the More to the Social Democratic and up to now still demoralized passive passports for you. Should Fascism and divided, unite their forces, the doubtledly mark a turn in the function, without the conservative moral—and when necessary—the moral—and when necessary—the delegation were arrested and later released; and a raid upon the quar-term assistance of the workers' the come to power, it will ride over the country in the central Soviet organ, Izvestia, raity lurns once the conservative moral—and when necessary—the delegation were arrested and later released; and a raid upon the quar-released; and a raid upon the fraud of the Austrian adventurer. Which was carried out not by the But while nobody takes the police but by armed Nazi storm a Hitlerite Germany because the the Izvestia, took occasion in conour bitter experiences in the past mains unaware of the program of Soviet Union knows that would be nection with a speech by Foreign cause us to voice our reservations action of the Communist party. But the protest immediately de- a strong Germany, which the Soviet Commissar Litvinov to assure Ger- in advance.

this story by the Freiheit is even "plainer". "Central Committee of the Communist Party Turns Once the Communist Party Turns Once perative now. Unless the workers for any place; there are not enough our bitter experiences in the past mains unaware of the program of fighting unity with the social dem-

We put the question again: Does Up to yesterday, the Molotovs, the Communist party and its lead- you have very little time left!"

merciless struggie. And only a ocratic workers can bring victory.

Make haste, worker-Communists,

LEON TROTSKY

"Soviet Economy in Danger"

dressed to the editorial board of the "Sozialistische Arbeiterzeithe "Sozialistische Arbeiterzeithe responsibility for all the diffitung" (central organ of the Ger-Socialist Workers Party. After the press of the S. W. P. reprinted the deliberate falsification of the Stalinist bureaucracy about the "liquidation of the Trotskyists", comrade Trotsky main difficulties for the U.S.S.R. was obliged to refrain from sending the letter. As the letter arise out of: (a) the economic and nevertheless retains its importcultural backwardness which forces ance, we publish it here.—Ed.)

Dear comrades:

per, January 11 and 12, there appeared an article on my brochure "Soviet Economy in Danger". As it deals with an extremely important question, about which every revolutionary worker must form a clear opinion, if not today then tomorrow, I request you to afford me the possibility to elucidate to your readers by the present letter, in the shortest possible terms, those sides of the question which in my opinion were submitted to a false interpretation in your paper.

1. In the article it says a number of times that you are "not in agreement with everything" and far from agreeing with every thing" in Trotsky's conceptions on Soviet economy. Differences of opinion between us are all the more natural as we belong to different organizations. Nevertheless I can not suppress my regret that-with one single exception, dealt with below-you did not indicate which conceptions you are not in agree ment with. Let us recall how Marx, Engels and Lenin censured and condemned evasiveness in fundamental questions, which finds expression Party of the Soviet Union, on the tionary energy. Even though mostly in the empty formula "far counter-revolution in Central Eur- the multifold treacheries of the sofrom agreeing with everything". What every revolutionary worker can demand of his organization and nificance for the most conscious of his paper is a definite and clear proletarians as that of Lenin on attitude towards the questions of October 7, 1917: "The Impending man proletariat preserves a capacsocialist construction in the U. S. Crisis". Two undoubtedly different

2. In only one point does your epochs. In 1917 it was the eve of to triumph of the Hitler regime and article endeavor to delimit itself the proletarian revolution; in 1931, more concretely from my concepthe eve of the Fascist counter-rev-But this possibility depends upon tions. "We believe", you write, olution in Germany. But in the the policy of the Communist Party "that Trotsky considers matters first warning as in the second, in somewhat onesidedly when he Lenin's of 1917 as in Trotsky's of ternational. ascribes the main blame for these 1931, in spite of the difference beconditions to the Stalinist bureau- tween the two epochs, one encountcracy" (!)....Further on the ar- ers the same revolutionary and inticle sets out that the main blame ternationalist spirit, the same clairdoes not lie in the bureaucracy but voyance, the same strength. in the circumstance that tasks of too great dimensions are put be- tion of foreseeing; now it is a quesfore economy, for the fulfillment of tion of seeing. Hitler is in power. which the necessary qualified forces And how the task of leading his are lacking. But who was it that open struggle for the crushing of the terrible balance of this last imperialism. set up these exaggerated tasks if the organizations, of all the organidecade. But in its silence, not the bureaucracy? And who was it that warned in proper time been facilitated for him! The against their exaggerated dimenbattle which the social democrats

against their exaggerated dimenbattle which the social democrats

Challed a class has been facilitated for him! The battle which the social democrats march of the Hitlerist troops, it is on accord in view. For Stimson resions if not the Left Opposition? and the Stalinists thought could only marching to ruin, drawing in fuses to be solidly linked with Thus it results that precisely your be evaded by submission and docilits train the ruin of the German Geneva and while agreeing blandly article "ascribes" the whole blame ity is at the present time inevit-to the bureaucracy.

We are reliably informed from the U. S. S. R.: Your reproach to me is wrong In the course of the month of culties and for all the phenomena of crisis upon the ruling faction,

Comintern and World Revolution at

Decisive Historical Turning Point

When comrade Trotsky, in his hilation without the struggle-an

writing "Germany: The Key to the eventuality which only traitors to

International Situation", issued the the cause of the proletariat can

International, to the Communist from having exhausted its revolu-

danger of Hitler, of the Fascist has been enormously weakened by

urgent warning to the proletarians of all countries, to the Communist

The German proletarians

January, a large number of ar-rests were made in Moscow and Leningrad. In addition to Preobrazhensky, L. N. Smirnow, Ufimtsev, more than one hundred former Left Oppositionists were ned development of the socialist society within national boundaries. But this is not my standpoint. The apprehended. They were accused of carring on illegal "Trotskyist" factional work. It will be remembered that almost four years ago. some of those named above renounced the Opposition and capi the Soviet state to solve many of tulated to the Stalinist regime, the tasks which capitalism has claiming that it had adopted most if not all of the planks in the Opposition platform. The arrest of those who previously capitulated, following as it does right on the heels of the arrest and exile of Zinoviev, Kamenev and many others, is a fact of the greatest symptomatic signific-

> In the huge Moscow automobile plant "Amo", approximately one hundred workers were arrested, because an Opposition leastet had been distributed there. The same occured in other plants and factories. Similar reports emanate from Leningrad.

The German proletariat is far

cial democratic leader's and the

constantly increasing blunders of

the Stalinist leaderships, the Ger-

ity and a possibility of struggle

still susceptible to barring the road

of rendering it finally impossible.

A Turning Point

(Continued on Page 2)

"Trotskyists" Hits U.S.S.R.

LEAGUE PRICE FOR SUPPORT OF JAPAN IS ASSAULT ON FATHERLAND OF WORKERS

With laudable thoughtfulness, the Japanese imperialists lay their plans in advance and then follow heir schedule carefully. Many moons ago, a Japanese "surveyor", engaged in political surveying in Iner Mongolia for the followers of Baron Tanaka, discovered an obscure prince, the "direct descendant of the great Genghis Klan". This Mongolian prince could never dreamed how fortunate was his fateful meeting with the awe-struck Jap. For lo and behold, the press already hints at the Japanese de sire to restore this scion to his rightful place at the head of a new Mongolian state to be called Tayu Thus the Japanese militarists

continue to build a foundation for the ultimate struggle with the So viet Union. Inner Mongolia will follow the road of Manchuria and Jehol, possibly after the conques of North China. If the powers continue to jockey for position in the present situation, each hoping to reap the benefits while the other pays the piper; if there is no real her march into China, it is because course America and England are careful to establish the record that will be relied upon in the more distant future to solve their internal conflicts. But as yet, that is

merely a record. Russia and Japan

What is the order in which capitalist powers place their enemies? Read the careful, restrained press accounts of the Japanese advance into Asia, note the gentlemanly manner ir which reference is made to their astute campaigning. Then recall the violent, almost insane. attacks made periodically in the decade after the October revolution on the Soviets and their leaders. The vituperation carried on Hitler against the German Communists is tame compared to the vicious campaign of slander recorded in the capitalist press of the entire world against the Rus-OPEN FORUM We have undeniable arrived at a sian Bolsheviks. In the light of turning point of the international that experience, one can easily revolution. This truth should not pigeon-hole the present quarrel with BONAPARTISM & THERMIDOR. be concealed from oneself nor from Japan as a family affair. Despite the proletariat of all countries. The all the failures and blunders of

contrary, is silent; it remains mute still remain the nightmare of capout of fear of being forced to draw italism, spelling the twilight of (Continued on Page 2)

Saturday

The Unemployed Councils of Greater N. Y. have issued a call for a demonstration on Saturday, March 4 at 11 A. M. on Union Square. This demonstration is timed with the inauguration of Roosevelt which takes place in Washington on the same day.

The Left Opposition endorses the demonstration on Union Square and will be there in full force. The demands of the demonstration, however, can and must be broadened to include the demand for long-term credits to the Soviets and to draw attention to the German crisis.

The demonstration meets at a crucial moment for the working class of the entire world. While the unemployed are dying of starvation in this country the bloody Fascist regime of Hitler in Germany is murdering the flower of the revolutionary proletariat and destroying their organization. All out on Union Square on

March 4th! For Unemployment Insurance and Relief!

For Recognition and Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union! For the United Front to crush the Hitler Gangs!

Arrest Soviet | Jap Advance To Union Sq. on Roosevelt Regime Reopens Question of Russ Soviets

SITUATION OVER-RIPE FOR AMERICAN MILITANTS TO RAISE DEMAND FOR LONG-TERM CREDITS TO SOVIET UNION AS PART OF INTERNATIONALIST CAMPAIGN

more favorable to recognition than not those of the American capitalit is even rumored that preliminary conversations between Soviet and American representatives have already begun.

If the attitude of the new administration is more friendly, it is not primarily because of "liberalism" of the party of Jef-ferson and Wilson; it is rather nomic crisis in the United States tical crisis in Manchuria on the other.

recognition is being treated on the

Tomorrow, Roosevelt will be in basis of the interests of the Soviet augurated as president of the Uni- state and those of the bourgeois ted States. One of the first ques- American state. The voice of the tions which he will have to decide proletariat of America, whose class will be whether or not to recognize interests are indissolubly connect-Soviet Russia. Bourgeois and lib ed with those of the Soviet workeral papers have been hinting for ers' state, has not made itself some time that the attitude of the heard so far, with its own distinctive administration will be much tive slogans and demands which are

Soviet Economy in Critical State Yet Soviet economy is in a critical state, which have been fully analyzed by comrade Rakovsky in his famous letter from Barnaul and by comrade Trotsky in his recent brochure, "Soviet Economy in Danger". The utopian theory of Socialism in one country, of an unbecause of the pressure of the eco- interruptedly developing socialism in a backward country going on on the one hand, and of the poli- from triumph to triumph in an ever faster tempo, has been refuted by the facts. Increasingly In other words, the question of sharp internal contradictions and disproportions, the failure of such

important branches of industry as coal and steel to meet the planned all, the serious food shortage these and a host of similar facts Soviet Union today. The weakening of the bond between workers and peasants, the concessions to "private initiative", and the growing danger of Thermidorian reac-

The basis of the crisis in the laying a socialist basis in one land and a backward one at that. This necessity is faisely idealized in the revisionist theory of "socialism in ing those carried over from Czarist days such as the contradiction between a highly concentrated industry and a primitive agriculture. In the third place, the world crisis, which according to the Stalinist bureaucrats could be kept out of Soviet Russia through the State monopoly of foreign trade and foreign banking, has swept over the boundary lines and convincingly proved that, whether it likes it or not, the Soviet Union is indissolubly bound up with the world situation economically as well as politically.

Soviet Trade "Strictly Business" The methods of Stalinist bureauand servile atempts to ingratiate reduced the role of Communist

(Continued on Page 2)

pays the piper; if there is no real pressure applied to Japan to halt Anti-United Front Policy Plays Into coal and steel to meet the planned figures, and, most dangerous of they expect Japan to pay the price, Hands of Socialist Party Bureaucrats these and a host of similar facts characterize the situation in the

The conference on unemployment | brothers of the Lewises, Schlesingheld under the auspices of the ers, Kaufmans and their ilk in the "Labor Committee" of the Social- labor movement, revealed at this ist party of New York last week, conference how seriously are to be tion, have their basis in this ecooffers a number of aspects deserv- taken their piously hypocritical nomic situation. ing of examination.

ist gangsters upon the Left wing methods of "democracy". delegates who came to present their credentials, the atmosphere of terrorism which pervaded the whole against the splitting of the labor tionalism during and after the war. The socialist patrons, allies and

IN THE SOVIET UNION

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, March 3, 1933 126 East 16th Street, ADMISSION: 15c N. Y. Br. Communist League of

America (Opposition)

protestations against violence and The brutal attacks of the social- their preachments of the pacific Soviet Union is the necessity of Socialist "United Fronts"

The fervid claims that they are session, are a natural accompaniment of Socialist bureaucratism—weapons borrowed from the class in the conference. The united front is adventuristic as well as its opportunistic methods, has aggravenemy and first introduced by the of the socialist bureaucracy is portunistic methods, has aggravenish directed against the Left wing, distings of Soviet according to the days when the Left wing, in the days when the Left wing which they fear and hate, from dictions of Soviet economy, includfirst raised the banner of interna- whose militancy and boldness in putting all questons from the class standpoint, they recoil right into the arms of the worst reactionaries in the labor movement or into the embraces of the petty bourgeois politicians. Confronted with the choice between the "united front" with Wm. Green and his kin and the united front with the Communist International, on the the Stalin bureaucracy, the Soviets DOES THE DANGER THREATEN? Left wing and Communist movement, the socialist bureaucrats will always choose the former-unless the Communists are able to arouse the socialist rank and file to force their party and their party leadership to a reluctant choice of the latter. Confronted with a choice between relying upon treacherous cracy operating on the basis of

(Continued on Page 2)

Brownsville Labor Lyceum SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M. 219 SACKMAN ST., Bklyn N. Y. Between Glenmore & Liberty Aves.

ADMISSION 15 Cents

BROWNSVILLE MASS MEETING «The CRISIS

MAX SHACHTMAN Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Trotsky Replies to S.W.P. Editors On Opposition's View of Soviet Economy

from. We are far from the idea, naturally, of explaining this "lack proved the year before as the minof understanding" and this "inability" by the personal qualities of the individual leaders. It is a question of the system of thinking, of the political tendency, of the factions which have grown out of old Bolshevism. We observe one and the same methodology in the economic leadership of Stalin as in the political leadership of Thaelmann. One cannot fight successfully against the zigzags of Thaelmann without having understood that it is a question not of Thaelmann but of the nature of bureaucratic Centrism.

4. Elsewhere your article calls to mind that the Left Opposition, especially and primarily Rakovsky, proletariat. "For", as Lenin said, warned against the over-stretched tempos of construction in good time. But right next to this you write of allegedly analogous warnings of Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky. Your article refers twice to the perspicacity of the latter with- in Germany would have, that is, out recalling with a single word the consequences of the crushing the irreconcilable antagonisms between the Right and the Left Opposition. I deem it all the more necessary to clarify this point be- future of the international workers' cause it is precisely the Stalin faction which recoils from no attempt of Lenin in 1917 are terribly timeto cover up or to wipe out the deep ly. The same historical problem is antagonisms between the opportunion posed today as in 1917. In 1917. camp of Bolshevism.

Since 1922, the Left Opposition, as that time, we proved that the tempo of the development of the of Russian capitalism (6 percent annual increase) "two—, three—, and more fold." Our opponents called this program nothing but an industrial phantasy. If Bucharin, Tomsky, Rykov distinguished themselves in any respect from Stalin-Molotov, it was only in the fact that they fought even more resolutely against our "super-industrialism". The struggle against "Trotskyism" was theoretically nurtured almost exclusively by Bucharin. His criticism of "Trotskyism" later on also served as the platform of the Right wing. **Bucharin's Stand**

In the course of a series of years Bucharin was, to employ his own S. S. R. expression, the preacher of "tor toise-pace" industrialization. he remained, at that time, when the Left Opposition demanded going over to the five year plan and to higher tempos of industrialization (in 1923-1928) as well as in the years of the ultra-Left zigzags of the Stalinists, when the Left Opposition warned against the transformation of the five year plan into tion in 1930-1932). From Bucharin's mouth spoke not the dialectical

with the criticism of Rakovsky, is ers will return, or the road will be perceptible from the following cir- taken to that which is demanded cumstance: In the same days that by the modern epoch, the road to your paper called attention to the the Soviet Unted States of Europe. apparent perspicacity of Bucharin in the past, Bucharin himself cate- problem of the "permanent revolugorically and completely renounced tion". The truth of Marx that no all his former criticism at the truce, no respite is possible for the Plenum of the Central Committee, forces of the revolution (for the and all his former prognoses, as working class), "before it has dething.

Danger", a turn-about-face took revolution of 1918, is today driven of the Communist League of Amerwhich throws a bright light upon tion, by arming the discontented dor'se this campaign and to open a all the prognoses of the various class with the aim of extorting factions. The story of the turn- from it the last concessions, in about-face-in two words-is the order to preserve its profits at the greatest of difficulties and the fund is, the Left wing delegates should

P. S. U. approved in January 1932 ing people. the principles of the second five year plan. The tempo of growth of industry was established at ap- (bourgeois and proletarian). Their friends and sympathizers with the Had the Left wing adopted our proximately 25 percent, with Stalin material interests, their needs, de- Marxian wing of the German rev- proposal, and at the same time cardeclaring at the conference that mand a mortal struggle; one of olution. Despite the financial dif-ried on an agitation among the this is only the minimum limit, the two must triumph; the other ficulties we are ourselves experiencand that in the working out of must succumb"—there, according to ing at the present moment, we the ranks for this united front the plan this percentage must and Marx, is the "only entente that can gladly and enthusiastically appeal offer, it would not only have strenwill be raised

The Second Plan

fruit of bureaucratic adventurism. ary period opened up by the viccused of striving for the counter- 1917. Not a doubt that Hitler in toto immediately to their prorevolution, for the intervention of seeks to gain for German imperial per destination. Moneys sent should Japan and for the capitalist if not ism the favors and the concessions therefore be designated for this the feudal restoration.

Committee Stalin brought forward of the Russian Commune. Is all 126 East 16th Street, New York, ist conference with the ultimatis a new project for the second five

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail

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(Continued from Page 1) | year plan. But not a single word zigzag contains no guarantees at the Soviet Union did he mention of the tempos ap- all for the future.

quences of its own economic adventurism. That's just what we accuse it of. And that's just why Another «Friend» of we think that its new emergency

of Marxian foresight but behind-handedly, after its head had col-lided against the disastrous conse-

proved the year before as the minimum. Nobody decided to remind inctions in the three conceptions ary 11, another "Friend of the So-tributed among those present. Stalin calculates upon engendering even fleetingly within the limits of Engineers Auditorium. a Japanese intervention and the a letter to the editorial board. In restoration of capitalism. But we the course of the next few weeks and rosy-pink picture of the state draw the conclusion that the bu- I hope to issue a new brochure on of affairs in the Soviet Union unreaucracy arrived at a moderation of the tempos not on the grounds Prinkipo, January 26, 1933.

The C. I. At a Turning Point

(Continued from Page 1) "internationlaism does not consist

Now, no illusion is possible on international consequences which the final victory of Hitler of the German proletariat.

"The whole future of the Russian revolution is at stake. The whole revolution is at stake." These words ist and the Marxian wings in the in Russia, it was a question of camp of Bolshevism. peasant insurrection, which would iat." more correctly its future staff, con- have sounded the "knell of the revducted a campaign for the working olution" and have signified "the out of a five year plan, the axis of which were to be the inducted. of which was to be the industrialization of the country. As far back olution, the first fortress of the astrophe, to deal with this crisis "world-wide proletarian revolu- which is striking at the heart of tion" was being saved. At the world Communism-is a decisive nationalized industry could, in the present moment, it is the victory of turn on the part of the Communist very next years, exceed the tempo the Fascist counter-revolution in International, with the recall, at Germany which puts "the whole this moment so heavy with responding and the meeting was ended.

After the meeting, however, numer-subject of the international work-sibility and danger, to the posts of ers' revolution" at stake. This struggle and of leadership which fact alone proves how pernicious rightfully belong to them of all theory of "socialism in a single country", which has reduced proletarian internationalism to abstract declarations of solidarity; theory which has weakened atomtheory which has weakened, atomized, disarmed the working class in rade Rakovsky, the hundreds upon every country by creating the illu- hundreds of other old warriors of sion of a "neutralization" of the the October revolution. world bourgeoisie towards the first The immediate conv worker's' State, by regarding the the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, demanded by fact which is of no interest to the position, thus acquires an urgent building up of socialism in the U.

The Decisive Question appraisal of Soviet economy in its contradictory development, but an opportunistic attitude from the very beginning, an economic minimalism.

5. How unfortunately your article mixes up Bucharin's criticism of the counter-revolution or of the revolution will depend whether the "Holy Alliance" of all the big pow-Paris, Feb. 16, 1933. —FEROCI. Germany, by itself exhausts the

price of the most ferocious repres-The XVII Conference of the C. sion and the starvation of the toil-

be established between them".

of the Versailles powers by making specific purpose. The contributions Exactly one year has passed. At himself the butcher of the proletar-the last Plenum of the Central iat of his countries and the Gallifet League of America (Opposition), this to be stood for without re- N. Y.

sisting at all?

by waiting for the Congress of the and lightmindedness. revolution which threatens the the whole world proletariat—is to betray the cause of the proletar-

What Is Demanded?

The only means of making the

The immediate convocation of pean revolution primarily, as a the pre-conference of the Left Opand exigent character. This Congress, with the participation of the International Left Opposition, must Now it is clear to every Com- prove to the proletarians of all munist worker what was meant and countries that the Communist Inself, with all the conquests of the of regenerating itself to fight and October revolution, is in danger. To triumph. What is the Commun-And it is in Germany that the most ist International doing, what does important section is deciding to- it intend to do? There is the quesday: the Hitlerist counter-revolu- tion which every conscious prole-

a four year plan and especially tion is taking the lead of the interagainst the adventurist collectivizanational counter-revolution; the land looks for a reply. Let the German proletariat is representing Communist International regain in this moment the most vital inappraisal of Soviet economy in its terests of the world revolution. It tarian internationalism, and it will

For the German **Opposition**

The international pre-conference of the Left Opposition which recently concluded its sessions in fundamentally false (Pravda, Jan-stroyed, annihilated the power by Paris, adopted a decision to raise uary 14, 1933). Rakovsky, how- which the old society asserts it- an international fund for the work ever, renounced nothing at the self", is fuly confirmed. "After the of our German brother-section. It Plenum, not because he is chained revolution, the permanent counter- was decided that in every country to Barnoul as an exile, but because revolution becomes (for the forces where the Left Opposition has its he has no need of renouncing any- of the old society) a question of national section, each member shall daily existence." The German bour-6. Right after the appearance geoisie, after having utilized the for our German section. The last social democracy to strangle the meeting of the National Committee

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

him of them. Now Stalin proposed (the Right, the Centrist and the viet Union"—a lawyer by the name for the second five year plan a 13 Marxian) appear on the field of of Maurice Sugar, from Detroit percent annual increase. We do agriculture. But this problem is spoke before the Cleveland workers the party called for united front not at all conclude from this that too complex to be touched upon under the auspices of the FSU, at efforts in the organization of an

After the customary, uncritical der the Stalinist regime, a question period followed. From all over the hall came questions regarding the burning problem of Germany will affect Soviet Russia.

ed of any liberal, replied jestingly In 1917, Lenin asserted: "There that he did not think that the Sois no doubt that if the Bolsheviks viet government was quite satisfied "internationlaism does not consist allow themselves to be trapped by ity or resolutions, but in action."

Now no illusion is possible on in the party's undertaking. But the convocation of the Constitutional illusions, by 'faith' in general waved the question aside party representative immediately with a gesture of unimportance restricted all his action in making

> the proletariat." With Lenin, we Mr. Sugar failed to do in the Gercan repeat today: "To allow one-self to be trapped by illusions in his own inimitable way—with about 'non-aggression pacts, by the the usual slanders and brazen lies building of socialism in a single about our comrade. Comrade Kelcountry'; to leave the road of the ler, of the local group of the Left international revolution, to close Opposition, arose to reply, castig-one's eyes to the Fascist counter- ating the speaker for his criminal calling for a united front in Ger-Opposition, arose to reply, castigcynicism with regard to the Hitler German proletariat, the U. S. S. R., danger and pointing to Trotsky's proposed by the Left Opposition. It warning of an attack by a victorthe Russian workers' state. The comrade concluded by stressing the Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists from exile to take their place in the ranks of the proletarian army in this dangerous situation.

Mr. Sugar, unabashed, answered with more of his pink-hued cynicism and the meeting was ended. comrades of the League who were present, expressing their agreement sorts of questions and eagerly tion, to come to our Anti-Hitler grasped at copies of the Militant, meeting in Painters' Hall, on Wedwhich were distributed in good

At the Socialist Party Forum.floor to bring the attention of the establishment of the united front in workers to the critical situation in the sense presented by the comrade hard-pressed German proletarians. by numerous German organizations He was cut short by the Socialist in this city and sent to the central bureaucrats present and forced off organs of the socialist and Com-the floor, because "the speech was munist parties in Berlin.

Side. A small "conference" first call was a "mistake".

Nevertheless, comrade Gordon of the League, offered our cooperation arrangements with individual per-Soviets, etc., they would only be There were also some questions sons. No definite date, nor place, miserable traitors to the cause of about Trotsky, as usual. What nor plan of preparation was de-

> last, the meeting came off quite unexpectedly. B. D. Amis and Landy made the usual speeches for the party. In the discussion a German comrade made a lengthy address, many in the same sense as that was this speech that was greeted ious Hitlerism in Germany against with the greatest applause by the workers present.

> necessity of the return of comrade ciety.—On Tuesday, comrade Gordon was given the floor at a meet ing of the German Mutual Aid and Benefit Society (Krankenkasse), Franklin Avenue Branch. He spoke of the need for the active participation of the worker's in this country in solidarity with their German comrades under the Fascist government and of the necessity of establishing the united front against Fascism in Germany by a bloc of the C. P. G., the S. P. G., the trade unions and other workers organizathe fate of the German workers, tions. At this conclusion he invited the members of the organizanesday, February 22.

A short discussion on the matter

not in line with the subject under discussion". A few C. P. comrades present could not restrain themselves and shouted "social-Fascists!" at the bureaucrats. After

A Party Meeting on Germany in Semi-Seclusion.-Some time ago, Anti-Hitler Meeting on the West vened and there the party representative, a certain A. Landy, explained, after he discovered that a representative of the Left Opposition was present, that it was not really a united front; the party how the new Hitler government in was just asking for some aid, unofficially. Some of these present The speaker in the generally protested and the Stalinist repre-lukewarm spirit that can be expect- sentative had to explain that the sentative had to explain that the

cided upon.

Several days later, on Sunday

Before a German Workers' So-

at hand followed and a resolution, At the S. P. forum, that same evel expressing solidarity with the Gerning, comrade Gordon took the man proletariat and calling for the Germany and to call for solidarity from the L. O. was adopted. Simof all American workers with the lar resolutions have been adopted

The Socialist Party Conference

(Continued from Page 1) themselves with the bourgeois politicians, upon preserving a saccharine respectability, of hush-hushing the mass movement—and rely-

ing upon the organized proletarian movement and its militant mass their rank and file is afforded the or not the Comr

This brings us to the question of sentatives of the Communist League of America (Opposition) at the present time under the their own citadel, so to speak. That socialist and reformist workers in to all our readers to make a gen- gthened its position immeasurably, Not a doubt, therefore, that we erous donation to the international but would have been able to mobil The Left Opposition character are at the present moment before fund for the Left Opposition in ize a movement among the socialized this whole perspective as a a decisive turn in the revolution. Germany. All contributions sent to ist rank and file demanding of the office for this purpose will be their leaders that favorable action It was, as is to be understood, ac- tory of the Bolsheviks in October carefully set aside and forwarded be taken on the Left wing propos

Stalinist Blundering

As it was, the official Left wing decided on a policy which could not but yield the outcome that it did. It decided to go to the socialdemand that the delegates denounce the organizers of the conference and follow the lead of the Communists, that is, of the Left wing unemployment conference. With such a policy, the S. P. leaders were easily able to strengthen their boads with their following and weaken any sympathy that the lat-ter might have for the Left wing. tion of claiming that its confersary support of the socialist and place at the Burnside Manor, Burnrefermist workers, the Left was side and Harrison Aves., Brenk.

by alienating the latter.

action, its demonstrative pressure, ployed—are not interested primarily nomy. the socialist fakers will always (most of them are not interested choose the former again unless in it at all, as yet) in whether their rank and file is anorued the or not the Communists have possibility of choosing the alternative of a united front with the employed movement. What they beyond the limits which are set by the beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union beyond the limits which are set by the construction in the Soviet Union below the constructio the tactics winch the official Com- powerful enough to extract some munist party leadership pursued. immediate concessions from the In the Left wing conference for Un-In the Left wing conference for Unplutocracy and its government. They employment Insurance, the representatives of the contact of the representatives of the contact of the proposed that the conference shall struggles for purely "party" reamake a direct appeal to the S. P. sons. The policy pursued by the conference for a united front of party—"our leadership" or noth not permit America to be pushed both movements, for the merger of ing! "our conference" or no united into war at this time. London will all the organizations represented front at all!—only strengthens not reap the harvest if Washington by the two conferences so that the these suspicions in the minds of can help it. action of the New York workers the mass. There is not, in our | London again reveals her backfor this specific goal might be suc- view, the slightest necessary con- ing of Japan by declaring an arms cessfully coordinated. Towards flict between building the strongest embargo, whose patent fraud is rethis end, our comrades proposed and widest possible movement of cognized in the bourgeois press place in Soviet economic policy to risk the Fascist counter-revolu- ica (Opposition) decided to en- that the Left wing send a delega- the masses, and establishing the here and abroad. Present contracts tion to the S. P. conference (and claim of the Communists to leader- are inviolable. And pray for how ism in one country"—but it has the the problem engaging us and makes petty bourgeois masses in order to possible an infallible check upon fling them against the working at the progresses of t Our German section is laboring lenging the Right wing leaders in oustrating in practise and in the Japan by Vickers-Armstrong? In collected will not only be of the have been represent at the Rand interests separate and apart from veals the inner hollowness of the greatest aid financially, but it will School conference to demand of its the interests of the class as a whole, social democracy. He states that also serve as a magnificent display organizers and patrons that they will gain the support of the masses it is impossible to exclude the pos-So also on the international scale, of the international solidarity of declare themselves publicly on the not only for the movement in gen-sibility of war between Japan and 'No truce between the two societies the Left Opposition and all its question of a genuine united front, eral, but for revolutionary leader Russia. But, he adds, it is not gently understood and correctly Lansbury, do not give Japan credit der made with relation to the socialist conference.-s.

Kamf Workers Club, at 8 p. m.

tion a genuine united movement, larly under the present conditions those who, to their minds, seek to 'exploit" the unemployed and their simplest, most understandable, least the debate on the embargo that inambiguous way that they have no imitable pooh-bah, Lansbury, reship within it in particular. That true that Japan is holding back is what the united front intelli- the forces of Communism. No, says practised, signifies in essence. The for that. The credit should doubt Stalinist rejection of the united les go to the insipid Lansburys and front and their substitution for it the social democratic betrayers. of the ultimatist "united front Lansbury expresses faith that the from below", has brought it to its U. S. will "act right". Indeed she present position in the unemployed will! One hundred percent "right", movement, and more specifically, it for American imperialism. led directly to the inexcusable blun-

LECTURE ON GERMANY

OPPOSITION DEBATES I. U. L. On Sunday, March 5 at 2:15 p. ject, "Can the program and tactics

Roosevelt Regime Reopens Question of Soviet Recognition and Credits

(Continued from Page 1) "Socialism in one country" have to help ward off foreign intervention and particularly war. The economic relations of the Soviet Union with the capitalist world have been kept outside of the domain of revolutionary strategy. On the contrary, Stalinism has attempted to reassure world capitalism (note the Stalin interview with Campbell) that its foreign trade is 'strictly business".

The Stalinists have assumed that capitalist economy would be both willing and able to absorb the exportable surpluses of the Soviet Union without such declines in prices as would upset the import program which is an essential part of the Five-Year Plan.

This assumption has been knocked to pieces by living experience. England after the Conservative victory renounced the trade treaty with Soviet Russia some months ago; Germany has imposed a quota on its imports from the Soviet Union; political as well as "strictly business" factors entered into these steps. In any case, the crisis makes it advantageous for capitalism to restrict all its operations, including foreign trade.

But the immediate as well as the ultimate interests of the working class call for a different line of action. The revolutionary answer is to rally the working masses around the struggle for economic collaboraton with the Soviet Union. It provides more jobs: it strengthens the workers' state: it brings to their feet masses of workers who are not Communists but who sympathize with the Soviet Union; it tends to break down the isolation of the Soviet state from the workers of the capitalist countries; and it leads over, in a certain stage of maturity of the revolutionary development of struggle, into the demand for workers' control of production.

It is admittedly impossible, by interests in a capitalistic state to dits. buy and sell where it is not profitable for them to do so under given onditions. But these conditions themselves depend upon state laws in a large measure-treaties, tariffs, credits, guarantees, restric-Union, instead of having Soviet imtions on imports, etc. The influence of the masses on state laws in such matters may be powerful. In a struggle on such issues, which concern also matters like the cost of living, the proletariat can even sweep along behind it masses of the petty bourgeoisie.

Control

atic influence of the masses on the year to year in the Soviets' outsucceeded only in isolating itself the question of workers' control of Obviously this is only a slight reproduction. Beginning with ques-Not merely this is of importance, tions of wages and profit, the conbut another circumstance, which trol of production expands over all by to its construction program. does not, it is true, conflict with the other functions of the enterthe other. The socialist workers- | prise, then of the group of enterto say nothing of the hundreds of prise, over whole branches of inthousands and millions of unem- dustry and the entire national eco-

Worker's' control of production would compel capitalism to colla- viet Union continu borate in the work of economic tive, in spite of the high interests are interested in is to set in mo- the possibilities of profit, particu-

(Continued from Page 1) "in general" and "in principle

The attitude of Soviet Russia on

the present situation is still being awaited, not only by the bourgeoisie but by the Communists of the world. Russian diplomacy under The crisis in Germany and the the blind, opportunist "guidance" program of the Left Opposition will of Litvinov, has tasted all the fruits be the subject of the lecture by of that shrivelled tree, socialism by considerations of profit, and the comrade Morris Lewit this Sunday, in one country. Again and again, March 5. The lecture will be held the lasting interests of the world at the Free Workers Center, 219 proletariat have been sacrificed to Second Avenue, between 13 and 14 the desire for immediate "benefits" St., under the auspices of Unser for the Soviet Union. Russian diplomacy is again placed in the dilemma of deciding which road to follow. If the Soviets properly of the struggling proletariat. The denounce the entire fraud being immediately practical results m., a debate will be held between the Left Opposition and the Indus-The Left wing was put in the posi- trial Union League on the sub- feel that the chances for recogni- products, insofar as reforms gention by America will be jeopardence alone was 'legal', so to of the Communist League of Am- ized. If the Soviet Union agrees speak, that it alone was entitled to erica bring about working class to "cooperate" with the League, the monopoly of leadership-which emancipation in the United Sta- then in the immediate situation, everybody must acknowledge in ad- tes?" George Clarke will speak for Russia again renounces her leadervance and on its say-so. Instead the affirmative and Adolph Silver ship of the proletariat. Can we of gaining the indispensably neces. the negative. The debate will take hope for any change of policy? Or ned economy—that is, the problems will we witness a new compromise? -JACK WEDDER.

of world crisis. Carried beyond a certain point, this struggle could parties outside of Russia to that raise the whole question of state of a watchman, whose purpose is power, put the world revolution again on the order of the day, and transform the whole question of economic collaboration between Soviet Russia and one or more countries which are now capitalist, into the question of the creation of an international planning board. In Germany the political prerequisites for such a situation have reached a higher stage of development than in any other country; if the working class can develop the power and cohesion needed to defeat Hitler, it will be in a position to present and press forward its own demands, political and economic, in which the demand for workers' control of production, intimately linked up with the demand for economic collaboration with the Soviet Union, unlimited by consideration for the profits of this or that group of capitalists or of capitalism as a whole, would develop all its revolutionary logic.

Credits for the Soviet Union and American Working-Class Demand

In the United States, development of the workers' forces and of the revolutionary situation has not gone so far as in Germany. On the other hand, American imperialism has a powerful financial basis while that of German imperialism is weak.

The approach to economic collaboration with the Sov'et Union in this country might well be through the question of credits. In many European countries (Germany, England, Italy, Holland, etc.) export credits to the Soviet Union are guaranteed to the amount of 60-80 percent by the government. This greatly reduces the cost of credit, and consequently the cost of imports, to the Soviet Union. Certainly the very least that the American working class has a right to demand is that the American bourgeois government go as far as the bourgeois governments of Europe in supporting exports to the Soviet Union by a guarantee of a mass presssure, to force private large part of the exporters' cre-

But the interests of the American worker and of the Soviet Union demand that the American government go further. It must extend substantial credits to the Soviet ports limited by the extent to which individual American capitalists are willing to do business with the Soviets.

The main reliance for the financing of Soviet imports in the past has been placed on its export trade. It has had access to but little Trading with Soviets and Workers' credit, and that only at exorbitant rates, about 30 to 40 percent a The question of a more system- | year. The average increase from external commerce of a capitalist standing credits has been only 10 state is intimately bound up with percent of its best year's exports. Recently there has been some talk abbut the Soviet Union floating a ten-year loan in the United States, but the figure mentioned was about 40 million roubles, a drop in the bucket.

The financial blockade of the Soly business" self-interest of capitalism to serve as the basis of economic collaboration which is indispensable to the work of economic construction in Soviet Russia, has been an utter failure.

Credits for the Soviet Union as a **Political Question**

The energy of the international Communist party, the sympathies of the masses, even the direct interest of the petty bourgeoisie, must be mobilized in a political manner in the various capitalist countries for the benefit of the broad masses and of the Soviet Union. This involves a break with the theory and practise of "sociallittle advantage that it directly ties up the immediate needs of the broadest masses in capitalist countries with the problem of economic construction in the Soviet Union, in spite of the capitulationist denial by Stalinism that the buildingup of Socialism in Russia has any connecton with the workers' movement elsewhere.

In America, where the whole question of recognition is to be raised shortly, the working class and particularly the Communist party as its spearhead must put forth its demands for the extension of adequate credits to the Soviet Union.

The demand of credits for the Soviet Union can, no doubt, be considered as an isolated practical slogan. Such a way of posing the question would have a reformist character, and as such would not give serious practical results; for the international economic operations of capitalism are determined political interests of the capitalist class, not by the "pressure" of the working class.

The slogan of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union, credits, recognition, etc., must be introduced into a system of transitional slogans erally are the by-products of a revolutionary struggle.

But the main achievement would be the fact that the workers would be concretely and practically confronted with the problems of planof socialism.

—3. J. FY**■**LD,