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## LEON TROTSKY Problems of the Soviet Regime

(The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

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

The economic basis for the withering away of the workers' state longer needs any juridical control. is being prepared.

The transition from revolutionary dictatorship to classless society cannot be accomplished by decree. A state cannot be dissolved by special order but gradually disappears from the scene, "withering tory of mankind. The jockeying or race. That they will direct their away" to the extent to which the for position, secret alliances, the powerful and culturally higher socialist society conquers all the and the whole world closer to the living functions with the aid of its brink of a world slaughter. manifold and flexible organs which no longer stand in need of coercion.

1. The Withering of the State the state takes place along two different roads. To the extent that stroyed the greatest bulwark of the the classes are being liquidated, that is, dissolved in a homogeneous society, coercion withers away in the direct sense of the word, dropping out forever from social circubecome more complex, more defields which until then remained as if beyond the threshold of society (the household, children's education, etc.) ond for the first time subject them to the control of the collective mind.

the weakening of state coercion regime. from within: the solidarity and conscious discipline of the socialist society should yield the greatest ing his swan song and the vultures some improvement. results on the field of battle as are already darkening the sky in

far back as two years ago that the and a shake-up in those quarters classes in the U.S.S.R. are liqui-where political jobs are given out. strikes had been called practically dated "in the main"; that the question who will prevail is decided "completely and irrevocably"; more than that: that "we entered into dustry, due to high tariff walls in strikes have also been foisted upon socialism." From this, according the U.S. and Europe, the competition the leadership of the NTWIU, beto the laws of Marxian logic, it with theg rowing beet sugar in- cause of the lack of a positive and should have followed that the dustry of the consumer countries, (correct policy toward a united necessity of class coercion is "in and the ever-increasing warehouse the main" liquidated and that the surpluses, the Cuban government's period of the withering away of financial income has been reduced the state had begun. But such a to a minimum. For many months. conclusion, insofar as it has been school teachers and other governattempted by some indiscreet doctrinaries, was immediately declared but until very recently, enough as "counter-revolutionary.

However, let us leave aside the perspective of socialism in one country. Let us proceed not from bureaucratic construction, already brought to an absurdity by the march of development, but from the actual state of affairs: the USSR is of course not a socialist society but only a socialist state, that is a weapon for the building of a socialist society: the classes are as yet far from abolished; the question who will prevail is not decided; the possibility of capitalist restoration is not excluded; the necessity of a proletarian dictatorship therefore retains its full force. But there still remains the question of the character of the Soviet state, which does not at all remain Hall, they attempted systematically the meeting called by the L. O. unchangeable throughout the whole to break up a mass meeting on the the party issued a leaflet denounctransitional epoch. The more suc cessful the economic construction, the healthier the relation between evening came as a climax to a and "allies of Hitler." Why then, town and country, the broader therefore should be the development of Soviet democracy. This does not activity on the part of Opposition asked, did they tolerate them at ing agreement in the shops. It Fur Workers Union. constitute as yet the withering forces, and this demonstration of the anti-Fascist conference and further declares its readiness to The drive was inaugurated a few away of the state since Soviet democracy is also a form of state coercion. The capacity and flexiin Left wing circles. bility of this form, however, best reflects the relation of the masses to the Soviet regime. The more the proletariat is satisfied with the tivities of united front conferences forth objections from those bodies results of its labor and the more against Fascism, which included not associated with the party which both Opposition and Stalinist rep- resent being dragooned into supbeneficial its influence on the village, resentatives. Events had already porting such vile tactics. the more the Soviet government attempts to be—not on paper, not given the former ample opportuin a program, but in reality, in nity to expose the utter incompeeveryday existence—the weapon of tence of the Stalinist leadership. the growing majority against the A prime example was the serious diminishing minority. The rise of Soviet democracy, while as yet not leading lights that the Conference signifying the withering away of the state is control asking that the control control asking the state is control the state, is equivalent nevertheless of Control asking them to protest and interruption broke out. The against Hitlerite atrocities. Again, to the preparation for such a in keeping comrade Jack MacDon-

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# National Youth Day: Protest Admission of Hitler Agent on American Soil Evidence Muzzled Workers Must Evidence Muzzled Workers Must Evidence Muzzled Roosevelt Program

AND SECTARIANISM OF STALINISTS—IN UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR. ALL OUT ON MAY 30th!

the festive places of the nation to geoisie. The hour draws close. shed crocodile tears for the proletarian whose body rests beneath a little cross on the other side of fected by the danger of war are the ocean.

his heroism in laying down his life blood money for the imperialist but this failed. historic dialectic of the state has to "make the world safe for de-bandits. It is they who must raise been sufficiently illuminated by the theory of Marxism.

The truth protest against the coming slaughis now breaking through the fog ter. of war propoganda. It was for It is they who must say to the is the high development of economic Morgan's millions that the Ameri- war mongers that they are ready dicks, began to maul the workers. power when productive labor no can workers had their bodies riddled to put an end to the system that The workers put up a good fight, longer needs to be driven and the with bullets. And it is for essentially starves them in "peace" time and using stones and sticks against the distribution of human goods no the same purpose that a new war must have recourse to war to clubs of the cops; many workers

race for armaments, brings Europe

The fake pacifism of Roosevelt, Workers Republic. Having de-October Revolution, the revolutionary German working class organizations, with the aid of the treachery and capitulation of the socialist

On May 30th, the jingoes, mu-|and Stalinist bureaucrats, Hitler nition makers, war mongers and grooms himself for the role of the all the "patriots" will gather in super-Wrangel of the world bour-

Young Workers, to the Fore! Most concerned and vitally af-

settle their conflict for profits and but a gigantic rehearsal for a new show the exploiters that the guns imperialist conflict, more bloody, that are placed in their hands will more wanton and more destructive never be used against their fellow than anything ever seen in the his- workers of some other nationality weapons instead against the selfsame exploiters, their real enemies.

Down with imperialist war! Turn the imperialist war into a civil war! These slogans will ring out on the ill-concealed hypocrisy of butcher Hitler points ominously to a "holy" crusade against the first the streets of New York and over the rest of the nation on National Youth Day, May 30th. On this day the rest of the nation on National Youth Day, May 30th. On this day the streets of New York and over the young workers and students must gather their forces for mighty demonstrations in defense of the Soviet Union and against the war plans of the imperialists.

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NAZI ENVOY IN SOLIDARITY WITH GERMAN WORKERS

On Thursday morning a thousand before 9 a. m., after the meeting for which he was originally framed achieving this end. had been going for some fifteen up. While the acquittal does not the young workers who -will be minutes, an attempt was made by They will talk of his bravery and used as cannon fodder to coin the the police to end the demonstration, charge, it proves the entire unten-

When the representative of the Y.P.S.L. got through speaking and guilty of one and the same thingthe Chairman was about to an- fatalities all caused by the bombnounce the next speaker, the police, this time reinforced by plenty of were caught by the horsecops, The "war to end all wars" was markets. The young workers must dragged through the strets and beaten with blackjacks.

The Army Base, housing a regiment of the Reforestation Army were in recommending a verdict of not the onlookers all through the welcome of American Imperialism to fused the class war prisoner's inthis third assistant butcher, Hans sistent plea that all the original Weidemann, who though without evidence of the case be presented the Brownshirts to defend him, was before a judgment is arrived at. ably defended by the Bluecoats.

workers were arrested. The demonstration, though militant, was too small to have any real effect. The fight against Quentin prison. Fascism must be broadened; as one

of the speakers stated. "to include (Continued on Page 2)

YOUTH MUST BREAK THROUGH SABOTAGE OF SOCIALISTS HUNDREDS OF WORKERS JEER CALIFORNIA BOSS CLASS EXPOSES ITS OWN FRAME - UP BY ACTION AT TRIAL. FINAL MASS EFFORT NEEDED TO FREE NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON JUNE 18th TOM MOONEY.

clear him legally of the original

ability of it. makes him both guilty and not ing in 1916. The case of the ruling class of California against the veteran labor leader is thereby considerably weakened. It is shown to

be on its last legs. But the procedure of Judge Ward who conducted the trial, speaks even more for the bankruptcy of the capitalists' case against Mooney than the acquittal itself. The judge, guilty, barred all evidence and re-

The frame-up has, it appears become so flimsy that the Coastal Despite this, he managed to sneak off the boat in the Harbor or to barons are in utter dread of camleave the pier by another exit. 10 plete exposure. The prosecution period of working class ascendance itself refused to present any argu-

On Wednesday afternoon, May tear its martyr from the blood-

No worker in the United States, the eyes of still larger masses.

if they challenge the leaders of the S. P. and the A. F. of L. before their mass following, to join in the fight.

Now is the time to bring the Mooney to a successful culmination. Closed ranks in a successful struggle to free Mooney will open up a new in the United States and serve as ments against the verdict and the starting point of a smashing Mooney was ordered back to San resistance to the capitalist offensive

on all fields of class struggle-on The 17-year struggle to free Tom the economic, on the political front Mooney is bearing fruit. Only one -and in the defense of all the last powerful push on the part of other victims of boss class oppresthe laboring mases is needed to sion.

# Roosevelt Program

ADMINISTRATION MEASURES MEAN TO FORESTALL MILI-TANT LABOR STRUGGLE

Roosevelt has thrown two more workers demonstrated against the 24, Tom Mooney was acquitted by stained hands of the bosses.. The ingredients into the mixture of Fascist envoy Hans Weidemann, at a jury called to hear an indictment unified movement set on foot at liberal medicines from which he is the foot of 58th Street, Brooklyn, against him which concerned the Chicago at the beginning of the brewing the cure for what ails the Army Base. A few minutes preparedness day parade bombings month is a tremendous factor in business. He appeals to capitalists to raise wages voluntarily, and he proposes to them that they form or in the world, can now doubt tion of the industry; for good meas-Mooney's innocence. No worker can ure, he throws in a bill for public fail to see the crass swindle of the works expenditure in the amount boss class in this frame-up. The of over three billions. These medfake trial only serves to open up cities go to join the minimum wage the eyes of still larger masses.

The indignation of all strata of labor against California class instice is nitched to a high key.

Solution of still larger masses.

bill, the shorter hours bill, reforestation, centralization of banking control, lowering of tariff walls, pojustice is pitched to a high key. The work of the National Tom "good will" and disarmament, and "good will" and disarmament, and Mooney Committee of Action cannot fail to swing labor behind them in solid ranks, if they pursue trying to stall for time, with a the Leninist united front tactic great appearance of activity while outlined at Chicago, conscientiously; great appearance of activity united waiting for some improvement in the economic cycle.

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

This is the basic approach of the most senile and discredited liberalism, that is, of the most primitive form of capitalist selfjustification as typified by Adam Smith, which may be summarized as, "Let every capitalist act for his lation. The organizational functions of the state, on the contrary, become more complex, more debecome more complex, more debecome. Revolt Gathers Wave of Militant Struggles Sweeps Needle Trades L. O. Addresses with the minimum of state intervention, and the results will be the best for the nation as a whole." This is the formula of the big bourgeoisie in the early stages of capitalism. Even in the classic home of liberalism, in England, the party that formerly stood for this philosophy is reduced to insignificance, nor has it any power in a single major country today. It is a symptom of the political backwardness of Amerca today that this political system is fished up out of the ashcan of history and served up in this country as the "New Deal."

The distinctive feature of the Roosevelt program is the combination of this reactionary-utopian theory with a practice which conold line, boss controlled politics tradicts it absolutely—the increaswhile Anderson represents small ingly direct union of the State with of being a 'Labor Party' man. His talism is being propped up by all administration would as it does kinds of governmental supportsnow, serve everybody, including subsidies, tariffs, loans from the Big Capital, just as a small shop-Reconstruction Finance Corporabehind a counter. Outside the beer larger farm operators, more intenissue, the Farmer-Labor party pro- sive government intervention, bankgram is so much like Anderson's ing, security issues, industry, and

Roosevelt is all for a free hand to the Mitchells, the Insulls, the American Kreugers-but at the of the capitalists as a class, expressed through the apparatus of the bourgeois state, superior to the

But while there is apparent con-The Communist party, the only tradiction between words and acts, party of the working class, is re- the facts themselves speak an unsource of all politics (political railroads are preparing to cut dle of June; the appeal for minimum wages is made by the same government which has established \$1 a day as a fair wage for exacting labor under military discipline; the Black Bill for the 30 hour week by making no mention of wages clearly implies that wages will be cut in proportion to hours and that the "stagger system" and

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

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

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## tailed. They pentrate into ever new Against Machado Regime in Cuba

Another revolt accompanied by a The general manner of posing the wave of terrorism has broken loose question does not change whether in Cuba. The guerilla outbreaks in it concerns a single country or the the central and eastern provinces whole planet. If we should assume of the island are only one, and that a socialist society is realizable perhaps not the greatest of the danwithin national boundaries, then gers threatening the dictatorship. the withering away of the state In the cities and especially in right of way to slash wages and could also occur within the frame- Havana, virtual civil war exists work of a single country. The nec- between the "A.B.C." student teressity, of defense against capitalist rorist organization and the famous enemies threatening from without "porra" at the service of the muris in itself entirely compatible with derous pseudo-bonapartist Machado pointed out to the worker the one

"Butcher" Machado is now sing-lish starving or wage a battle for well as on the field of production. preparation for the feast. A change of government means new conces-The Stalinist faction declared as sions, new contracts, new loans,

> ment employees have been unpaid, funds have been available to keep the army and police "loyal". At last however it appears, even these, the almost sole remaining supporters of the regime, are wavering. Recent dispatches from Oriente Province report serious defections (Continued on Page 2)

show very definitely that an underlying current of militancy is coming for lack of preparation. to the surface.

The gains that have been won by the sacrifices of the needle workers over an extended period of ups and downs have completely vanished. The crisis has given the bosses the increase hours without any resistance on the part of the workers. But the tide has been turned. The intolerable conditions have way—the way of struggle. They

saw one alternative: either to per-

These moods of the needle workers have been expressed in two recen strikes of the dressmakers in Boston and Philadelphia. Both in spite of the "good judgment" of With the increasing intensifica- the Vice-Presidents of the ILGWU tion of the crisis in the sugar in- in charge of those centers. The

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

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

This cooperation is amazing in

(Continued on Page 2)

The Two Faced Policy of the Centrist Bucreaucrats

Toronto, Can.—Stalinist forces in ference, they were forced to endorse

Toronto revealed in glaring fashion him as its speaker at another

German situation called by the ing the "Trotsyites" in the usual

Toronto Branch of the Left Oppoterms of meaningless fury, as dis-

The meeting was called by the the leaflet "Left Wing Organiza-

he confusion into which they have meeting.

been thrown by recent events when

after the Stalinists had succeeded

ald off the executive of the con-

The present degraded standards tion in either union to assure a or guarantee from Hochman and Party on Elections of the Needle Trades workers are successful outcome of the two Dubinsky will mean anything. It leading them to revolt. The ranks strikes. The Right wing negotiation is not their good or bad intentions of the workers of various crafts ted with the bosses. The Left wing that dictate their action of class show very definitely that an under-will criticize itself, post factum, collaboration, it is their very po-

rade unions.

tional into a struggle. He said: "We're willing to meet the em- it left unanswered. ployers more than half way, but

to call a strike." In face of the impending strike

of the New York cloakmakers, the International leaders could not but concede to the militancy of the

#### Needle Workers are Asserting Themselves

The positive trend of the needle workers towards action has also taken shape within the unions. In the NTWIU, the demand to deal and the building of one union is pressed hard upon the leadership. of the past—in time of the prepara-The rank and file members are demanding a perspective. They want to know more about the future of their union than the leadership is willing and capable of telling them. In the ILGWU the rank and file expressed its positive trend in the recent elections in the three important locals-9, 1, 22-where they elected either a complete or partial slate of the Left wing administration. Both unions had been forced O. & Stalinists in Toronto to an appreciable degree to deal with the question of unity.

NTWIU Vacillating and Stalling The leadership of the NTWIU is last plenum was held in New York on May 13th and 14th. The two main decisions which were given prominence in the Freiheit of May 16th, are worthy of consideration. on Friday, May 12th, at Spadina view of the fact that the night of criminal confusion.

One: The NTWIU declares its turers with the A. F. of L. readiness to help in the coming cloakmakers strike under the aussition. The happenings of the rupters of the solidarity of labor pices of the International, provided wing in the attempt to force the be smashed by preserving the unperiod of successful anti-Fascist as comrade Spector pertinently enforce the provisions of th impendinto the discredited International struggle is not a struggle of the official Stalinist ideological bank- elect comrade MacDonald to speak bind itself against any criticism of weeks ago by the murder of Morris demonstrations, in the face of folly of the Stalinists was to sign

I. O. as an extension of the actions" which has naturally called towards the strike.

> The meeting itself opened with an analysis by comrade Spector of the German situation which the audience of five hundred followed attentively. But when, in conclusion, he introduced Jack MacDonald, an organized storm of booing fact that the disturbance started suddenly and without warning, tochampions of the workers and honeycombed the market, the fakers and their henchmen against the their interests, as though a promise are distributing leaflets calling upon furriers union!

sition as reformists that brings The Left wing press has not even forth betrayals. Their historic poas much as mentioned it, because sition is that of collaboration with of the obviously favorable situation the ruling class—that is where of the International which indicated their betrayals flow from and not once more that the Stalinists have good or bad wishes or promises to forgotten the role of Communists in carry out decisions. Does this declaration also bind the official From the statement made by organs of the C.P., the Freiheit and Reisberg, ILG representative in the Daily Worker not to criticize Philadelphia, it is obvious that the or remind the International clique dressmakers forced the Interna- of their past misdeeds and warn the workers to be on guard? That

ommunist in a union to fight and lead the workers in the struggle against the reformists, the socialist trade union fakers. The struggle is especially heated and comes to a head in the preparations for a strike. That is the time when the secret conferences and supplementary agreements between the officials and the bosses take the place of a real fight. Where do the Communists stand in their historic role of the vanguard of the workers in a time such as this? Their mouths lurch the masses of organized labor with the problem of the united front are to be shut by promises, "not that make up this party. This to criticize the harmful activities

> tions and during the strike.' With such promises the Communists become a rear-guard instead of the vanguard of the workers. of the reformists.

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# in Minneapolis

Minneapolis, May 19, 1933—The local branch of the Communist League (Left Opposition) has addressed the following Open Letter to the official Communist party: Every election should be a lesson in politics for every honest wage worker. In the free-for-all primary election the working class of Minneapolis suffered a political setback. Of the mayoralty candidates

nominated, Bainbridge represents ployers more than half way, but since even the arbitration, the traditional American method of settling disputes was rejected, we were left with no alternative but

The very purpose of the Left while Anderson represents small and independent business interests. Anderson's break with the Farmer-Labor party shows that he can afford to drop even the pretensions union to fight and ford to drop even the pretensions.

While Anderson represents small ingly direct union of the State with monopolistic capitalism, which characterizes the decaying phase of world capitalism. Even in the ford to drop even the pretensions United States, the system of capitalism. keeper serves "everybody" from tion, government loans to that they have virtually withdrawn railroading. from the field after Latiners' defeat in the primaries. Thus the small business leadership of Farmer-Labor reformism leaves in the same time he keeps the interests should show to the workers in the Farmer-Labor party that its leader- interests of the individual capitaship and program is not for their

> Worse than that, they become, in sponsible for the development and mistakable language. the eyes of the workers, accomplices advancement of the workers' in- employers listen to his appeal to to all the betrayals and schemes terests in the class struggle, the raise wages, they know that the The second decision on the dress economy as Karl Marx called it.) wages 20 to 25 percent in the mid-(Continued on Page 4)

## Attack on Furriers' Union The leadership of the NTWIU is vacillating more and more. Its Police, Bosses & A.F.L. in Onslaught on Left Wing

Fur Coat and Trimming Manufactine workers.

the decision tell the workers posted in the shops ordering

In the Wednesday and Thursday

ruptcy has made a deep impression in Queen's Park? The crowning the past betrayals of the Interna- Langer, the militant worker and police terror, the workers showed tion of and during the strike.

organizer of the Industrial Union. their determination to fight resonution of and during the strike.

Murderous attacks upon the N. T. lutely in defense of their union. The Freiheit of the same date W. I. U. followed in the attempt Workers of other branches of the heralds this declaration as one that to terrorize the furriers into sub- needle trades have joined the furclarifies the attitude of the NTWIU | mitting to the demands of the riers in their struggle. The fight must be extended and all workers Wherein lies this "clarity?" Does | Early this week notices were called upon to support the furriers against the attack. The defeat of progressive unions that are resisting the wage cut and speed up striving to get out of the crisis. Workers, unite! Your interests and living standards are threatened. Right wing buraucrats acting as ported by the police, who have Smash the terror of the boss class

whether the NTWIU give up the the workers to affiliate with the furrier's would mean the exbuilding of a cloakmakers depart- the A. F. of L. union, setting tension of the drive against all ment, whether the Left wing par- May 25 as the deadline. The workticipants will remain in the ranks res in most of the shops immediof the International to fight in the ately went out on strike, militantly drives by which the capitalists are interests of the cloakmakers. It demonstrating against the united does not. Instead, it spreads il- front of the bosses, the Right wing lusions about the possibility of the misleaders and the police. Sup-

The drive of the fur manufactu-| the workers to break their ranks rers against the workers has cul- and submit to the bosses. Ostensibly the lower standard of living for minated this week by an agreement this drive is directed "only against the American worker are to be stathe Communists," but this is only bilized. They are examples of utter and of some 50 bosses of the Associated a screen to split and demoralize

The solid ranks of the bosses The spearhead of the attack has the police and the treacherous right been directed against the Left wing bureaucrats can and must the ILG leadership will promise to workers out of their union and broken front of the workers. This furriers alone.

## LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

### Unemployed Struggle in Youngstown

Youngstown, O .- Responding to the appeal of Youngstown Unemfour unemployed organizations met ments were represented.

united front conference of all labor aries appeared on a balcony at the Valley on or about June 25 for the purpose of agreeing on a minimum program for united action in this

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

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

ment of the working class AT factics against the L. O. EVERY ONE OF ITS STAGES The last sneaker was mistake." Stalinists, take heed!

## Nat'l Youth Day

(Continued from Page 1) On this day, above all, we must not forget the criminal treachery of the socialist misleaders who drove their followers to the last demonstrate the sincerity of their out a word about Germany. agitation against war, on National Their struggle against war is noth-

ing but lip-service. front from below" and "social criticism of the Yipsel leaders on their cause in the factional struggle false, un-Leninist policies. They from their leaders an accouting for prevent a real struggle against war file with their false leaders!

against imperialist war. Young workers and students: All tions"

out on National Youth Day!

#### SECOND SHOWING OF RUSSIAN MOVIE

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

Auspices: Film Club, New York Branch, Communist League

### Stalinists and L.O. in Canada

(Continued from Page 1) ployed League No. 1, delegates from gether with its extent and violence, showed that the plans to disrupt for the purpose of issuing a united the meting had been carefully laid. a united front between the mem-industrial Union were not even principal leaders of the Opposition front call. Besides the Unemployed The racket culminated in the sing- bers of the Industrial union and the consulted. (The committee, consis-Leagues from Youngstown and ing of the Internationale by the International and the unorganized." Austintown, two Youngstown Unem- disturbers, and a large section of ployed Councils sent delegates to the audience began streaming for two national unemployed move for a moment it looked as if a This preliminary conference debatants were quickly separated. This tally with the first decision—batants were quickly separated. cided to issue an appeal for a broad Then one of the Stalinite functionorganizations in the Mahoning back of the hall and began to address his henchmen.

> But our comrades, taking a leaf with? from his own book, howled him

In his speech, comrade MacDonlocal Left Oppositionists will be the disturbance as a confession of generally determined by the spirit official panic and ideological desof Engel's letter to Mrs. Wisch-titution. Comrade Spector then "I think all our practice as he reminded them that hoolihas shown that it is possible to ganism and gangster methods had work along with the general move- always been an integral part of the

The last speaker was comrade WITHOUT GIVING UP OR HID- Morrow, a member of the Y.C.L., by the later declaration of the New ING OUR OWN DISTINCT PO- who dealt briefly and forcefully SITION AND EVEN ORGANIZA- with the issue at hand. (At the TION, and I am afraid that if close of the meeting Morrow was the . . . Americans choose a differ-informed that he had just been ent line they will commit a great expelled from the Y.C.L., but was left in ignorance of the official exuse for this action).

Finally questions were asked for and the usual array of puerile the basis of one union! Reading mouthings were hurled at Jack between the lines this means, con-Macl)onald—why aren't you in jail, why don't you talk about Canada instead of Germany, etc., etc. Not a single question bore upon the question under discussion-the sitnation in Germany.

When comrade MacDonald had world slaughter for the defense of disposed of questions in goodcapitalist fatherlands. For years humored fashion, comrade Spector the social democrats and their offered 10 minutes to any spokesyouth adjuncts have been mouthing man the Stalinists might choose. fine phrases against the danger of The result was a diatribe from one war. On the foremost occasion to of the party stalwarts-but with-

preventing their members from join-divided between pity and amuseing the New York parade. This ment. The meeting closed with a proposals. is the real face of Yipsel misleaders. thunderous acclaim for Lenin and

he German Revolution. The consequences of the evening's Through its senseless, criminal events, which set the strength and because we foresaw the trend of Send all funds without delay to tactics, the remains of the "united clarity of the L. O. in such sharp events, the great need for unity not the Militant at 126 East 16th St., ontrast with the stupidity of offi-Fascism" on the one hand and now cial Stalinism, have already struck their willingness to renounce all deep. The bureaucrats have done the other, the YCL is unable to incalcuable harm. Several of their profit from the discontent of the supporters have signified their inyoung sociaist rank and file on this tention of resigning, while others and other issues. Away with the are determined to at least secure

this piece of disloyalty. by sowing confusion and prevent | Our comrades of course will dethe break of the socialist rank and mand an explanation at the next meeting of the anti-Fascist confer-Clear the road for the mass united ence of this indefensible breach of the American working class are the front of the youth in the fight the united front. Honest elements most immediate tasks confronting among the "Left Wing Organiza- us today. Within the last four who disclaim association years of the crisis unemployed orwith the Stalinists are up in arms ganizations of different types and never the forging of their approval different political shades, have of this cowardly slander of the L.O. sprung up in all parts of the Uni-Altogether, the Stalin functionaries ted States. These organizations all are in a very uncomfortable mess. have the same aim of organizing Their behavior on this occasion the unemployed of our class to succonstitutes another heavy blow, cessfully resist the lowering of our struck with their own hands, standards of living, to prevent against the waning prestige of their hunger and starvation, to obtain organization.

> SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT! of these unemployed organizations ork of is \$1. On a Club Plan with three and sectional unemployed organi-

others it is only 50 cents.

## Needle Trades Struggles Why the Stalinists Have Been Caught Unawares

must be organized on the basis of

First—"between the members of Gold appeared there on April 6.) the Industrial union and the Inter-

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

If we were assured, in any way, down and forced him to stop. Soon of a following from the unorganized not improbable. And here it is comrade MacDonald's stentorian to the extent of relying upon them not the leadership that must be voice was booming from the plat- as an active support of the Left saved but the banner of the Left form, and the audience began to wing in the dress trade, there would quiet down. Shortly after the be no need of appealing for unity meeting had resumed, a squad of to the International. The greatest trial Union must demand from the police appeared, but as there was majority of the dressmakers are fortunately nothing for them to do, stil the unorganized mass of work- ment as to its readiness for unity; they soon took their departure. In ers, having no class instinct. It time, his audience swelled to its is our task to organize them first "en bloc" into the International, former size, and there was no fur- and teach them the A.B.C. of trade without discrimination, for the sake ther attempt at organized disrup- unionism as well as the intricacies of the class struggle.

The boasted "clarity" falls to and Philadelphia, were called before the delegates to the New York of the daze of the long ambiguous Left wing entirely unprepared.

the decisions is further evidenced York trade board of the NTWIU, printed in the Freiheit of May 22, just one week after the publication of the "clear" decisions, likewise in the Freiheit. In point of fact the trade board voids the decisions of a week ago by declaring its readiness to confer about unity on sent to the demands of the International-as a condition for negotiations to give up the NTWIU.

The propoganda of the "third period" about the united fronts from below, about "social Fascism, about company unions, no pacts with "scab" agencies (reformist unions) had to be countered with a proposal that would assure the workers of the Industrial Union in its plea for unity. Were the Left Oppostion proposals of "inclusion as a body into the International Such a display, coming after the without any discrimination" heeded

exact formulation. We were correct chinery! as a maneuver, but as a necessity New York, N. Y. to strike together at the onslaught

The effects of unemployment upon

adequate cash relief, unemployment

By the end of 1932, a number

zations in dealing with the major

insurance, the shorter work week, problems of our class.

(Continued from page 1) of the bosses, to be prepared for situation is entirely contradictory proposed an extensive and farto the first. I quote verbatim from reaching campaign for unity rather the Freiheit report on the Plenum, than sending a committee on the May 16, 1933: "The coming strike q. t. to the International—a step about which the members of the ting of Hyman, Boruchovitch and

The hand-to-mouth which the this preliminary conference. Thus the exits. A fight commenced, and national" again sounds like the Party leadership is handing out to united front from below. How does the trade unions worked havoc. The attempt of the leadership to save its face and establish its infallibility pushed hundreds of disappointed needle workers into the clutches of the Right wing clique.

Now the union will suffer more and more under the blows of reality. Capitulation to the right wing is wing.

The party fraction in the Indusleadership a bold and clear stateas to our proposal of reentering of fighting in the interests of all the needle workers.

The militant workers in the ranks The attitude and actions of the ald drove home the significance of pieces when we confront the real of the International, anxious to the varous sections of the national pieces when we confront the real of the International, anxious to the varous sections of the national pieces when we confront the real of the International, anxious to the varous sections of the national pieces when we confront the real of the International, anxious to the varous sections of the national pieces when we confront the real of the International pieces when we can be a section to the International pieces when the real of the International pieces when the real of the International pieces when the real of the In facts. The two strikes, in Boston accomplish unity and devoted to the cause of the needle workers, imperialist interests will welcome and understand such newetsky on January 27, 1877. He spoke again and stirred his hearers Plenum had a chance to get out a statement. On the basis of such speeches. The strikes found the banner of the Left wing once more course. The conflicting interests of a statement, they will rally to the The weakness and instability of against reformism and the system gaged in back-stage arrangements, nized and had no influence. Some organization. . . and carry it ahead in the struggle that oppresses them.

— S. BLEEKER

#### O I L THE MACHINERY!!

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

But the records of two branches is outstanding. The Kansas City take in the next few months. Branch has sent in \$70 to date. But all honors in this drive go to the New York Branch which turned over \$300. And it is not inadvisability—for the imperialists attacked it. Oneal quoted from the through yet.

ment, a young one struggling up- way to the more effective policy of ward against tremendous odds.

own press. When it is oiled it vention is no less an argument Youth Day, the YPSL leaders have clear and forceful exposition given by the Stalinists in their time the works fairly well. That is how it against the same tactics in Cuba. sabotaged the united front and are by our comrades, had the audience Right wing would have had a much is with the movement. It needs Although full legal justification for Right wing would have had a much is with the movement. harder task in rejecting the unity lubricants constantly. Money lubri- such action can be found under the cates. Oil the machinery! Help the Platt Amendment, the responsibility Our correctness was borne out by Militant! Take all the financial accruing to the U.S. Government reality, not only because of the squeaks and groans out of its ma-therefrom, would in all likelihood

tions on November 19th and 20th,

the direction of Karl Borders, the

laid the foundation for the first

was held at Lincoln Center, in

Chicago, May 13, 14, 15. This con-

ference, built upon the work of the

Midwest canference was a national

conference, much broader in scope

and therefore, went deeper into the

No unemployed organizations of

the workers who sent delegates.

or political beliefs were excluded

(Continued on Page 4)

regardless of their race, color, creed

Statement of Jobiess Leaders

## Revolt in Cuba!

(Continued from Page 1)

in the garrisons of several small The armed outbreaks appear to 26, 1929, in New York. It was a yesterday opened fire upon him and

to American intervention. The bourgeois cliques are opposed to intervention at this time as this would interfere with their own hopeful plans for the distribution advantages among themselves.

Machado's main support rests today on the governmental bureau- has the right to exist in the moveeracy and the armed forces of the state power. The several national bourgeois groups and the foreign companies (with exceptions) as tion, the unions must inevitably well as the proletariat and peasantry, are all desirous of his eli- 1929). mination. The very survival of the dictatorship for such a long period has been due largely to the conflicts existing in the camp of its enemies. It would be naive to expect any decisive action of the proletariat at the present juncture, of the same stripe, people who but it is certain that Machado's overthrow would be immediately followed by sharp struggles among bourgeoisie and the conflicting

The Roosevelt administration has not yet determined on a definite the rival sugar companies are enand in dickering with the State Department and with Cuban politicians both in and out of office. Sena tor Borah and Hamilton Fish have declared themselves in favor of American intervention under the recent appointment of Sumner Welles, assistant secretary of state, as the new American ambassador to Cuba, indicates a change in policy on the part of Washington although it gives no clear indication of the course that policy may

The experiences of Nicaragua and diplomacy and dollars. The scandal Let us take an example from our growing out of the Haiti interadvantages obtained.

and formed the Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues of America, with temporary officers of 9 and temporary offices in Chicago.

The temporary committee under

The temporary committee under

Street, preparations are already being made, strategic positions already being bargained for where-Chairman, carried on the work and to derive advantages for the conflict that will follow Machado's conference of the Federation which overthrow.

capitalism.

- ROSALIO NEGRETE

## Muste and Brookwood A Review of A Type of 'American' Centrism

movement took place on May 25- The result was that his friends of be inspired by the sector of anti- call to all progressives and radicals his collegues. James Oneal, a mem-Machado forces which is favorable of all shades in the labor movement. ber of Muste's National Executive This was stated in the Labor Age Committee, bitterly attacked the of Feb. 1929, in an editorial called CPLA because of an article written the "Challenge to Progressives." by Saposs, who posed as a "Left" Junta wherein are represented most The aim of the conference was to at that time, in the Labor Age on of the different bourgeois and petty bring together all militants into an racketeering in the A. F. of L. organization to fight the reactionary Unions where the S. P. fakers conpolicies of the A. F. of L. bureauc-

In point five of this editorial the Musteites stated: "Fight for of political posts and economic the recognition of the principle that a minority opposition in disagreement with what happens to be the official position of the movement, ment." It further stated that unless "those who are temporarily in the minority have a chance to funcstagnate and die. (Labor Age, Feb.

> ference? James Oneal (editor of the New Leader), Algernon Lee, J. B. S. Hardman (Salutzky), and others

have always fought and helped to destroy every Left wing organization. How could they fight the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. ited in their own organizations for progressve like Muste knew! However there were a few progressives, who could be counted on the fingers Labor Age. Just another illustraof one hand, who were not orgaof them left in disgust before the conference had ended.

It is worth mentioning to the Muste to form a reformist revoreaders of the Militant that a work- lutionary" third political party. In er introduced a certain resolution July 1931, the National Committee terms of the Platt Amendment. The at this conference. I think he was of the Musteites decided to transthe only progressive worker at the form the CPLA into a political conference. The resolution was that party "suitable to the American progressives should fight against scene." To secure a majority at expulsions in their organizations the political discussion on the forand for the reinstatement of those mation of the new party, Muste militants who were expelled by the brought down a squad from Brookreactionary trade union officials.

When this resolution came up for discussion J. B. S. Hardman Haiti are too recent to be easily Algernon Lee, James Oneal, the forgotten. They demonstrate the leading spirits of the conference, of intervention, excepting as a Third International and finished But let no one have the idea that very last resort. In Nicaragua, after his speech by saying that this resofrom now on it is all smooth sail- combatting Sandino unsuccessfully lution would bring scabs back into ing. This is a revolutionary move- for six years, the U.S. Marines gave the unions. With this Muste agreed.

In reality, this resolution centered Levich have also left the Musteites. around the statement made in the The reason given is that the CPLA editorials in the Labor Age cited was too revolutionary for them. above. To suit the reactionaries, Who has remained with Muste? the resolution was amended and Only those . . . Americanizing "revcrippled. The fake progressives re-olutionists" like Hardman, Lore, fused to carry out what they themselves had written.

The conference adjourned. The be so onerous as to offset any Musteites named their organization The Conference for Progressive bourgeois opposition leaders are all anxious to serve Wall Street and the consting of Arthur College week week article is to follow next Labor Action." They began to prove inxious to serve Wall Street and hemselves by replacing for Machado's crude dictatorial methods Brookwood, because he refused to Statement of the National Comm. of the National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues

(products of a decadent pseudobonapartism), some form of constitutional bourgeois rule, in which the different and foreign and native capitalist interests can collaborate ference of Unemployed Organiza-"democratically." Life however is CPLA organization. It was not destined to demonstrate the impracticability of any such arrangement, and in anticipation of its conducted of Brookwood. He conducted a violent campaign member of the YPSL who spoke, failure, preparations are already against him in the capitalist N. Y. Times and blacklisted him as a already being bargained for, where-Communist. (See N. Y. Times, June United Front was gathering, if not by the various participants expect 4-10, 1929). Who can say this was on all issues, at least against not militant progressive action a Fascism." la Muste? . . .

> In the first year or two the CPLA The new reciprocal tariff agree- made no headway. It had no ap- Goebbels arrives must include the ment between the U.S. and Cuba preciable workers in its ranks and masses! Communist party members, is an attempt to reconcile these hasn't had any to this day. The YCL members and a handful of contradictions. Any such stabili- organization consists of intellectuzation hoxever can only be of a als, pacifists, S.P. members and socialists, mean nothing if they do passing nature. Cuba being leaders who themselves need leader- not draw in the Trade Unions, etc., essentially a one crop country, ship. Realizing that the CPLA was in the fight against Fascism . Only presents an extreme example of a skeleton organization, Muste be-economic contradictions which can find no permanent solution under L. and the S.P. bureaucracy, in order to atract the more militant the solidarity of America's toilers workers. Muste began to cover him-with them.

The first conference of the Muste | self with revolutionary phrases stitute part of the racket machine. Have the Musteites disciplined Oneal? Oh no! They are not Communists. They believe in democracy."

#### Miller and Muste

Here is an example which shows how democratic is the CPLA. In 1931, Bert Miller, once the watch dog of the Stalinist bureaucracy who led the blackjacking of the Trotskyites in 1928, left the Lovestone group with a few others and ioined Muste's outfit. Lovestone was too revolutionary for them. The Musteites refused to admit them un-Nice phrases. But who were the til they had signed a statement leading "progressives" at the con- that they had no connection with the Lovestone or nay other political group. These cowards signed the statement despite the fact that one of the Musteites took up the fight for them and advised them against it. The statement was demanded by the revolutionist Muste and the theoretician of the CPLA, when they themselves were discred- J. B. S. Hardman. The ex-Lovestoneites were so eager to join the their reactionary policies? Only a Musteite "mass" organization that they did not even demand the publication of this statement in the

tion of democracy in the Muste

After a few months sojourn in the CPLA Bert Miller, together with Hardman and Lore, persuaded To secure a majority at wood to vote for him. Lore said at this meeting that "the German workers would flock by the thousands" into the Muste party. The S. P. members resigned from the CPLA and most of the Lovestone group under the leadership of Benjamin went back to the Lovestone camp. The Muste third revolutionary party died a-borning. Since then Miller and his pal Budenz and a few scattered assis-

> - S. M. DAVIS NOTE

The above article was sent in to us by a Left wing militant for-

## Anti-Nazi Riot

(Continued from Page 1)

-who are against Fascism!" The said, "that sentiment for the

The next demonstration—when

#### TO FREE TOM MOONEY MAIN RESOLUTION OUTLINES BROAD PROGRAM ACTION IN

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

The Free Tom Mooney Congress can Federation of Labor and of the whether endorsing this Congress or the A.F. of L. and Socialist Party upon the basis of the development calls upon all organizations of International Unions affiliated with not, with a nation-wide petition for heretofore insufficiently represented. of a broad mass movement, through workers to join in setting up the it, and of the Socialist Party. It the purpose of obtaining millions of Mass meetings should be held reports of returning delegates, local National Tom Mooney Council of instructs the Council of Action to signatures to the demand for the where reports are made on accom-Action, composed of representatives address itself to and to confer with immediate and unconditional par- plishments of the Free Tom strations and the petition campaign of all workers' organizations which the leading committees of these now or after the Congress may be organizations in a continuous effort tition campaign, accompanying an for forming the local conferences. to set a national and international drawn into a united struggle for to break down their opposition. the freedom of Tom Mooney and, as inseparable activities, for a united front for workers' rights and the rights of the Negro people.

Conditions of Affiliations The conditions for affiliation to this Council of Action shall be: The acceptance of the propo-

sals here outlined; 2. The readiness of each organization to enter actively into mass struggle as a necessary supplement to legal defense and parliamentary activity for workers' rights;

up throughout the country. determines to concentrate efforts on become a powerful force driving

All negotiations with the A.F. of L., the International Unions and Socialist Party should be openly and frankly carried on with the knowledge of the masses. These organizations should be held strictly accountable to the masses for a continued failure to enter into energetic mass struggle for the release of Tom Mooney and for workers' and Negroes' rights.

In view of the urgency of the situation, the Congress calls upon 3. The mobilization of local or- all local unions, all organizations ganizations for active participation of the unemployed and local branchin local councils of action to be set es of the Socialist Party and of other workers' organizations, to This Congress calls for a nation- affiliate themselves at once with wide campaign to mobilize the the local Tom Mooney Councils of working class in the fight for Action. The need for united action workers' rights and against all cannot be postponed. The indeforms of discrimination against pendent action of local unions, Negroes. Particularly this Congress Socialist Party branches, etc., can

toward our goal of united action. Mooney Petition

lease and the struggle for workers' united front activity. and Negro rights.

Local Councils of Action upon the individual delegates to of the nation-wide campaign for

take the lead at once and upon the workers' and Negroes' rightstheir return home in preparing and concentrating now on the drive for is also authorized to proceed in ferences with the broadest possible Warren Billings. (Continued from last issue) | winning the support of the Ameri- | which can be brought to co-operate, to draw in those organizations like don of Tom Mooney. Such a pe- Mooney Congress as a preparation will be able at an appropriate time active mass protest movement, can These conferences should have as Mooney Day of struggle for the

> cil of Action in co-operation with diminish the growing mass move-This Congress calls upon all or- the various organizations should ment by merely formally setting a ganizations here represented and take the lead in the development

> The National Council of Action carrying on local united front con- the release of Tom Mooney and co-operation with all organizations representation, particularly striving Mooney Day and Another Congress The National Council of Action

> become a powerful instrument for their task the setting up of local release of Tom Mooney and, Warren arousing larger masses of workers Tom Mooney Councils of Action Billings. This will also become a in the struggle for Mooney's re- and the inauguration of the local rallying point in the whole struggle for Mooney's release. It should The National Tom Mooney Coun- resist energetically any tendency to "Mooney Day."

The Congress authorizes th

#### by Arne Swabeck Unemployment and the American Working Class 24 pages

Pioneer Publishers 84 East 10th St.New York

Postage: 1c extra per copy

### Calls for "Council of Representatives of Various Organizations with Different Views" National Tom Mooney Council of Schmidt and J. B. McNamara,

such time as it may deem most sentences in San Quentin, and the proper. Related Issues

gro rights as symbolized by the

Scottsboro case as an inseparable part of the struggle for the complete unity of the working class, and as therefore an integral part of the struggle for the freedom of all illusions concerning the chances Tom Mooney. We urge the re- of Tom Mooney, Warren Billings, turning delegates in setting up the Scottsboro boys or any other local Councils of Action to secure victims of capitalist class justice, the widest possible active support obtaining their liberty through mere for the defense of the Scottsboro dependence upon the courts of law,

cases today involving workers' and class persecution. Negroes' rights-the Kentucky miners sentenced to life for arganizing of the courts, is responsible for a union; the Atlanta prosecutions such victories as the working class for organizing unemployed black alone has won. This congress calls and white workers; the Centralia upon the masses to enlarge this IWW prisoners; the Illinois Prog- weapon of mass pressure by quickly ressive Miners arrested and pro- establishing the united front of Tampa Cigar workers; the deporta- ney, Warren Billings and the other tions for working class activity; victims of capitalist class justice, the 5 Negro share croppers con- and for the defense of workers' and victed in Alabama; Matthew A. Negroes' rights.

Action to call another Congress at A. F. of L. organizers serving life Iowa and Michigan farmers prosecuted under the criminal syndica-We regard the struggle for Ne- lism laws for organizing resistance to foreclosures A Call to Mass Action

The Free Tom Mooney Congress

calls upon all workers' organizations to be on their guard against or to secure their rights through In addition, we urge the Coun-constitutional and legal guarantees cils of Action to develop united alone. They have too often been front support of the outstanding shown to be the instruments of

Mass pressure, not the "justice" secuted for union activities; the labor for the release of Tom Moo-

## Workers' Pocket Series By Leon Trotsky

Soviet Economy in Danger In Defense of the Russian Revolution 5c 72 pages

## Letters from Germany Reveal Truth on Conditions in Labor Ranks

The letters published below and hailing directly from different parts of terror-stricken, Fascist Germany, paint, in many instances, a black picture of the conditions of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard. This is a bitter pill for revolutionists to swallow, particularly those who have been fed on Stalinist pollyanna illusions. But it is our policy to speak out what is, to tell the truth to the working class and especially the Communists. It is precisely these illusions and these falsely painted pictures, at which the Stalinist apparatus has been so adept, that led the German proletariat to catastrophe.

We quote a short report from No. 10 of the Inprecorr, ("Rundschau") to indicate how even after the catastrophe the bureaucrats continue their work of deception and falsehood. "Many small section groups in practically all of agrarian Pomerania have been arrested down to the last man; despite that, the work will be carried

Who will carry on the work? The Storm Troopers?

. . The entire local group was arrested in Treblin . . but the Communist local group

will continue the work." (?) No. our letters don't read that way. Much that is in them sounds harsh, but only upon the truth will we build our future strength.

Letters from the Rhine and Ruhr Letter from comrade W. in S. The party is smashed here. Most

of the units-at least 95 percent do not meet any more. Many of the units no longer pay dues There is no connection with "above." Since January 30, the Central and Western parts of the city have issued one leaflet (on the

The "Hitler-Trotskyist" United

Front and the C. I. March 5th

Proclamation

form invented by himself and only

attributed to Trotsky underhand,

when he says that not even (!) a

Wels proposed such a treacherous

platform to the C. P. G.! No, but

the Socialist and Labor Interna-

tional proposed to the C. I. on Feb-

ruary 14 a "non-aggression pact"

and the same E. C. C. I. which

unanimously endorsed Heckert's re-

port, in its reply of March 5 con-

sidered it "possible to recommend

to the Communist parties, to re-

frain during the time of the com-

mon struggle against capitalism,

from attacks against the social dem-

ocratic organizations." The C. I.

is therefore prepared to renounce

critisism of the policy of the S. P.

even far beyond the platform in-

by Heckert as "Hitler-Trotskyist."

Fascism has triumphed, the policy

of the C. P. G. was correct. Trotsky

did with his "Hitler-Trotskyist"

platform," in execution of a "social

The Marxist revolutionary Heck-

that the defense of the mass trade

unions on the basis of a united front

with the social democrats would

and Lenin and would have meant

and Engels recommended—accord-

ing to Heckert-that the trade

unions be delivered to Fascism,

while Hindenburg demanded the

united front of the Communists

with the social democracy for their

One sentence in Heckert's article

"The present Fascisation of the

German social democracy is no

forces us to beat the alarm. Heck

ert says:

those in Germany."

it foam at the mouth.

latter's "auxiliarv."

But Heckert is attacking a plat-

elections) and one handbill. Almost the entire district and section leadership has been arrested. (The entire leadership of the Central On the 29th of March a transport of 15-20 men. In the last two days, new arrests of some 40 men, mostly are in jail. members of sport organizations,

in the Nazi party who were former intern. functionaries in the Party, the tion, etc. Among these is the for- Reichstag: While no one thought mer sub-district leader of the of resistance in Berlin, the workers Young Red Fighters League. Res. here formed self-defense corps ignations from the party are on were arrested in the last few days, the order of the day. Not only night and awaited the slogan: Insimple members but functionaries surrection! Everything or nothing! also are turning their backs to the (The party education had to lead

mation of a prisoner, their number etc. (No paper reported this.) social democrats. The police have fied. also ordered certain known Commuists and social democrats, still time to time to scrape off the plachave refused is very small.

with party comrades, so as to meet auxiliary police, who are schooled declared that the municipal councel not yet be lost. and discuss with them. The party we could reach very many of them, particularly because the party any longer. Now is the best time to encounter the party with our 'ideological offensive" (a la Stalin manner.)

So much for today. With the best greetings.

#### Letter from R. About Our Work

All the party comrades are very sympathetic to our cause. They come to us for advice as the party offers them absolutely nothing. We are issuing an information bulletin for party members, in which we analyze the present situation, give the reasons for the defections in the working class, show the mispart of th city has been arrested.) takes of the party and trace the correct line for further work. Up of 60 to 65 and on March 30, one till now we have not met with any resistance. All the functionaries

At the present time the workers will not follow putschist slogans. The desertion to the Nazi camp They are all beginning to have an is very great here. I personally international outlook. They comknow more than twelve men today ment on the failure of the Com-

Here is a description of the sit-("Red Front Fighters") Organiza- uation after the burning of the

The arrested men are often used elections a long street battle took convict prison! We even know of to scrape off the (illegal) placards. place between the Communists and Those who refuse are tortured and the Storm Troops plus the police deported. According to the infor- with machine guns, armored cars, has grown to 15 Communists and 6 Many comrades were arrested, many

With best greetings,

P. k. at large, to present themselves from Letter of Comrade Herta from S. ave refused is very small. | through the denunciations of form-We are trying to make contacts er Communists. There are 400 leader of the N. S. D. A. P. (Nazis)

# Hail RedFlag!

The first number of the monthly organ of the British Left Opposition—Red Flag has just appeared. We extend to our brother organ across the seas our warmest fraternal greetings and hope that it will succeed in becoming a powerful factor in clearing the road, uprooting Labour Party treachery, I.L.P. vacillations and Stalinist sectarianism-toward the revolutionary victory of the proletariat in the homeland of the oldest of the imperiaist pow-

in the use of machine guns, etc. in our city (140,000 inhabitants.) The prisoners are now taken not

only to concentration and "forced labor" camps but also to convict a disabled war evteran who was dragged into a convict prison.

The S. D. P. has a miserable at titude. They allow themselves to be beaten and lick the butcher's hand. In many cities the S. D. municipal councellors vote to have Hitler and Goebbels named honorary citizens. That, however, does ards. Failure to do so this means betray everyone. A crowd of us throwing these self-same municipal arrest. The number of those who were arrested in the last few days councellors into "protective" arrest.

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

There was a provacateur in the R. F. B. (Red Front League.) I am giving you his name and you must warn against him in your bulletins. He is a certain D. who has already served 5 years in prison for theft and forgery. Up till now more than 50 comrades have been arrested and frightfully tortured because of his denunciations.

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

Now, on the state of mind of the petty bourgeoisie. The small shopkeepers complain about the cancelled orders following the anti-Jewish policy. The people say that they should not have acted thus against the Jews, they should not have closed their establishments. "The Jews are really not so terrible; the Jewish enterprises do not deceive the small shopkeepers several provinces thru the peasants as much as some Gentiles.' This has been crushed openly, by and to that.) On the Sunday of the prison. Preventive arrests in the is the language of a section of by, simply due to the continuous small merchants who name a batch failures of the "plan of encircling of German firms that have deceived and taking control, by peasants' them, up till now, they were never strength of Wuhan, Nanchang, etc.' deceived by a Jew. They also say that healthy criticism of the deeds of the government should be all the party have joined us or are lowed under all circumstances be in the major part agreeing with cause the absence of healthy cri- our view. Some have struggled ticism is a sign of weakness! with the party on questions of the Besides this they all wish the futility and even harmfulness of The worst are the deserters. They not hinder the Storm Troops from pensions to be increased, the hundred the establishment of "Anti-Imperiger decrees abolished and work alistic League" running parallel given to the unemployed. If the with the party or YCL on the one working class constituted a strong hand, and the Anti-Japanese Mass subjective factor, everything would Conventions on the other, the

## Left Opposition Overcomes Obstacle Strengthens Organization in China

Peiping, China.

there was not any broad mass situation is just contrary to what movement in China, yet important the Chinese "Fascist Group" (Blue things have been going on within Shirts) called "complete collapse of the party and the Left Opposition. the C. P. Opposition of China." There has been a continuous cap- We are growing, though slowly. The itulation of party members—especially responsible officers—to the though a great loss, on the other enemy, the Koumintang, of late.

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

program for the present and no action expressed for the present! But some excellent elements of

in northern China,) etc. Some have tivities toward the workers. already recognized the correctness of the third Chinese Revolution.

neither informs them nor maintains cently initiated and participated in Barbusse. Socialists from France, fore the eyes of the socialist and in the party apparatus for our Japanese Imperialism movement, any connections with its mambers and take responsible and the national assembly question communist workers—no! United purposes, and take responsible and the national assembly question and Maxtons behind the backs of generally the case, openly declare the bourgeoisie recently. A special the workers, independent of the themselves to be Left Opposition- number devoted to the German masses who follow them-certain- ists, they are sure to be expelled Revolution and anti-Fascist movely! This is the queer logic of and to lose their functions within ment was published by the "The we do it in that way at present Opposition).

As to the Left Opposition, both Since our last letter, although in the South and in the North, the arrest of comrade Chen-Du-Shin, hand, objectively gives us chances to make propoganda in the cour! and among the masses!

Comrade Chen and several active members of the L. O. had made a "fast protest" (hunger strike) against the mistreatment in the Really, the party has no political prison and the postponement of the "public court judgement." Now, the judgment time will come soon. The fantasy of establishing revo- Comrade Chen has written a "legal lutionary power first within one or thesis" defending himself from the several provinces thru the peasants K. M. T. accusation that he "endangers the republic of China."

> The Shanghai comrades are working under a "temporary com-This committee, together with some comrades from North China, is preparing for a National Congress of the L. O. of China.

In our branch, the Shantung Convention of the representatives coming from the various districts of Shantung, was convened in January 1933. The L. O. Convention of North China met on March 6 to 9. Important decisions were made, members felt more armed conventions on the other, with new inspiration. recally created putchism of establishing "Soviets" body among us is turning his ac-

We are concentrating our work in three important movements: Some of the elements still remain The German Revolution, the Anti-

## comrades are quite amenable to our criticism. If we had the literature we could reach very many of them. With the "Left" Socialists -- from the Top? The Communist International re- ated by none other than Henri veldes, Adlers and Renaudels be-

Fascism that even the Stalinist present as well as Communists front with the Brockways, Patons work. We think that if they, as is which was "hotly" brought out by any connections with its members an international united front against Britain and Belgium and Italy were press is silent about. According from these countries (except Italy) to the New Leader, (April 28, '33), as well as from Germany, Czechoand Co., only not in the Stalinist official organ of the Independent Slovakia and the United States. unofficial (!) conference of Left ence proposed that efforts should Stalinism brought down to its latest the party. This is the reason why Vanguard" (organ of the Chinese Socialists and Communists was held be made for a meeting of the Ex- phase,

I in Paris on April 25. It was initi- ecutive Committees of the Labour and Socialist International and the Comintern to consider ways and means of combatting Fascism. This Debacie the Stalinists rejected. The latter agreed to collaboration between the Left Socialists and the Communists

and urged the support of the European Anti-Fascist Conference and stag deputy Dr. Leber was arrest- the Youth Conference against War and Fascism to be held in Paris on August 5th. (No notice has appeared in the American or international press of the Comintern on the latter of the Stalinists in the last 10 Conference!) The Left Socialists agreed to support these conferences on the condition that they were officially invited and permitted to participate in their organization.

This was agreed upon. The Comintern which had rejecternational, even refused to openly initiate a conference with the Brown Shirts before the Karl International Committee of the Left Socialist Parties. It again battle in Altona? Where did the resorted to the back-handed policy ists. No, those who sat safely so ment. party succeed in organizing a of having Henri Barbusse "person-According to Heckert, the party independence of the Communist

quote from the literature of Stal- conducted behind the backs and ated. That the Fascist dictatorship Fascist state is given by the Baywithout the knowledge of the Com- is in deadly earnest about their arian government appointed by course and as, the only correct one, "It is clear that no united front munist and revolutionary workers, attempt to destroy all working class police commissioner von Epp. Its for the R.G.O., to immediately recan be made with these people the Comintern issued its May Day organizations one need not doubt first act was the trade union decree turn to the trade unions in order

"Now we need the united front The Fascists and the Trade Unions will not be settled at some nego- from below, not negotiations with driven the Nazis from the factory tiation table, but on the battlefields the top leaders, with Wels and Renand that the same thing is hap of the final struggle and before the audel. For the leaders of the Secrevolutionary tribunals of the Ger- ond International, negotiations of man Soviet republic. And that the officials on top are merely a method of delaying, hidnering and disrupting the united front of the working class.'

United front with the Vander-

"Hey, social democrats, will you go with us? If you don't, we will

the "Red Referendum" was rigged mission. struggle of the revolutionary party Heckert's memory has become social Fascism and oppose them to This type of united front tactic, Fascism cannot be conjured up by had arrived in power he said: ever so many sleight-of-hand tricks

on the part of Heckert. same way as they denied the revothe social democracy to Commuhas remained intact, the struggles

If the working class really wants an intact organization, one that is bad times. struggles, then it must penetrate through the influence of the crimlessons from ten years of national

-JOSEPH CARTER (for some comrades only.)

abor Writhes Under Nazi Whip (Continued from the last issue) The factory councils are now

in many places already passing into oblivion set aside by the Fascists; when the Reformists are left in practically undisputed control. Here by the Nazi attacks and prefer to again they admonished the workers sell-out to the latter. to remain neutral politically and and tortured and replaced by Fasc- as the disorganizers of the move far behind were not irritated, only

The Fascist and the workers ormands. In reality the quintessence of der ever greater difficulties in united front policy looked like this: granting any reform concessions. At go with the Fascists," In this way.

In its approach to the trade spection by the Nazi established helping to give expression within unions it is also completing the somewhat feeble. We'll refresh it. counter-revolution by stages, encountering no obstacles whatever each other. According to this these continual zig-zags in the from the miserable functionaries Nazis are proceeding quite unhamrecipe, the C.P.G. should give up meantime brought their effect. who are now the lackeys of Hitler pered as far as the militant mino-Fascism rules! This platform has as they once upon a time were to rity is concerned. It is practically been exposed in the meantime by the Hohenzollerns. In this respect, the facts as direct service to Hitler. the lead was given by the president not merely by persecution or de-Proof that the platform of the Left of the German trade union federa-Opposition led to the victory of tion, Leipart. The day after Hitler

"The present government may carry through a period of no agree-For Heckert and the ECCI, the ments perhaps even further reduc- T.U.U.L., so in Germany the RGO, perspective is a particularly rosy tion of wages; they may even bring only in the latter case it proved the factory councils. one. Just as after the October de- out reactionary plans from the much more fatally and much more feat of 1923, as China in 1927, as storage room of antiquated ideas criminally wrong, due to the more Comintern leaders have not changed in Bulgaria in 1924, so now the and make arrangements which op- advanced political conditions and their course in regard to the R.G.O. Stalinists deny the defeat in the pose the rights and liberties of the due to the larger scale of the splits It was commissioned to initiate the German working class. But the and of the isolation of the party anti-Fascist congress scheduled to lutionary situation previous to it. German workers know that after from the masses. Othewise the be held in Prague but prohibited The workers are going over from a long period of social ascent can characteristics are common to both by the Czecho-Slovakian governalso sometimes follow reverses, yes of these products of the "third per- ment. Naturally, it is to be nism, the organization of the C.P.G. even temporary conscious retreats." iod" era. In other words, the German workers have had their good times, now must embrace all workers of the country. But no matter where it they should submit and accept the industries or at least a sufficiently will be, when initiated by the

But even such lackey service is workers of varying political opinnot sufficient. Today the Fascists ions. The R.G.O., a rival union, response to this gathering, not to exact a much heavier tribute than based upon withdrawal of the revplied to the Communists, the so- licies and leadership, remained a ism is concerned, this congress to cling to fatal illusions, but also iliary organizations, each in their ous role at all in the class struggle. in advance to sterility and imnot to fall into passivity; not to turn, has also commenced against Its membership was composed only potence. it to a halt; to recapture the postance showing their alarm at the at that. The R.G.O. could, there-ticle, the lackies have as is only ters at each attack. That does wall of separation. not at all suit these frightened

#### The Fascists and the Trade Unions

nothing else could be expected lackeys who are much more alarmed about the rank and file action than the Nazi attacks and prefer to.

Their answer is leaflets, in which be irritated, your rights and your duties and guarded by the constitution and by the factory council gregating at the headquarters," said law," so said the Hamburg trade the Berlin leadership, "will be ted a united front against Fascism union leaders. And this at the very with the Labour and Socialist Inment when the councils are head advantage by the Commutational even refused to combine the councils are bruskly dissolved or reorganized, by the method of the worker is that to the bulk of the memberelected representatives being jailed ship the Communists have appeared

Thus the road is cleared for the sizable strike of political signifi-cance? Lies, nothing but lies. . . Another sign of the much acclaimed even the reorganizations are only the significance of heaving freshold were not irritated, only Nazis. They pursue their destruction so far unhampered. Perhaps even the reorganizations are only tion so far unhampered. Perhaps to the party's impotence in face of temporary measures. Not even Nazi the clearest indication of how they councils, so close to the rank and proceed by stages to destroy the out without a struggle and to the order to conceal their bankruptcy.

Today the situation is such in Germany, that the workers do not in which the unions are ordered to take up the Left wing activities to "resume their functions," but within them.

> poles, mutually exclusive. Within with the prohibited political orga- transformation of the trade unions nizations, their late leaders or

Their headquarters will remain authorities find such necessary.

All political activities are prohibited, the unions are not to hold tionists to work in and to learn any public meetings and regular how to be able to do the work, membership meetings to be held skillfully, carefully—well planned only upon notification given to the and courageously executed. To

At any time the actions or deism is called upon to perform its cisions of the unions, including unions, to fight for existence and their finances, are subject to inshop nuclei.

In this work of destruction, the

As in the United States the strikes and demonstrations against

decisive section. That will include R.G.O. it cannot even mark a sericontrary detached it and created a given the boot.—Ed.

The basic aim of the revolution-

the working masses and particularly those organized in the trade unions. The R.G.O. became precisely the most formidable obstacle to this basic aim. Numerically feeble, it to even influence them because it was distinctly a rival organization.

The R.G.O. could naturally not remain immune from the typical Stalinist bureaucratic methods either. One party member relates how in the early part of this year the whole Berlin R.G.O. leadership was removed and a new one appointed in its place without the slightest explanation made to the membership.

A fatal injury to the movement is the record of this R.G.O. policy. Its consequence contributed heavily

That is still, despite all the positions lost, an imperative necessity. indirect attempts toward contact It does not diminish with the into organs of the Fascist state. On the contrary. It increases in importance. So long as they repoccupied by the police whenever the resent a form of organization gathering workers within their ranks, they constitute a field for revolufight every inch for the existence and functioning of the trade functioning of the factory councils. them to the working class needs and connecting up therewith the democratic remands which inevitably must arise—that is the job at present. Now that Fascism is in power, it is an especial necessity to utilize every means available for flank attacks until the proletariat can again gather its forces. That the workers will respond That is the Stalinist policy of heroically, has already been shown arrests and against attacks upon But the Stalinist party and

assumed that efforts will be made Trade unions to be effective to hold the congress in some other ous attempt to really rally a mass speak of initiating subsequent actions. As far as a genuinely united

\* Since the writing of this ar-

- ARNE SWABECK (Continued in next. issue)

# Answer the Roll Call

social democracy" as inevitable. That means that they consider Fascism as inevitable. That means

In order to prove that the policy of the C.P.G. was correct, that it conscience-lies and to the incense of self-deception. The political system of the Stalinists, built upon lies, has collapsed in Germany. From this they draw the conclu-

to Fascism. This readiness goes vented by Heckert and ascribed to Trotsky and then again attacked dare to speak aloud in the streets. under the blows of a period which domiciles. Heckert, however, lies he spineless bureaucracy winces it does not undertsand. At that, to the international working class, it has an inexerable opponent in saying that the workers at the revolutionary Marxism which makes

has criticised this correct policy fact that up to the last moment (which led to the victory of Fascism) and showed how the victory
of Fascism. So, for instance, a
ers Zoergiebel, Severing, etc." (Comof Fascism could ave been pre- certain Schwab wrote in the Com- muist provincial press, quoted in vented, the workers' organizations munist International (German edi-Hermann Remmele's atricle "Mark maintained, how this struggle could tion of January 10, 1933 (p. 19): have been led directly up to the

proletarian dictatorship. This is what the "social-Hitlerite" Trotsky ert, on the other hand, maintains going over to Hindenburg. Marx working class were bloodless abstructions."

And Heckert lies when he says that the German Communist Party 283). forewarned against the coming defense! The Stalinists are proud Fascist danger! According to Heck- of the C.P. with the social demothat they have stuck to "Marx and ert, the C.P.G. was not surprised cratic party helps the social Fascist by Hitler's seizure of power. The leaders in the preparation and party, whose innumerable function- execution of their betrayal. Their aries were stuck into jail in short role, like that of the social Fascist order, whose apparatus was anni-leaders, is an immediate Fascist hilated in the course of several role." (Muenzenberg, Roter Aufbau,

accidental interlude, but the road which all social democratic parties forces," will go under similar conditions to This is frightful! The Stalinists already today consider Austria, France, England as lost to Fascism! They have learned nothing from the German events! They have no Stassfurt, Harburg and Lubeck. looked itself over and noticed that desire, despite their manifesto of What happened in Strassfurt? A not all of its bones had been broken its cadres anew and draw the methods of suppression, first ap acceptance in advance of party po-working class action against Fasc-March 5, to take the path of the one-hour protest strike against the it once again fell into the old rut. consistent Leninist united front shooting of the social democratic It carried on like this until its and international Stalinism. Not cial democrats and then the aux- paper organization playing no seri- called by the R.G.O. is condemned tactic! They do not want to put mayor, Kasten. The workers were bones were actually crushed. the social democratic leaders under aroused and decided to resist, but If the party clearly pointed out the pressure of the proletariat with the reformists succeeded in stifling the danger of Fascism and pursued capitulate before Fascism, but to the trade unions. The rank and of Communists and only a very this tactic and so to force them the militant sentiment in a pale a consistent united front policy organize the retreat and to bring file membership, also in this in small section of the Communists at least to enter into the struggle demonstrative strike. According to from the top and below, then Heckagainst Fascism! They do not want | Heckert, it was the C.P.G.'s "own ert ought to explain how the social sitions lost; to utilize the differ- Nazi advance and showing their fore, not at all serve to connect the natural, and was to be expected to prove to the backward masses in forces" that organized the strike. democracy succeeded in maintaining ences between the nationalists and readiness to fight, respond and party with the masses, but on the from the past developments, been daily practice that it is necessary In reality it was the impotence of control over the decisive masses of the Nazis-that is the command of gather in masses at their headquarto break with the reformists if a the C.P.G. which prevented the workers in the factories and in pre- the hour!

falls into social decay! did not, in contradiction to 1923. rob the proletariat more and more of all ability to act, Heckert is forced to resort to an arsenal of sion that it is necessary to lie still more profusely and shamelessly in

Germany, that the workers do not They do not dare to gather in groups of more than three in their A.E.G. (General Electric) have

It is furthemore an indisputable

"The 11th plenum of the ECCI International (German edition) put an end to the artificially constructed principal contradiction between the bourgeois democracy and assignment from Hitler" as the Fascist dictatorship, and by that means gave the Communist parties important assistance in the struggle against social Fascism, The 12th plenum showed that so-called 'classical' Fascism did not and could not exist and that all the theories deduced from the history have been a deviation from Marx of Italian Fascism concerning the necessity of first smashing the

#### Was the Party Prepared?

No, according to Heckert, it had just begun, freely, "with its own strikes. Fortunately, he becomes He only knows that the party sevel are as yet directly ahead of us . . stance and permits us to probe into then quickly, on such a "theoretical these 300 strikes, of which 297 be- basis," proceeded to make united able to organize and lead to the long to the realm of imagination. | front proposals. As-on July 20,

# Explains' the

ducted against Fascism. No, they consider the "Fascisation of the standing by passively while Europe

which in its own words, has led

pening in ever so many other cities.

days, was not surprised!

## a manifestation of power. In Lue-The Stalinist Hypocrites | beck, the social democratic Reich-

ed. It resulted in a general strike lasting several hours. Here too, the Communists, thanks to the conscienceless, bureaucratic policy years, were unable to exert any influence.

What happened on occasions when Communists were attacked? What happened at the massacre in Eisleben? There, where the real forces of the Stalinists were showed up in full size? Not a spark of organized resistance! What happened at the provocative parade of the Liebknecht House, and at the street

did not restrict itself to organizing International!

inists. (social Fascists). It is clear that Manifesto. Therein we read: our dispute with social Fascism . . holds, of course, for the little so-Time!" (Schritthalten), Communist

March 1-15, 1930.) "Herr Trotsky and similar 'counsellors' of the proletariat want to propose to the working class such a policy as would separate the up. against Fascism from that against the struggle against social democracy today and make a bloc with the party of Hindenburg-socialism, with 'Noske and Grezezinsky,' and 'fight' Hitler on this basis." (Thaelmann, Communist International (German edition), June 1932, page

"Whoever demands today a bloc Feb. 15, 1932).

A Few Things to Explain Heckert appears to be unacto organize some 300 quainted with his own literature. somewhat more concrete in this in- ral times flew into a frenzy and Heckert cites the strikes in 1932. After that, when the party

determined struggle is to be con-transformation of this strike into venting Communist influence over

ompelled to beat a hasty retreat,

for a moment.

ganizations are the two opposite the latter the trade unions form the great reserve. Even these the their members. Flascists cannot tolerate as they will always offer a basis for struggle against capitalism, including the mere struggle for reform de-Capitalist society has reached its decay stage and is unthis moment this is the most police. marked in Germany. Hence, Fasc-

on the following conditions: They are to make no direct or

The Fatal Policy of the R.G.O. entirely outside of the trade unions, fault but by deliberate and-particularly now proven false policy.

independent "revolutionary" unions. even in these difficult days by local

# Problems of the Soviet Regime

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

With regard to the peasantry as a whole the task was and is an more concretely in this fashion: calling of the next congress of the entirely different one. The peasantry must be drawn to the side years of 1917-1921, when the old stitution, be immediately expelled of the socialist regime. We must possessing classes still fought with and subjected to persecutions? Why prove to the peasant in practice that weapons in hand, when they were would any Communist who openly the government industry is capable actively supported by the interven- expressed doubt as to the infallaof supplying him with goods on tionists of the whole world, when bility of Stalin be immediately much more advantageous conditions than under capitalism and that collective farming is more advantageous than individual farming. Until this economic and cultural task is solved and we are very far from it, especially as it is solvable only on an international scale -class frictions are inevitable and landlords and capitalists revolutionary violence served as the basic method, in relation to the kulaks the problem was a different one; while crushing unmercifully the outright counter-revolutionary resistance of the kulaks, the state was ready to compromise with them on the economic field. It did rot "dekulakize"the kulak but merely limited his exploiting tendencies. With regard to the peasantry as a whole revolutionary violence should have played only an auxiliary and what is more an ever diminishing role. The practical success of industrialization and collectivization should have ex- employed, the conference adopted pressed themselves in the modera- the following outstanding proposals: tion of the forms and methods of

2. Political Regime of the Dictatorship and its Social Foundations will liquidate the last remains of tion, in struggle against unemploycapitalist elements in our economic ment upon the basis of the immelife." It is clearly evident that from the standpoint of this official class. perspective the state should have withered away completely during favoring the establishment of the the second five-year plan, since where the "last remnants" (!) of PLOYED through their trade

In reality however we witness processes of a diametrically opposite character. The Stalinists do not dare to assert that the dictatorship of the proletariat has assumed more democratic forms in recent years, but on the contrary, try tirelessly to prove the inevitability of a factor of the proletariat has a sum of the proletariat has assumed more democratic forms in recent years, but on the contrary, try tirelessly to prove the inevitability of a factor of the perspective of the establishment of one national unemployed organization, in which there would be no discrimination against race, color, creed or political beliefs.

-we should get not only a gloomy picture but an outright ominous remnants of independent significance and ceased being Soviets. The tinued effort will be made to draw success. We hope these organizaparty does not exist. Under the cover of the struggle with the Right unite in action for our immediate help in the formation, and support deviation, the trade-unions are completely crushed. The problem of the degeneration and stifling of a national committee of 15, with or the autonomy of the subscribing the party and the Soviets has been headquarters in Chicago, that is organizations. discussed many times. Here we find instructed to carry out the program, it necessary to take up in a few policy, resolutions and constitution lines the fate of the trade-union adopted by an overwhelming maorganizations during the period of the Soviet dictatorship.

The relative independence of the trade-unions is a necessary and important corrective in the system of the Soviet state which finds itself under the pressure of the peasantry and bureaucracy. Until the classes are liquidated, the workers must defend themselves, even in a workers' state, through their trade-union organizations. In other words: the trade unions remain trade unions while the state remains a state. that is, an instrument of coercion. The "statification" of the tradeunions can only go parallel with the "destatization" of the state itself. This means: to the extent that the liquidation of classes deprives the state of its functions of coercion, dissolving it in society the trade-unions lose their special class tasks and dissolve themselves in the "withering away" state.

This dialectic of the dictatorship, imprinted in the program of the Bolshevik party, is recognized in words also by the Stalinists .But the actual relations between the trade-unions and the state develop in a diametrically opposite direc tion. The state not only does no wither away (despite the heralded liquidation of classes), not only does not moderate its methods (despite the economic successes), but on the contrary becomes ever more openly the instrument of bureaucratic coercion. At the same time, the trade-unions transformed into offices of functionaries, have completely lost the possibility of fulfilling the role of buffers between the state apparatus and the prole tarian masses. Worse than that: the apparatus of the trade-unions themselves has become the weapon of an ever-growing pressure on the

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

to the core.

Theory of Degeneration) organization of the Red Army, the composition of the Central Committee, the trade-unions, the tranbut a descending curve. If we were sition to the NEP, national policy to accept on faith the official esti- and the policy of the Comintern? mate of industrialization and col- Why is it impossible now, after the posite direction to the development of its economic basis. Does it antry—to allow discussion of the mean that the laws of Marxism tempos of industrialization and are false? No, but the official esti-collectivization, of the co-relation mate of the social foundations of between heavy and light industry, the dictatorship is false and false or of the policy of a united front in Germany? Why would any mem-The problem can be formulated ber of the party who demanded the why was it possible during the party in accordance with its conthe armed kulaks sabotaged the arrested? Where does such a terarmy and the provisioning of the rible, monstrous, unbearable exercountry—why was it possible then cise of the political regime come ing aside the question of policy of the discuss openly in the party the from?

## Statement of N.C. of National consequently—also state coercion But if in the struggle against Federation of the Unemployed system only to the extent that it is completely but the growth of inner on Stand in Minn. Elections

(Continued from Page 2) which went on record favoring this principle for the Federation. Three national organizations, two others in the process of forming national organizations, state organizations, sectional organizations and city organizations were present, representing 45 organizations, with 826 branches from 16 states and 28 cities from all parts of the United States.

After three long days of discussion on the problems of the un-

1. The establishment of a Nademocratization of the Soviet re-Workers Leagues with city, county, D. Harrington-United Producers sectional and state federations to: coordinate them into one national V. Didwell-Peoples Council organization. These organizations to retain their organizational in-On January 30, 1933, Pravda dependence, but to coordinate their Zimmerman—Workers Leagues wrote: "the second five-year plan organizations, through the Federa-

closest relationship with the EM- Mattock-Workers Leagues class inequality are liquidated, unions, industrial unions, and all other working class organizations. processes of a diametrically op- ord favoring the perspective of the 3. The conference went on rec-

bility of a further sharpening of 4. The conference adopted its postate coercion. Reality itself, how-sition on united action of the un-unemployed organizations into city, state coercion. Reality itself, how-ever, is more important than all the perspectives and prognoses. employed workers and defined it as: the united action of organiza-tions, especially endeavoring to If we should estimate Soviet tions, around immediate demands, bring into this united action those reality through the lense of the political regime—such an estimate, retains its organizational independence. although insufficient, is absolutely dence, refrains from slander and The conference received lettres of justifiable and extremely important personal attacks against each other, support from unemployed organizawith the right of minority expres one. The Soviets have lost the last no organization of the unemployed delegates but gave the conference

demands.

jority of the delegates. After the amendments were adopted or destitution committee which was adopted by a vote of 75 to 15.

The following are the officers elected, with the vacancies for additional representatives from organizations:

Chairman, Tom Dixon-Workers Leagues. Vice-Chairman, Guss-Unemployed

Councils. 'reasurer, Statman — Industrial Workers Unemployed Unions. state coercion, in the growing tional Federation of Unemployed Secretary, Leach-Workers Comm.

> of Washington. Bellingham. Lamson-Unemployed Councils

Hugo Oehler—Unemployed Union of Gillespie Truax—East Ohio Unemployed

Unions ore—S.E. Mo. Unemployed Leagues Welsh-Association of Unemployed, N. Y.

Conners—Allen County Indiana Unemployed Association.

The national committee is comoiling and is sending out the conrention proceedings and decisions to all organizations that had delegates at the Chicago conference and to all other unemployed organizations in the United States. The return delegates will make their reports and will proceed to unite the tions from all parts of the United sion and political criticism; where States that were unable to send will be excluded and where con- their full support and wished it in any organization that does not tions will be among the first to its program in action, which in no The conference ended by electing way infringes upon the identity

(Signed) Tom Dixon, Chairman Leach, Secretary

#### capitalist governments does not in itself explain everything. We do not wish of course to underrate

(Degeneration of Theory; sharp questions of the Brest-Little significance of capitanst entropy to peace, the methods of the soviet Republic: the very nections of the soviet Republic: the very nections of the soviet Republic: circlement for the inner regime of essity of keeping up a powerful army is a great source of bureaucratism. However, hostile encirclement is not a new factor, it accompanies the Soviet Republic from the iectivization, we would have to ceasing of intervention, after the healthy conditions within the coundamit that the political superstruction is ture of the proletarian regime is the successes of industrialization, developing in a diametrically opthe welding together of the proletarian vanguard. The penetration of foreign agents, such as sabotag ing engineers, etc., in no case justifies or explains the general intensification of the methods of coercion. A social committee of common interests should be able to eject the hostile elements with greater ease, as a healthy body ejects poisons.

> An attempt might be made to show that the external pressure has grown and the co-relation of forces on the world scale has changed to the advantage of imperialism. Leavfor the weakening of the world proletariat, the incontrovertible fact remains that the intensification of pressure from outside can lead to the bureaucratization of the Soviet contradictions. Under conditions in which the workers must be squeezed between the vise of the passport system and the peasantry By correct action and leadership between the vise of political defeated the reports of the different between the vise of political decommittees were adopted with the partments, the pressure from with exception of the report of the con-out must inevitably weaken the inner ties ever more. And viceversa, the growth of contradictions between town and country must incontrovertibly sharpen the danger from the outside capitalist governments. The combination of these two factors pushes the bureaucracy along the road of ever greater concessions to the external presure and ever greater repressions against the working masses of their own country.

- L. TROTSKY (To be continued)

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

This is how they did it. Comrade Caplan rang up a mere 16 to add ners in a political crime against comrade Trotsky's "Against Nato his former score; comrade Dunne the working class along with Frank. folled in S and comrade Kotz 5. It Rather than call a spade a spade shows what can be done this and openly admit the error, the

Here is the list:

A. Caplan, Kansas City.22 V. Dunne, Minneapolis..12

Kotz, Newark..... 7

H. Capelis, N. Y. C..... 7 J. Ruby, Chicago..... 5

Ochler, Chicago .... 3

Konikow, Boston.... 3 Czapko, Bethlehem.. 3 D. Marcus, N. Y. C.... 2

A Friend, Lynn, Mass... 2

M. Morris, N. Y. C.... 2 G. Latinen, Chicago..... 2 A. G., Chicago..... 2

# Discussion on Tasks in Germany

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

Resolution

(Continued from Page 1)

formism was growing by leaps and

false name, United Front Workers

Ticket it used the same cheap po-

oosses' parties. It prevented the

C. P. from teaching the workers to

identify condidates with a Party,

this maneuver of a United Workers

Ticket was to allow the well-known,

to enter the elections on a common

program with the Communist can-

didates. But this is rank oppor-

fusion that Frank represents.

Therefore the Communist League

(Left Opposition), a faction of

Communism, takes this form, an

Party upon certain vital questions

of polcy in the coming city elec-

Mayor, print stickers and get into against you.'

tions, June 12.

ounds among the workers.

and leads them in daily struggles, ises" are going to give them what

always keeping before the workers the perspectives of a social revoluitical organization that will build

tion. How did the Communist party a controlled leadership and a

ing more votes than in the last election (1931), the vote for Mayor mission of the fallacy of the United

was about 50 percent less than the rote in the city elections of 1929.

Front Workers Ticket and the maneuer with W Frank and a

The figures were all low. During stop put to all campaign speeches

the same period Farmer-Labor rethat give the immediate impression

The Communist party is the only by voting for "Workers Candi-political party that is interested dates." They are good demands

and that can clear up the prevailing but explain the fight correctly!

confusion among the workers about 3. In the 6th Ward alderman

politics. But instead of doing this contest, make a broad, intelligent,

it adds to the confusion by wrong principle battle against Farmer-

break with Frank or else be part- in the text. In translating from

back into the political con- fell this government in all alliance

Open Letter, to address the Official government the enemy of the pro-

1. The party must come out in this government by means of an

this campaign under its own name, alliance with you and not by means put up a Sticker Candidate for of an alliance with the Fascists

against you."

entered the elections under the munists in elections.

fare in this election? While receiv- Workers' Government.

# the German Opposition

in view of the failure and the the mistakes committed and due to the defeat—and organizationally, because of illegality. Those elements which will cut loose decisively from reformism (social democracy) at present will not go to passivity which permitted the have forestalled its disintegration.

Two circumstances are at present vorking against rapid disintegration of the C.P.G. First, the material and ideological support furnished by the existence of the U.S.S.R. Secondly, the fact that Our old perspective on the reform while the results of the policy of

maneuver with W. Frank, and a

that immediate demands of the

election platform can be won merely

The undersigned pledges its full

support to the party in this cam-

Communist League of America

(Left Opposition)

IMPORTANT

CORRECTION

In the last issue of the Militant,

in the article "Heckert 'Explains'

tional Communism" the text was

The text should have read: "We

Resolution of the N. C. of the C.P., contrary to the social democracy of 1914, has gone into bankruptcy (objective treachery) but has not landed on the other side of the barricades; whereas the of the C.P.G. has lost its validity S.P.G. openly betrayed after 1914 and went over to the enemy. This debacle of the C.P.G. Reform is is a fact which has its repercusrendered impossible politically due sions in the minds of the masses. to the depth and consequences of In this sense, the designation of a new "August 4" is inexact.

Although developments point to the line towards a new party, this slogan would be premature and he old C.P.G. The organizational false, as the National Conference has already affirmed. The principle C.P.G. to survive for years its organizational decline cannot have its of the masses which is as yet inrepercussion in an illegal party. sufficiently awakened. Before the Only a new political content could slogan of a new party is put forward it is necessary that the mentality of the masses must go through a longer process. Between the bankruptcy of the II. International and the proclamation of the III. International there was also an extended period, although in that case the question was not complicated by factors such as those enumerated in point 11. When it is a matter of putting forward a L.O. Addresses Official Party slogan, we should take into consideration what we have often said to the ultra-left leadership of the party in the last few years. It is not a matter of putting forward slogans which are generally correct, for the history books so to speak. This is what the C.P.G. did with the the city-wide campaign in full general strike in a classic fashion during the last few years, depriving this slogan, which is correct in the Communist party gains the con-Communist party. Against the itself, of all effectiveness. This can fidence of ever more workers, edu-cates them in struggle against capi-point out to all the workers that be done only when the corresponding talism, unites their scattered forces not "big men" and "political promsubjective and objective conditions

> The psychological and organizational provisions for a new party are so lacking in Germany today that the presentation of the slogan for a Second Party will not only accelerate the regrouping but rather impede it. The altogether unconcrete call to the vanguard to constitute a new party will fall on deaf ears entirely.

> are given and when, on the basis

of these slogans, men can be rallied

around our objectives.

The principal task of the Left Opposition consists today in pronouncing itself for the collection of material that will make possible the construction of a new party on tactics. When the Communist party Labor reformism. Act like Com- the ruins of the two old parties; for the formation of cadres on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the past. The principal source for these cadres remains the C.P., as comrade Gourov\* has himself affirmed. The second: the social democratic party.

To issue the slogan for a Second Party today, when these cadres have not as yet become crystallized. neither in the C.P.G. nor in the S.P.G., means (perhaps by some "new Zimmerwald") to serve not the essential elements, but all the obstacles to development (the tunism. The party was forced to the Debacle," a mistake was made Brandlerites, the Leninbund, the leadership of the S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party), and all those who have already demonstrated their inability to lead the German Prolemade to read "-we, the Commu- tariat). The criticism of the cadres drive does. It's the best one we've Communist party leaders tried to nists, consider the present govern- will and should develop in the single subs. We don't list them here this week for lack of space, but there are no less than twenty of them contains and the substitutions of them contains and the substitutions of the single subs. We don't list them they did untold damage to Communism. Aside from other things their actions pushed scores of the supports itself upon your configurations. The cause should, moreover, learn to link up the illegal work with the legal supports itself upon your configurations. cover up the traces. In doing so, ment (Bruening) as an enemy of direction of our analysis. The cadres pest workers coming toward the dence and your votes; we want to in the existing mass organizations which as yet remain outside of the with the Fascists (Referendum) Fascist party. The slogan for a new party will

mean that we will have to pose the demand for the destruction of Communists consider the present the old party. This demand would be rejected with indignation even letariat but this government sup- by the more critical elements. They ports itself on your confidence and must be convinced in the course of your votes; we wish to overthrow struggle with the bureauacracy and the clarification around the formation of cadres. They must see the necessity for this step. The question is posed in the same manner in the S.P. and the S.A.P., although for the former of the two the demand for destruction is already posed today. The struggle for cadres brings us closer to the critical elements within the party. The demand for a Second Party separates us from them.

> Only among the old ultra-leftists and in the letters of Gourov\* can we observe elements of indignation to the point of parting with us, if we do not issue the slogan for a new party.

> > VI.

While the slogan for a Second Party does not advance our cause by an iota among the semi-critical elements in the party, it will not even embrace the completely critical and disillusioned elements. For them the idea of the party is so compromised that they think of nothing less than of a new party at present. Whereas the idea of forming cadres will appear selfevident to them. Only experience will again reconcile them with the idea of the party.

\* One of the editors of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition.

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## Fight Roosevelt Program

(Continued from Page 1)

maneuvers, place in the foreground the independent demands of the working class, and build the organizational machinery for enforcing these demands which is possible only on the basis of the Leninist united front of all working-class organizations.

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

Even such slight signs of economic recovery as are now visible (steel production up to 38 percent of capacity, the highest in two years; employment in New York State in April up 1.6 percent in March, and payrolls because of longer hours, up 4.5 percent) amply warrant a nation-wide effort for genuine unemployment insurance to be administered by the workers, as an immediate demand. The increased profits which would follow any kind of improvement, even if limited and temporary, must be immediately claimed by the workers on whose backs the burdens of the crisis have been piled.

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

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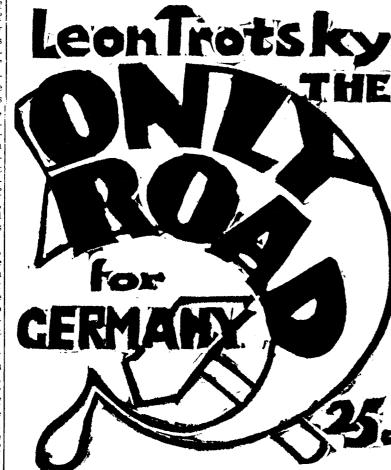
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