CENT

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PRICE I CENT

COUNTRY THROWS BOURGEOISIE INTO PANIC: ITS 'WAY OUT' TO BE SOUGHT ON BACKS OF WORKERS

years, it is marked by a nation- of adequate unemployment relief years, it is marked by a nation of adequate unemployment relief wide banking crisis. What does and insurance, but politically they this mean? Is it what the Stalin have not been able to mobilize the has now lost particularly all important to a total of those paradoxes of politics which has now lost particularly all important to a total of those paradoxes of politics which democrats even increased their balists call "the end of the stabiliza- masses against the bourgeoisie. tion of capitalism", or the terrified There is no use in recapitulating bourgeois still more simply call the chapter of defeats and mis-"the end of the world"? Crises, as we know, are not acci- sponsibility of the Communist party dents under capitalism, but an in- as the record has developed, trinsic part of the mechanism; they failure to assemble the proletariat passed beyond the number they had have a definite role, which Marx around its banner and assume the

are only violent and temporary solutions of existing contradictions, violent eruptions which reestablish for a time the equilibrium which has been destroyed." These contradictions involve the

overproduction of goods in the face of the poverty and underconsumption of the masses; the creation of artificial and exaggerated symbols of value through the expansion of credit and stock speculation, and a sharp rise in money rates and commodity prices, all constituting what we call inflation, or a contradiction between real values and the representatives of such values.

The role of the crisis is to ge rid of overproduction by forcing the capitalist to reduce his production, to get rid of inflation by forcing down prices, money rates and outstanding credit. Ultimately it creates a situation in which prices are low, money rates are low, capital is abundant, the "growths and swellings" as Trotsky calls them, such as Insull and Kreuger, are removed, and the pre-condittons are created for a turn in the crisis into a depression, and ultimately perhaps even into a period of stabilization or a boom.

Crisis and the Class Struggle

But the crisis is also an arena of the class struggle, and not only economic but also certain social and political conditions are required for the ending of a crisis period and Germany', who sagely informed us desperate alternative, of their own the preparation of a period of stab- that 'on the contrary, they (the volition. On the contrary, they ilization. If the working class, imperialists) have every reason to have every reason to reinforce and well organized through its own reinforce and support the social support the social democracy and party, puts itself at the head of the masses, and resists all the mea forms, who were so sure (in 1931)! served them and saved them up to sures by which the bourgeose attack that it has never yet been demonnow. They will not risk Fascism tempts to throw the burden of the strated that Fascism can have a until they have to." (Our emcrisis off to other classes; if it is stable endurance in such a highly phasis.). crisis on to other classes; if it is able to other classes; if it is able to put up effective and generalized resistance to wage cuts, to compel the expense of the capitalists, to compel the governments of the limitant, and personal time and a light of the difference in the world, isn't there! Now, the Militant of the program of unification of the long run" it will result in the capitalists. This phase of the melee—of the difference in the world, isn't there! Now, the Militant of the program of unification of the labor and Socialist we have pointed out previous in the capitalists, to compel the governments well night exhausted, so that the long run" it will result in the capitalists. italists, to compel the governments well nigh exhausted so that the to tax the rich instead of the masses, and its other immediate demands their aims by violent seizure of in time of crisis, the capitalist power', these people who branded will be a long time in restoring the as "opportunism" the first calls of margin of profit in his production the Communist Opposition for a on which the restoration of busi- united anti-Fascist front, ness activity and with it, the turn people who even today (Militant, in the crisis, depend.

These struggles are in their most important aspects non-parliamentary they tend to mobilize the masses for broader aims, and as the crisis becomes deeper and cial Communist party that 'the socharper, they may easily take on cial democracy is the most impora highly political and revolution tant prop of bourgeois domination', ary character. The German crisis under all circumstances all the of 1920-23, based on the steady in time, these same people now have flation of the mark, culminated in the audacity to declare (Militant, the revolutionary crisis of October Fb. 4, 1933) that 'the Left Opposi-1923, followed by an abortive Nazi tion was the first to sound the putsch a month later. When the alarm signal that Fascism was bourgeois German state had proven threatened (?), that it had to be its ability to stave off the revolu- met by a united front of all worktion even without the aid of the ers organizations!' Is this mere-Nazis, it was able to invite the ly shabby self-deception or is it Dawes committee to discuss cur- outright political swindling?" rency reform, and begin its way out

At the present moment in the United States, whether or not the "quotes" the Left Opposition, the turn in the crisis has already ar- very first thing to do is to take it rived, unquestionably most of the for granted that it is deliberately work of the crisis in violently and misquoting us, distorting our point brutally solving, for the moment, of view, or resorting to slight forthe contradictions developed during gery. The present instance is a the boom, has been accomplished. Commodity prices are low, many the files of the Militant the secenterprises have gone out of busi- tions presumably quoted by Loveness, capital has been rendered stone, so that one may judge who more liquid, money rates are low, production is down to 50% of swindling".

'normal". The violent crisis in the banking July 25, 1931 really said: "At the field has not therefore the character present time, the main prop of capitalism in Germany is the soof the prelude to a period of deflation and liquidation; that period is largely or entirely behind us. Has it the character of the beginning of a final collapse of capital-

No Automatic Collapse of

Capitalism That seems most unlikely. It would mean that capitalism could Pose. Only when the majority of be finally defeated on one sector the workers turn away from the of the economic front alone, and social democracy to the Communby the automatic working of the ists will the capitalists turn to the market, at that. The forces of the last resort-naked force expressed working class, poorly organized, through Fascism. A Fascist dictadivided and without the class lead- torship, by its ruthless abolition of ership of a determined and clear- democratic forms, would thereby

The present cyclical crisis be- many more defeats than victories gan in 1929 with a financial crisis, in the class struggle under crisis in the form of a crash on the stock conditions—not only in strikes market; now, after nearly 3 1-2 against wage cuts, in the question takes; we have pointed out the rehas described as follows, "Crises leadership of the broadest masses.

manner, Hitler would stand every Cologne.

(Continued on Page 2)

Hitlerites 'must strive to fulfill

hopefully assert that 'the chief in-

struments of power are not in

Hitler's hands', who echo the offi-

Not bad, what? More exactly, it

might be bad if it were all true.

But when the Lovestone press

case in point. Let us examine from

1. Here is what the Militant of

cial democracy functioning through

'democratic' forms. Its strength

derives from the illusions of mil-

lions of workers in the democratic

deceptions. It is absurd to think

that the imperialists will discard

this mighty bulwark against rev-

olution as long as it serves its pur

Lovestone Group and the Opposition

A Political Swindle Exposed

National Banking Crisis Fascist Elections Show Stalinist Bankruptcy

STAGE IN GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN THIS Policy of «United Front From Below» Fails to Win Over Masses of Socialist Workers

portance.

its vote in November 1932, but even November. at their apex, in July 7932. Fortyfour percent of the voting popula-This failure constitutes the poli- tion cast its ballot for Hitler. In tical pre-condition for the capital- Catholic Bavaria, the Nazis made a ist solution of the present crisis, huge sweep, ousting the Centrist internationally as well as on the party from control—an accomplishnational scale. With a correct line ment which they all but attained in of policy executed in a Bolshevik the Catholic capital of Germany,

In an atmosphere of unprecedent ed terrorism, intimidation and the suppression of Communist, social-creased vote cast, it is no longer the Reichstag, the Nazis would then boards. The possibilities for electronic essentially an expression of the population. Their vote for Hitler was the Reichstag, the Nazis would then boards. The possibilities for electronic essentially an expression of their essentially are expression of their essential party is outlawed, or if its are representatives are excluded from boards. The possibilities for electronic essentially are expression of the population. ist and even Centrist publications in a position to affect the parliahave an absolute majority on the
tion propaganda and agitation by fear of a bloody civil war with the
have gained a distinct election vice were—a position at a balance of
have gained a distinct election vice were—a position it has enjoyed
the support of their present Naa tiny minimum.

Hitler a "parliamentary majority", tory which, together with the vote for years. The Social Democratic tionalist colleagues in the cabinet! rolled up by the Hugenburg Na- Party did a little better than hold The uneasiness of the Hugenburg Fascists, the Communists managed The election victory of the Hitler- ily in Berlin where the Nazis, and sent circumstances. Hugenburg regime is due almost not the Communists, are now the excusively to the rise in the Nazi largest party, with 1,000,000 votes vote, which not only exceeded the as compared with 720,000 votes last

National Socialists Social Democrats Centrists Bavarians 52 Nationalists 9 Scattered

stag, and the Hitler regime a parliamentary field and to distract plebiscitary regime. The principal them from mobilizing their efforts opposition parties, from the Communists through the social dem-The Hitler regime-based on the tion took place. Not a single Com- bear out this contention. The elecchance of being defeated, and one of the weakest links in the capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain might be definitely bress, but they are more than adebroken; the masses in other capitalist chain and the continuous properties. The two solitions settled nothing fundamental than a description and the continuous properties. The masses in the capitalist chain and the capita talist countries might be torn away The usual stay-at-home vote was murderous policy of exterminating the elections in Thuringia, were mentary basis" for destroying "demfrom bourgeois and petty bourgeois apparently brought out by the millions apparently brought out by the millions and mobilized behind the Communist party, and capitalism in Germany, and it is mainly from that: the Nazi threat that the columns. Several Catholic period-have a considerable symptomatic find ever-increasing difficulty in this source that the increase in the Communist deputation in the Reich- icals were confiscated or suspended. significance. The increase in the Hitlerite vote was obtained. The stag will not be seated is constant. No meetings of the social democrats Fascist vote came predominantly

In spite of the terrorism of the

to retain some eighty percent of of less than 5,000,000, losing heav- is quite comprehensible in the pre- loting strength. But there is little consolation in this for the Com-But the parliamentary field is the munist party. As soon as the least decisive of all in the present March 5, 1933 elections were an-German situation. The just con- nounced, the Militant proclaimed cluded election was purely and them to be a Fascist trap, designed simply a plebiscite, the present to concentrate the attention of the Reichstag is a plebiscitary Reich- working class exclusively on the ocrats as far to the Right as the which can effectively deal with the Catholic Center, were bound and now overwhelming threat of Fascgagged for weeks before the elec- ism. The outcome of the elections

Catholic Center appears to have ly kept in reserve. If the Com- or the Communists were permitted, from the petty bourgeois and con-

Chinese Bourgeoisie Is Impotent

The democratic phase of the Chi-1 The lessons of the second phase

nese revolution included as its of the Revolution remain as an major task the ousting of the for- abiding memory in the minds of

eign imperialists and the national the present bourgeois rulers of

unification of China. This task China. If today they are com-

could only have been accomplished pletely impotent in the defense of

with the aid of the wide masses of China against Japanese imperial-

its first phase only as long as the es and arm them for a real strug-

Chinse masses were drawn irre- gle. For that would mean the re-

ed the vanguard of the working Chinamen "will know how to die".

they hoped to avoid the costs of a civil war. Only, it cannot and will not be averted.

Of even greater significance, is and social democratic parties. The Communist vote declined, and the importance of this fact, even though it is far from decisive, cannot be ignored. The social democratic masses continued to give their support to the social ocratic party. By this act, they gave a decisive reply to the empty boastings of the Stalinists that their policy was succeeding in breaking the socialist masses away from their leadership. And preisely herein lies the most significint aspect of the March elctions!

It was claimed that the "united front from below" was winning the socialist masses to the Communist party. The Left Opposition replied that the socialist masses will be won over to a militant united front when the Communist party makes an open and sincere offer to their organizations, when it sits down with the leadership of the social democratic party and the trade unons to discuss a concrete program of action against the menace of Fascism. The elections are one of the numerous proofs that the "uni-Before Advancing Japanese Armies ted front from below" has not only not succeeded in breaking the alted front from below" has not only legiance of the socialist masses to heir organizations and leaders, but that it has serve the Wels-Stampfer-Hilferding crew perfectly.

The results of the elections which are not, we repeat, of decisive importance, but are highly symptomatic, must give every Communist worker food for fought. It is essential, that the course of the party e steered now towards the Leninist united front. The Fascist triumph in the elections will only result in greater arrogance, more brutal measures against the proletariat and its movement, more vioent suppressions and attacks. There is but one way to meet this attack-the mobilization of the German working class in a united front. There is only one way in which to establish the united front at the present time—the appeal from

Socialist International has always perialists had been swept into the but the lives of one hundred mil- been ready to negotiate with the sea and in the conflict that follow- lion Chinamen to the Japs. These Communist International with a view to common action as soon as depended the continuation of the rulers and bourgeois compradores inion of the desire for "action" of revolution, was all but extermin- are sending their wealth, that ill- the Socialist bureaucracy, is quite gotten wealth coined out of the well known; so is their own treachblood of the Chinese masses, out erous record which has paved the of the country and are "disappear- road to the triumph of Hitler. But ing" themselves. "Governor" Tang it is precisely with such statements Yu-lin of Jehol, that great opium as the one quoted that the statesdrugsman of China, carefully eva-men of the Second International cuated his gold and his wives and retain their hold upon the socialhas now left Jehol himself for ist workers. The Communist International, which should have been the one to initiate such a movement, must pick up the challenge, Thus the Japanese conquer with must break its criminal silence, and almost no resistance because China declare:

The Communist International is Sheks has failed to unify and has prepared to negotiate with the failed to build up its industries Second International for the elarapidly enough to supply a modern boration of a concrete program of army. Having met no real ob- action against Fascism. The Gerstacles, the Japanese will continue man Communist Party is prepared cause the masses did not succeed to seize more and more Chinese to sit down for a joint discussion in marching forward, under the territory. The press repeats state- of the problem with the Executive hents that the Japanese have de- Committee of the German social manded the withdrawal of Chinese democracy and its party. We can troops from Tienstin, the next ob- under no circumstances agree to the social democratic party's proposal for a "non-agression pact" where we are supposed to refrain from criticism and an independent policy; such an agreement would be capitulation and treachery to the revolution. But we will enter into a united front on a minimum program of action, with each organization to retain its independence, its freedom of policy and criticism. We enter into it not out of love for the social democratic leaders, not with any illusions about them, but because of the burning need of the hour is the united working class front to smash Fascism.

> gether with the German Communist Party, must take this step. If they fail to act in this manner, they will bear their share of the direct responsibility for the murderous bloodbath and catastrophe which the Fascist bands are preparing for the German proletariat.

The Communist International, to-

Monday, March 6, 1933. -M. S.

Oppositionists Attacked

Last Friday night at Pitkin and The current issue of the Work- the support of the regime, and cor-Rockaway Avenue, members of the ers Age, organ of the Lovestone Right wing, contains the following never yet been demonstrated that Left Opposition were again treated we quote in full:

"But the most pitiful figure is cut by the Trotskyites. They, who not so long ago (Militant, July 25, 1931) insisted that it is 'absurd' oisie whose fate is bound up at the control of the control o to a wholesale exposure of Stalinbureaucrats of the American Youth workers and peasants. The rev-Club saw fit to stir up hysteria for olution swept towards the goal of everything else to arouse the massoutnumbered at least two to one, our comrades halted this "hard sistibly and on an ever grander surrection of the Revolution which, to think that the 'imperialists will the fate of German capitalism, guy" display that has taken the cale into the movement for lib- they clearly see, could only result welcome a Fascist dictatorship in have no interest to plunge into this place of Leninist education. After eration. It was inevitable, how- in their own downfall ultimately. this failure, we were invited to par- ever, that the oppressed classes, Chiang Kai-Shek, instead of sendticipate in putting back the furni-on whom rested the actual burden ing a single soldier to Jehol for ture of an unemployed worker in a house at which a rent strike was gle, under the ferment of revolu-perialist invasion, continues going on! We accepted and the tionary activity, should come into battle with the peasant soviets in ironic picture was afforded to all conflict not only with the foreign his effort to establish his hegethe workers present—who had not oppressors but with their own namony, if only in a few provinces. been engaged in the melee of the tive exploiters. This phase of the T. V. Soong, reactionary bankerously in these columns, the Hitler- we were then told was in the celites cannot hope to arrive in power lar), waiting for some of the cops first stage. The irrepressible class Meantime he impotently offers, not al) has declared: "The Labor and by the smooth parliamentary train. to clear out, a functionary arrived struggle broke out before the im- any attempt at effective resistance. The preceding election already in- who saw fit to suspend operations. dicated that, so far as elections are ("Trotskyists cannot fraternize, and they have no right to move of voting strength was well-nigh furniture with us—they are Left class, the Communists, on whom strength was well-nigh furniture with us—they are Left class, the Communists, on whom strength was well-nigh furniture with us—they are Left class, the Communists, on whom strength was well-nigh furniture with us—they are Left class, the Communists, on whom strength was well-nigh furniture with us—they are Left class, the Communists, on whom strength was well-nigh furniture with us—they are Left class, the communists will be continued as soon as the continued as Feb. 24, 1933) regard Hitler as the exhausted. Not a parliamentary social Fascists"). We said we were 'screen' for Hugenburg, who can movement in the ordinary bourgeois always ready to cooperate with the sense, the Fascists must strive to unemployed councils and had done so in the past. It could be seen fulfill their aims by the violent that many of them changed their seizure of power and the more attitude toward us. We invited violent extirpation of all proletarthem down to the Sunday meeting ian movements and institutions. Or, and the proof of the beginning of if the necessity for such a step is

(Continued on Page 2)

MASS MEETINGS ON GERMANY

Speakers: **HUGO OEHLER** CARL SKOGLUND

M. DUNNE, Chairman

Saturday eve., March 11, 8:00 p. n MAYORS RECEPTION HALL, COURT HOUSE

Minneapolis, Minn.

ST. PAUL MEETING

their education was that they came.

Speakers:

HUGO OEHLER CARL SKOGLUND

ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE Tuesday eve., March 14, 8:00 p. m.

ample) of the theory of the per-Unemployed Free manent revolution. Admission 10e Campaign Endangered Jerman

The end of this week will mark one month that we have been issuing the MILITANT three times a week. We have accomplished this enormous task under the impact of the German situation, and by a supreme effort. When we got out the first issue, there was not only the first, but many of them. We are prepared to go along on schedule, to issue the MILITANT three times a week at least for a month, during the high tension of the German crisis. Our hammering has already had its effect. Thousands of class conscious militants, Communist

many. The silence of the official party has been countered by the alarm signals of the MILITANT. The party has not only been forced to call meetings on the German situation, but also to put Germany "on the front page". But this is only a beginning... The situation is now, if anything, more crucial. The international movement is imperilled. And the MILITANT alone bears aloft the banner of proletarian revolutionary internationalism.

We intend to carry on, despite the tremendous difficulties. But for this, we need the immediate,

"treasury" is not only entirely depleted, but we have incurred a number of pressing debts. These hang around our neck like millstones. We cannot move unless we get immediate financial relief! We must have the sum of two hundred dollars forthwith! A special effort must be made by every friend of the Opposition. The hand must dig deeper into the pocket the most donations are imperative. All contributors must be sent right away by fast mail to 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Failure to Unify China

The Chinese bourgeoisie prefer-

red far rather the continued stran-

gling of China by the imperialist

powers, so long as they were per-

mitted to continue their own ex-

ploitation, than their own over-

throw and their disappearance as

the proletariat. But with the bloody

suppression of the revolutionary

workers and peasants, the native bourgeoisie, with the willing as-

sistance of foreign imperialism,

became the spear-head of counter-

revolution in China. The revolu-

tion ebbed and the aim of unifica-

tion failed of accomplishment be-

leadership of the Communists, be-

the revolution, to the conquest of

power under working class dicta-

torship. Thus the Chinese revolu-

tion is a negative example (one hesitates to call it a "living" ex-

yond the narrower first aims

class through the dictatorship of

Newark Meeting

jective of the invasion.

destinations unknown.

The Japanese Continue Advance

under the rule of the Chiang Kai-

at the Hungarian Workers Home 87-16th Ave., Newark, N. J.

-J. WEBER.

Saturday Evening, March 11th,

8 P. M. THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT

AND FASCISM

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

EVERYBODY WELCOME!

Communist League of America

(Opposition) Newark branch JAMES P. CANNON

MAX SHACHTMAN MARTIN ABERN, Chairman

LABOR TEMPLE FRIDAY, MARCH 10th, 8 P. M. 14th Street and Second Avenue LARGE HALL

ADMISSION 15 Cents

The need is urgent. sighted Communist party, have had turn away millions of workers from workers, are now aroused to the After the German Elections-What Now?

MANHATTAN

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Stalinists Sabotage United Front

held in St. Louis by the Unemployorganization to compose a United steering committee was able to gram. This is the very same pro-Front Unemployed Conference prevent it from being taken to a gram which we had been urging Committee. And from this committee trade union and organizational committees were to be elected to work for the Permanent Uniing of the second conference.

three delegates to this meeting.

lobby became nervous and there was much running to and fro and much whispering. Our efforts, to breaking out of their long third ed-all the Stalinists naturally find out in what room in the three period stage had no intention of a voted against. storey building of the Labor real Leninist United Front and Lyceum the Committee was to prepare to jointly work and fight cept the report of all delegates to meet, were in vain. We were final for their program to the extent of the conference with the exception ly led into a room on the second offering proportional representation of Payers'". On the question (by foor where we sat twiddling our is I think undeniable. But what Casano) as to what was wrong thumbs for about a half an hour a vindication of all our propaganda with Payer's report none of the when we were informed that this That many of those present recog. Stalinists could give a reason was an S. L. P. section meeting nized it cannot be doubted. The However they replied by votingand asked what our business was conference accepted our delegate 22 affirmative, 5 negative.

last named delegates however, did 0. k." not suffer the same fate as that

guards downstairs in front of the ate organizations." auditorium where an "open" meeting of the Unemployed Council -G. ROBERTS.

Two Unemployment Conferences

ist Unemployed Councils; the other tured". by the Socialists. To both the local branch of the C. L. A. (O.) sent branch of the C. L. A. (O.) sent delegates, to present our program and to participate in the work. At the Left wing conference our delegation was seated. At the so-

Relief Plan meeting, 260 delegates with proportional representation. representing about 150 organiza- This will remove the rejoinder of tions, and many visitors enthusias- the fakers that the Communists tically greeted the first marked want to capture them. It will give turn in Phila. of the Official C. P. us a mass to appeal to which from erganizations toward a broader the outside we can't meet. It can united front. The week previously well start in Philadelphia and in the Socialist party was forced by the State a broad united front the calling of this conference, to knitting together the employed and send out their own call for a sep- the unemployed, the organized and arate conference in conjunction the unorganized in a common with their Unemployed Citizen's struggle for the needs today, of League organization and the Hosi- the workers. In such a united ery Workers (A F of L) Union front of action our program will which they dominate. The U. C. demand its adoption and prove its provisional committee, over the correctness. signature of comrade E. Bender, coped with it, in the form of an open letter addressed, lo and behold, not to the rank and file below, but to the rank and me low, but to the organizer of the Oppositionist

The various reporters and speakers at the conference recognized correctly enough the splitting tactic of the local socialists, but there attendance of about ten, the last they stopped. The united front did meeting was filled to overflowing not extend to an offer of joint

Comrade Lecomte presented our resolution on program and tactics before the conference body; urged the necessity of offers of common action with the Socialists on the immediate demands outlined by us gates to the Unity Conference. In -as a true method to either force his report Payer outlined the genthe hand of Daniels, etc. or to fur- eral program adopted by the Unither expose their claim to any de- ted Front Unemployed Conference sire for united action. He offered This included demands of immedithe full cooperation of the League ate relief, unemployment insurance in the furtherance of the work of six-hour day and Long Term credits

a broader representation of the sisting of one delegate from each working class and a broad and organization to carry out the fol-

far reaching enough program to St. Louis.—The Unity Conference report was discussed by the delegates. Our resolution was unre-

The final action that the conference took is indeed significant. The olutionists". S. P. conference was called to ted Front movement and the call- meet the following Saturday. In New York you recall, party lead-The bureaucreats did not dare to ers attacked our comrade's pro- ed Councils—by the failure to hold come before the workers with any posals to send delegates to a sim- the agreed upon Tuesday (Feb. 21) opposition to this. The committee ilar meeting, because we would committee meeting. was supposed to hold its first meet- increase the prestige of the fakers. Paver introduced the motion that ing at the Labor Lyceum on Tues-day, Feb. 21st. The Opposition to elect an official committee of quests the C. C. of the Unemployand its auxiliary organizations sent ten and have it represent this con- ed Councils to carry out the deciference, to the socialist conference sions of the united front unem-The opportunities for sabotaging on Saturday. And (2) urged; nay ployed conference by immediately the committee were made up for at the Labor Lyceum. As soon as be delegated by their organizations the U. F. U. C. committee consistthe Left Opposition showed up the to the Socialist confab to fight for ing of one delegate from each orbureaucrats hanging around the the adoption of the program of this ganization represented at the con-

conference. Roberts as one of its committee of With the exception of the dele- ten. After the meeting individual "to get down to business" to expel gates of the Left Opposition and two delegates from the Socialist party no one else showed up. The a United Front at last; I think its cussion that followed Paper en-

The Socialist "Conference on Stalinists who were "disrupting" of the Left Oppositionists outlined Unemployment" (Saturday, Feb. the organization and not he. He in the preceding paragraph. It is 25.) resembled even in many of its pointed out his record in the ILD significant that the only one of the details what the reports bring us branch since organized; showed Stalinist organizations represented of the similar conference of the how all committees, all delegations was the Unemployed Councils S. P. in New York City. Almost to which he was elected were sabwhose delegate was Stone. Com- none of the Left wing-Red-organi- otaged by the higher S. E. C. Due rade Goldberg, who came late and zations received or could get the to interruptions from the Stalinby the merest chance stumbled into official invitation and so they made ists he was not allowed to continue the committee meeting, informed out credentials of their own. Lack- "He spoke too long already" was us of this fact and also that not only was no regular meeting held cialist party organizer, Dan but no definite date was set for liels, a "Militant", they were rethe same time. The vote was 19 the next meeting of the committee. fused admittance. Even organiza- affirmative, 5 negative with three tions which had obtained the of- absentions. In the course of our search of the committee meeting we found ficial paper, but, being radical were the committee meeting we found rejected. We were all "illustrim. rejected. We were all "illegitim- the hall. After Payer left, one of

I am told the Yipsels had a dif-thinking to further expose "Trot was in session. Thinking that we ficult time to get in! Comrade skyism" made a motion for an desired to enter these faithful Kornfeld who came representing open discussion on the "Trotskykeepers of the gate informed us the Hosiery Workers' Union, and ists" with speakers from both sides. that it was a private meeting and a few others who did get in, de-Pandemonium broke loose. The no one would be allowed to go in. manded our admittance to no avail. Stalinists themselves split on the With this we took our deparature. The upshot of the whole affair was question. The voting was 10 negathis-Inside the S. P. together tive and 8 affirmative with 8 abswith the IWW made a united front taining. The motion lost, but only to keep the Communists out of by a small margin. their united front. Outside, in the ante-room milled about the party was being expelled at the South organization delegates and our-Side I. L. D. the following motion selves; enough of them by far to was made and vigorously defended Philadelphia. Last week saw two admitted. No wonder the S. P. Mooney branch of the ILD by "United Front" conferences in fakers who called their meeting George Roberts and Harry Gold-Philadelphia on unemployment. only after the Communists called berg:" The Mooney branch pro-One was sponsored by the Commun- one were in fear of being "cap- tests to the National Committee,

What shall we do-the resoluthe Left wing conference our de-legation was seated. At the so-working class against hunger—our mand their immediate reinstate. working class against hungercialist conference they were, in willingness to show our program ment in order to maintain the ILD turning Fascism into a political common with all other radical organizations, not even admitted to the hall.

Last Sunday, February 19, the Unemployed Council's "Conference Against the State Comissionary Bollof Plan meeting 260 delegates"

willingness to show our program in action—for approval of the working class; to propose this must be done by the Executive Committee of our Conference—a joint meeting of both committees and the calling of a conference with propositional representation.

St Louis.-Although the Beezly branch of the ILD has an average with the tense and heated faces of the South Side branch of the Communist party!-not five of whom carry membership cards in the ILD.

The first order on the agenda was the report of the ILD deleto the Soviet Union; the formation What the conference lacked was of a permanent U. F. U. C. con-

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lowing activities; arrange March we had been called "counter-rev

He also report upon the sabotaging of the conference work by the central committee of the Unemploy-

ference". The vote was 4 affirma-That the party leadership, just tive and 20 negative, three abstain-

Then a Stalinist motion-"To ac-

Then another Stalinist motion deavored to show that it was the

Payer was then ordered to leave the newer Stalinists, Horrum

At the very same time Payer I. L. D., against the expulsions of our mand their immediate reinstate-

More will be heard from St. Louis 4th joint demonstration for imme-later. Already the Stalinist budiate relief; send speakers to all reaucratic have pointed (publicly) working class organization in the to other members of the L. O. and city asking for a speaker from to sympathizers and stated that cope with the unemployment pro-blem. It narrowed its aims down leaslets explaining the aims of the ally fight against the expulsions to the State Hunger March and U. F. U. C. program; make ar-Demonstration. No organizational rangements for the calling of a exposing the absolute bankruptcy second conference; organize a trade of the Stalinist bureaucrats—in union committee to concentrate on whose hands the working class deed Councils unanimously passed ported by the committee and com- getting union support. Payer fense movement has actually lost the demand of the Left Opposition rade Roberts had to force the issue for a standing committee of each from the floor. The bureaucratic adopted was our "Trotskyist" prothe most favorable objective circuse it insists on addressing its Worker: cumstances.

-MARTIN PAYER. Communist workers: Why is the

Communist International silent about the crisis in Germany? Why Bedacht, that the German Communis Stalin silent?

A Political Swindle Exposed

phasis—G. R.)

obviated by the collapse of the proletarian movement—as happened evitably ensuing sanguinary conflict, a period of 'stabilization' sets by dozens of articles and speeches in, and the Fascist movement begins to decompose. And with it, the revolutionary proletarian party, From this it does not follow that the Fascist danger to the German proletariat is now climinated, or even definitively on the decline, whole "critical review" on the Such a conclusion can be drawn theme of the German crisis, Loveonly by those for whom the class! struggle begins at the ballot box and ends with the parliamentary mandate." (Our emphasis.).

Now, finally, for the Militant, of Feb. 24, 1933, containing the article by comrade Trotsky:

"Hugenberg's government repre sents the quintessence of social parasitism. But just because of possible. Hugenberg requires a screen. As yet today, he cannot hide behind the mantle of a Kaiser, and he is forced to resort to the brown shirt of the Nazi. If one cannot obtain the sanction of the highest heavenly powers through the monarchy for the property owners, there remains the sand tion of the reactionary and unbridled rabble. The investiture of Hitler with power served a twofold purpose: first, to decorate the camarilla of property owners with the leaders of a 'national movement'; and secondly, to place the fighting forces of Fascism at the direct disposal of the proprietors."

Further on in the same article: When the official Communist party states that the social democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination, it repeats only point of departure for the organi-When the bourgeoisie invites it to power, the social democracy casts The social democracy tolerates costume prize only to Martinov, (suffers) any bourgeois government that tolerates the social democracy. But even when completely dis-carded from power, the social democracy continues to suport bourgeois society, recommending to the workers that they conserve their forces for battles, for which it is workers from ILD branches because prepared never to issue a call. By

As for branding the Brandlernegative, 5 affirmative with 7 ab- ist theory and practise of the "uni- Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year,

Opposition pleads guilty. In theory and practise, Brandlerism has already been tested: in 1923, when it

call for a united front not to the

While we are on the subject of Messrs. Swindlers and Forgers of the Lovestone group, it is instructive to point out that in their word the role of the Communist International and its "leader" 33.) Stalin! Not a word about the criminal silence of the C. I. Not a syllable about Stalin's treacherous muteness on what is happening in Germany. And for cause! Lovestone gives a fig for the German revolution. Bah! He's national Stalin apparatus. Therebooks and the sense of philosophy ists? and the beginning of all good and proper things.

A MISTAKE IN THE DAILY WORKER

The Daily Worker of March 6, prints a picture of Joseph Stalin with the following caption: "The above picture, printed for the first time in the United States, shows Joseph Stalin, present secretary of the Communist party, Soviet Union as he appeared in 1919 on the south front in the struggle against the white guard bands of Denikin and Wrangel, who unsuccessfully attempted to invade the Soviet Union." The Daily Worker here makes that idea which served as the a little error. The photograph is well known to us. It is a picture zation of the Third International, of Stalin at a masquerade ball in Moscow two years ago, where he disguised himself as the Organizer its vote for the capitalist regime, of the Red Army. He lost first who appeared at the ball disguised

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EDITORIAL BOARD Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Monday MARCH 6, 1933

Vol. VI, No. 16 (Whole No 163)

In the Daily Worker of Monday, a united front proposal to the So-| munist party) and the Reichsban-February 20, Max Bedacht, member cial Democratic party. It stands ner (controlled by the Social Demof the Central Committee of the for the socalled united front from ocratic party) to defend a parlia-Communist party writes: "They, below. Since such, according to mentary meeting, why not a united too, (the Left Opposition and Bedacht, is the position of the Gerothers) come with the proposals of man Communist Party perhaps he and the Reichsbanner, the Commununited fronts between the Communists and the Social-Democratic reported in the Daily Worker, Feb. party, and the trade unions, to de-

Noskes, the Scheidemanns and the the Reichstag met today under Wels, but to the masses of social chairmanship of the Socialist Dedemocratic workers." (Our emputy Loebe, whereupon the Fascist deputies repeated their tactics of Thus it is clear, according to howling down Loebe and preventing a session of the Committee. He ist Party is opposed to addressing therefore, again declared the session adjourned; whereupon the Fascists pushed him from the chairman's table, The Communists.

Socialists and other oppositional

members then left the room....

"The Central Committee of the

ments of the Anti-Fascist League efficiency". stone does not mention by a single and the Reichsbanner." (Our emphasis-G. R., Daily Worker, 2-15-

mittee answer:

man revolution. Bah! He's making proposals to the leaders of quotation out of hundreds in those against Browder and Co.; he's for the Social Democratic party, why Stalin, whom he zealously offers did they propose common action to this, when it became necessary, Stalin, whom he zealously offers did they propose common action to his services as flunkey-in-chief in the Reichstag leaders of the Social "Yes, I have often heard to the social "Ye the American party for the inter
Democratic party to defend the (Lenin) praise his comrades. And Reichstag Control Committee from he knew how to do justice to the in, for him, lies the wisdom of the the disruptive actions of the Fasc-

> the party policy of only the united flattering appreciation he showed front from below?

> the leaders of the Social Dem- They tell a lot of lies about my ocratic party in the Reichstag, relations with him. Yes, they tell which is a united front purely from a lot of lies—and especially about the top, and opposed to a united me and Trotsky.' front with the Social Democratic "Pounding on party on the basis of a common clared: Show me another man who minimum program of struggle could organize in a year an almost against Fascism, which will draw model army and win the respect of the masses into action?

united front of the Anti-Fascist thing. And so we'll do wonders.' League (controlled by the Com-) Comment superfluous!

An End to Stalinist Confusion -- For the United Front l

Let the Stalinists cease their policy of confusion! A clear-cut policy of the united front tactic of Lenin and Trotsky before it is too late.

'Trotsky's Genius Denied'

With this headline, today's World Telegram prints a United Press dispatch from Moscow reads as follows:

"Leon Trotsky's leadership of the Red Army during the "In the afternoon the members War period is bitterly attacked in in October 1923—the bourgeoisie saves itself the expense of the inists declared the Constitution had war, made public today. Voroshibeen violated and proposed that lov denied the world-wide belief protests be made to the Fascist that Trotsky, now in exile,, pospresident of the Reichstag, Goer- sesses great military genius. He ing, and to President Hindenburg, claims that Joseph Stalin 'really The Communists declared such pro- saved the situation on all endantests were useless, and proposed a gered fronts', and that the Red new meeting of the Control Com- Army was built up to an imposing whole "critical review" on the mittee to be defended by detach- strength in spite of Trotsky's in-

Voroshilov is spitting in the wind. Better men than he have tried in the last ten years to re-write the Therefore, we would like to history of the party and the Red know, and let Bedacht or any army as it never happened. The other member of the Central Com- "world-wide belief" was not founded on myth and falsification, as is If the Stalinists are opposed to the fable manufactured by Stalin

"Yes, I have often heard him energies of even those with whom he was supposed to be personally Was this proposal in line with unsympathetic Surprised for one of them. I remarked that Why are the Stalinists for a a good many people might be parliamentary united front, with amazed by it. 'Yes, yes, I know.

"Pounding on the table, he demilitary experts besides. We've If the Stalinists can propose a got that man. We've got every-

Nation-wide Bank masses in general on the other. Just what manipulations will be postionly used in Crisis Breaks Out invoked in this particular case is not of great consequence; it may

(Continued from Page 1) carrying through its own solution of the crisis.

Party and Crisis

crisis like the present would have the profoundest social results. It geoisie, panicky and demoralized would be part of a general retreat as it is, can and will find its way in struggle of a demoralized bour-ganized, well-staffed and victorious ments as the present banking crisis, army of the proletariat.

sign it any such importance. It masses are organized for struggle becomes one of a series of episodes under the leadership of a in the development of the crisis, Communist party. The rearming like the heavy gold withdrawals and development of the Party to of September-October 1931 and a scale commensurate with its April-June 1932, which were met tasks is the basic function of the by temporary financial manipula- Left Opposition. Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy. tions on the one hand, and increas-

led pressure on the workers and the invoked in this particular case is be the issue of Clearing House scrip, or a tax on gold, or an embargo on gold exports, or a guarantee of deposits by the government of a banking pool, etc. That increased exploitation of the masses will be the next step to be at-Under such conditions, a banking tempted is the one thing sure. The main point is that the bour-

on the backs of the proletariat and As things stand, we cannot as the working masses, unless the

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis of thinking, the Soviet bureaucracy evolution of the Committee dur- (Brandlerists), which leads direct-

lication of the most important of the theses adopted at the international Pre-Conference of the International Left Opposition which concluded its sessions last month in Paris. Representatives were present from the Russian. Greek. Swiss. American and other sections of the Opposition. The theses which we reprint here is now up for discussion in the membership of the Opposition, for final adoption at the regular international Conference which is planned for convocation later in

the year.—Ed.) solution of this task.

in the U.S.S.R.

(We begin today with the pub- revolution. Complete counter-revolution means the displacement of the rule of one class by that of another; reaction begins and develops while still under the rule of the soviet Union, the petty bourgeois "frither revolutionary class. As the ends of the Soviet Union", the lib-tions to the Stalinist bureaucracy. bearer of the reaction against Oct. eral and radical nacifists, than in ober there appeared the petty bour-geoisie, particularly the leaders of that proletariat. But, a period of expectancy of the nearthe peasantry. Its spokesman became the bureaucracy which stands close to the petty bourgeoisie. Supported by the pressure of the petty bourgeois masses, the bureaucracy won a very far-reaching independence of the proletariat. After it had replaced in fact the program of the international revolution by The task of the coming Confer- national-reformism, it made the ence of the Left Opposition (Bol- theory of socialism in one country shevik-Leninists) consists of accept- its official doctrine. The Left wing ing a clear and precisely-formulated platform and organizational the blows of the alliance of the statues, as well as of selecting the Soviet bureaucracy with the petty leading bodies. The preceding bourgeois, predominantly peasant, theoretical, political and organiza- masses and the backward strata of tically degenerated form, the Soviet tional work of the Left Opposition the workers themselves. That is in various countries, especially in the dialectics of the replacement the last four years, has created of Leninism by Stalinism.

the last four years, has created of Leninism by Stalinism. | the centrist bureaucracy into a ed a sigh of relief; the new per- the other hand, the consciousness sufficently prerequisites for the After the organizational break- struggle against the Soviet state, spective opened before them a road of this danger paralyzes those leading-up of the Left Opposition, the The fundamental programmatic official policy became definitively and political documents of the Left a policy of empirical oscillation Opposition are issued in no less between the classes. The depend-than 15 languages. The Left Opposition disposes of 32 periodical proletariat meanwhile expressed it- ialism is such an elementary task publications in 16 countries. It self in the fact that, in spite of of every revolutionary proletarian has reorganized and strengthened a series of blows, it did not dare that the Left Opposition tolerates its sections in 9 countries and in or was not able to overthrow the in its midst no vacillations of the past three years created new essential achievements of the Octsections in 7 countries. But the ober revolution: the nationalizative will break ruthlessly with all most important and most valuable tion of the land, the nationalization groups and elements which attempt achievement is the undeniable rais- tion of industry, the monopoly of to occupy a "neutral" role between ing of the theoretical level of the foreign trade. Still more—when the Soviet Union and the capitalist International Left Opposition, the the Party bureaucracy in 1928 felt world (Monatte-Louzon in France, growth of its ideological solidity itself endangered by its petty bour-and of its revolutionary initiative, geois allies, the kulaks, in its fear The Left Opposition in and of its revolutionary initiative. geois allies, the kulaks, in its fear The Organ of the Left Oppostion of losing its whole support among the proletariat it carried out a The Left Opposition arose in sharp turn to the Left. The final as the immediate result of the ex-

to a new turn to the Right. talist countries. It is far more inclined to trust in the "revolutionary" Kuo Min Tang, the "Left" proletariat. Bureaucratic Centrism is the worst degeneration of the workers' state. But even in its bureaucra-

Union remains a workers' state. To transform the struggle against would be to place oneself on the saine level as the Stalinist clique, which declares, "The State-is I" The unreserved defense of the Soviet Union against world imper-

Imperialist Countries

The Third International arose 1923, ten years ago, in the land of results of the zig-zag were: the perience of the advanced workers the October revolution, in the rul- adventurist tempo of industrializa- in the imperialist war, in the epoch ing Party of the first workers' tion, the thoroughgoing collectivistate. The delay in the development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The This determined the leading role of the Communism, ment of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks. The Development of the October revolution had breaking-up of the kulaks.

led at the beginning of this year the influence of its internal strug- | Marxist wing (Bolshevik-Lenin-According to the conditions of its other national sections. Still, it ists), and finally the Right, or proprivileged situation and its habits is absolutely false to regard the perly speaking right-centrist wing has many features in common with ing the last ten years as a mere relieve into reformism. The political the reformist bureaucracy of capi- flection of the fractional struggle development of almost all common and the common struggle development of almost all common struggle development all common struggles all common str bureaucracy of the British trade internal reasons of its own which tion and its living reality.

through the necessity of defending by overthrow of the rule of the in principle, but never made a bloc its position in the workers' state, bourgeoisie. But at the moment with the Bolshevik-Leninists the Soviet bureaucracy is forced when the internal crisis of the against the Right. As to the Right every time into sharp collisions Party broke out, most of the Eur-with the reformist hand-maiden of opean sections had suffered their like every form of opportunism it capital. In this way under unique first great defeats and disappoint- is marked by an extraordinary historical conditions a fraction of ments. Particularly depressing was variety and contradictoriness among bureaucratic Centrism has separ-the powerless retreat of the Ger-lits national constituents, while they ated out of proletarian Bolshevism, man proletariat in October 1933. A all have in common hostility to the and has laid a heavy hand on a new political orientation became an Bolshevik-Leninists. whole epoch of development of the inner necessity for the majority of In the U.S. S. R., under the Soviet Republic and of the world the Communist parties. When the conditions of the dictatorship, Soviet bureaucracy, exploiting the the absence of legal opposition disappointment of the Russian parties, the Right Opposition inworkers with respect to the Eur- evitably becomes the tool whereby opean revolution, set forth the nather class forces which are hostile tional-reformist theory of Socialism to the proletariat exert their presin one country, the young bureau-cracy of the other sections breath-danger of the Right Opposition; on to Socialism independent of the ers of the Right Opposition who process of the international rev- through their whole past are bound olution. In this way the internal the Communist party all the shades reaction within the U.S.S.R. coin- up with the Party. In capitalist cided with the reaction in the capi- countries, where to the right of talist countries and created the of reformism can spread themselconditions for a successful admin- ves, the Right wing (Brandlerists) strative punishment of the Left Op- has no field of activity. Insofar position by the centrist bureau- as the Right Opposition has mass

But in their further movement to the Right, the official Parties collided with the real Kuo Min Tang, the real bureaucracy of the Trade Unions and of the Socialnew zig-zag to the side of an ultra-Left policy carried out thereafter intern majority into the ruling Center and the Right oppositionist

necessarily called forth a political disorganization of economy brought Russian Bolshevism in the Third has been possible to follow electly spirit of Stalinism. reaction in the land of the October about by this unconsidered policy International, and therefore also three fundamental groups; the

-B. J. FIELD. gles on the development of the ists); the Centrist fraction (Stalinwithin the world Communist party. tries without exception has con-In the development of the interna- firmed and every new day confirms tional labor movement there were the correctness of this classifica-

The first post-war years were trism that for long periods it went

organizations, it turns them over directly or indirectly to the social democracy (Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden), except for the revolutionary elements who find their way to the Bolshevik-Leninists (Czecho-Slov-Democracy, just as the Stalinists akia, Poland). The Brandlerist collided with the real kulaks. The elements who have remained independent here and there (Grmany, U. S. A.) build their calculations led to the split of the official Com- on being called back and pardoned sooner or later by the Stalinist bureaucracy; in the name of this perspective they carry on a campaign of lies and slander against the Left Opposition quite in