



## Mooney Case Now 16 Years Old

July 26 was the date of the close of the sixteenth year of Mooney's imprisonment. It closed another chapter of the foulest frame-up in the long and black record of American capitalism. It marked another milestone on the longest road a man has ever trod. After sixteen years of agony Mooney still stands forth as the dauntless symbol of working class militancy. His spirit is unconquerable. In spirit he stands in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. He has never said in so many words that he is a Communist but his spirit matches ours and of late he has begun to talk our language, and think as we do. He is ours.

This places on us all the more directly the great task of forcing his release from the prison in which capitalism is determined he shall end his days. This places squarely on the shoulders of Communism the task of removing from the banner of the working class the stain of its failure to free Mooney. For our success or failure in this task we shall have to answer to the working class.

Again we say, that as we have said so many times in the past, that the workers the world over no longer have to be convinced of Mooney's innocence. They are profoundly convinced of that. Not out of doubt did they fight in demonstration after demonstration to demand that capitalism open its ravenous maw and let Mooney go.

If today they are not to be found in the streets battling for Mooney's freedom, it is not because doubt of his innocence has entered their minds. Their conviction is as firm as ever.

**Lull in Fight is Temporary**  
The lull in the fight is temporary. Tomorrow the agitation and the fight will rise to new heights. Great battles are on the order of the day for the American working class. Not the least of these will be the fight to free Mooney.

Will the fight to free Mooney be conducted as an isolated struggle and thereby insure its own defeat? Or will it follow Mooney's and our advice and be made an integral part of the class fight for relief, and the fight to free all class war prisoners with which it is inseparably bound? That depends on us. We must teach the workers that only such a fight as we project can free Mooney. And we must convince the workers by our deeds that they should follow our leadership.

This requires of us that we break through our isolation and in doing so unite the working class on this issue. For this we need the tactic of the united front of working class organizations. We cannot look to the labor fakers who betrayed Mooney, the Socialists who hate us more than they do capitalism, the liberals, the numerous sects that dot the movement like weeds in a garden—to take the initiative in organizing the united front of the working class. While they speak of unity they live on the division of the working class. Unity will never come from them. They will do all they can to oppose and sabotage it.

The initiative must come from us. In projecting this united front we appear before the workers as the spokesmen for the unity of the whole class. And by our deeds we must prove that we not only advance the idea of unity but fight for it.

That is in the best case. Unfortunately a cancer is eating at the vitals of Communism—Stalinism. Today it is the chief obstacle the Communists have to overcome to take the first step toward unity of the working class. Stalinism has divided the ranks of the Communists. It stands in the way of their unity, the essential prerequisite to unity of the working class. Its record in the Mooney case is all too clear. We have recorded it in previous issues. Stalinism has done much to discredit Communism in the eyes of the workers and is primarily responsible for the failure of the Communists to win the leadership of the fight to free Mooney.

**Opposition's Task**  
The fight to free Mooney must be fought against the labor fakers, against the Socialists, against the Stalinist policy of our party. That is the special task of the Left Opposition in this fight. It must open the eyes of the party rank and file to the crime being committed by the Stalinist leadership. This it has done and will continue to do. With its success are bound up the hopes and future of the whole class and its fight to free Mooney.

So now in the seventeenth year of Mooney's imprisonment we pledge the Left Opposition to renewed struggle, to greater efforts and sacrifices in the fight against capitalism—for the release of Mooney and all class war prisoners.

## Whither England?

BY LEON TROTSKY

We have on hand a limited number of this striking analysis of the social forces at work in old England. If you want a copy order it at once.

Paper Cover \$75

## MILITANT IN DANGER

Immediate Aid Must Be Sent if We Are not to Suspend

The issue of the *Militant* was printed only as a result of the most desperate measures undertaken by the office. We were able to get it out by over-exhausting our credit in every field and by a last-minute scraping together of every spare nickel we could squeeze. To allow such a situation to exist for even the briefest length of time makes the danger of suspending the *Weekly Militant* a matter to be dealt with immediately. Without exaggerating the situation in the least, we must tell our readers that unless prompt and generous aid is sent us from every part of the country, we shall not be able to bring out the next issue of the *Militant* and in general, the *Weekly* publication of our paper will be seriously crippled.

The cumulative effects of the crisis upon our comrades and supporters, plus the general let-down that occurs in the summer period, have struck the *Militant* heavy blows. We have deliberately refrained from making alarmist appeals based upon momentary difficulties. But now we are compelled to appeal—urgently.

## A Sham Turn On Barbusse

The hammerings of the Opposition on the character of the "World Congress Against War" organized under the direction of Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Upton Sinclair and other muddled pacifists, have finally compelled the Stalinists behind the scenes to break their silence. For months since the announcement that the Congress would be held, the international Stalinist press has either been silent, or has given an unreserved endorsement to the Congress without uttering a solitary word of criticism. So far as the working class readers of the official party papers are concerned, the Communist International has given a blanket support to the pernicious confusion on the question of fighting imperialism war which is inevitably associated with such typically pacifist, petty bourgeois movements as that of Barbusse.

The criticisms made since the inception of this movement, and the Communist position presented by us, the Left Opposition, has finally driven the Stalinists out of their retreat. In the latest issue of the "International Press Correspondence", Maurice Thorez, one of the leading French Stalinists, ventures (for the first time to our knowledge) into a mild criticism of one of the lesser pacifist lights of the Barbusse Congress, Victor Marguerite. As far as it goes, the criticism is, of course, entirely valid. For the proletarian millions to follow the course advocated by such pacifists as Marguerite, who know nothing about the revolutionary struggle against imperialism war, or who oppose it to the extent that they do know about it, would mean to render themselves impotent in the face of a new world slaughter.

But this very article by Thorez shows how the Stalinists are playing an opportunistic game of hide and seek with the whole question. Marguerite is submitted to a gentle criticism, but Barbusse and the other, more prominent spokesmen for the movement, get away unscathed, with the implication left that aside from this or that individual in the "Congress", the movement as a whole is impeccable from the revolutionary standpoint. An article by Barbusse of recent date shows how baseless is such a view. In a "Message to England" (reprinted by the Socialist Industrial Democrat of Louisiana, under date of July 2, 1932), he writes: "I thank you and gladly avail myself of the opportunity of confirming to the representatives of a great and noble nation my belief in pacifism and anti-militarism."

The other "leaders" of this movement are generally worthy of this Barbusse. They would not constitute such a dangerous source of befuddlement were it not for the initiative taken by the Communist International in promoting them, in supporting them, and in presenting their pacifist movement as an organizational center for the struggle against imperialism war.

When a similar congress was held under the auspices of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals at the Hague on December 10, 1922, the Communist representatives of the Russian trade unions—the only revolutionary organization invited—made plain from the tribune of the congress the Communist standpoint in clear contrast to that of the pacifists and social democrats. They did not play at opportunist politics, as is being done now. The Left Opposition will seek to fulfill a similar task with the Barbusse Congress. The Communist League has already notified the American Committee that it is sending three delegates to the August 8 conference in the Labor Temple, New York. The revolutionary forces there must unite to present the Communist standpoint against the middle-classness of pacifism!

ly and strongly—for the fate of our *Militant*, into which so much sacrifice and energy have gone, is immediately involved.

The suspension of the *Weekly Militant* at the present time would bring with it a stiff set-back to the whole movement. The sharpening of the struggle in the United States and elsewhere in the world, demand the systematic, frequent appearance of the organ of the Left Opposition. Above all, the developments of the civil war in Germany, where the Left wing alone has made a Marxian analysis and advanced the correct revolutionary program, make it imperative that every week the *Militant* shall appear with information and its viewpoint on what is going on.

But for this, a prodigious effort is required. It means that every comrade, every sympathizer, every friend of the *Militant* must immediately raise as much money as possible, from his own resources and those of his fellow-workers, and send it by air mail to the *Militant*.

We are in a crucial position—make no mistake about it. Our financial progress has not kept pace with our political advances. We need aid right away. We need a great deal of it. We are counting upon YOU to send the urgently required assistance. Act now!

Send all funds to the *Militant*, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Martial Law for Indiana Strike

The Governor of Indiana has declared martial law in the vicinity of the Dixie Bee Mine, in Vigo County. He has sent 1,000 National Guardsmen to enforce this order. For what purpose is all this display of martial strength?

Is the governor driving out the gangsters or the bootleggers? No! The National Guard is seldom used in that capacity. As was to be expected the N. G. is used against the workers of the district. 4,000 union miners have been engaged in an attempt to keep scabs from working in the mine. With arms in hand the union miners have driven the scabs from the colliery. In one of the encounters between the union miners and the deputy thugs, one of the union men was murdered and several injured.

The standard of living of the miners has been ground down to the starvation level. Throughout the country, even in the midst of this crisis no section of the American workers are more poverty-stricken than the miners. Every class conscious action on their part is nothing short of a revolt against hunger. The capitalist class counters with bullets, martial law and armed troops. In these small skirmishes of today can be seen the fierce battles of the not far-off future. All support to the fighting miners of Vigo County, Indiana. Down with martial law! Withdraw the National Guards!

## All Eyes on Germany!

The Hitler Danger is a Danger to the Working Class of the Whole World

The working class of Germany is today facing the most serious menace in its history. Preparations are going ahead with lightning rapidity to bring the Fascist heel down upon our German class brothers.

The acts performed by the reactionary Junker government of Colonel Von Papen, the establishment of the military dictatorship over Prussia and its rule by martial law are the grand rehearsal for the bloodcurdling regime of Hitler and his Nazi hordes.

The powerful black forces arrayed for this nefarious objective can be defeated in but one way—by a solid, fighting working class united front.

It is time for thinking workers, for the Communist militants to awaken to a realization of the enormous, catastrophic danger before us. It is time to demand from the Communist Party that it sound the alarm. The threat of Fascism in Germany is a threat to the existence of the Soviet Union, the threat of the mailed fist of world imperialism in the face of the international working class.

The events in Germany are a serious warning to the workers everywhere, they are of grave concern to the American workers as well. The alarm must resound throughout the ranks of the party, the party of the revolutionary proletariat. It must resound with tremendous force. It is our task to reach out our hands in solidarity to the German workers in their hour of trial.

Already the military is tramping with hobnails upon the backs of the German toilers. Their elementary political rights are being flouted, their meetings prohibited, their papers suppressed, the Communist party headquarters raided. The threat of illegality is already hanging over the head of the revolutionary party.

Workers are attacked, beaten and killed in the streets by armed Fascist bands, unemployment is constantly on the increase and misery and poverty are mounting to appalling proportions.

It is to this that the German prole-

tariat has come since 1918, when the leaders of the yellow social democracy took over the government after the fall of the Kaiser. Step by step they have allowed capitalism to regain its foothold. They have ruled for capitalism. They have permitted the rats' nests of bourgeois reaction—the Hitlerist pest—to spread out, to take root, to infest the nation and to endanger the very life of the organized working class. They have paved the road for Fascism by reformist treachery, by their betrayal of the revolution.

Even today these despicable social reformers are surrendering without a struggle the mandates, which despite all, they have held in the name of the workers, before whom their true character had not yet been revealed. Severe, Braun, Grzesinski—all the social democratic wretches, are dispersed from their posts like so many flies by the military agents of Von Hindenburg—their erstwhile savior.

Not one word of working class unity against Fascism comes from the mouths of the yellow traitors. They still do all in their power to sabotage the proletarian united front. They are like a trapped mouse standing between the menace of Fascism and the increasing pressure for a common workers' front. Both mean destruction for this decayed and degenerated, for this outlived social reformist organism.

Where is the German Communist Party in this fateful moment? Is it discharging its duty to its class? Has it leadership taken the necessary step to unite the workers for the decisive struggles?

It must be said in all frankness: It has not. And it must be added: It has no time to lose.

Weighed down by the blundering policy of the Stalin regime in the whole Communist International, committing mistakes after mistake, its erroneous course has served only to isolate the Communist workers and to weaken their position by the thoroughly false and confusing theories of "social Fascism" and

## Communists Gain in Reichstag Elections

Leninist United Front Tactics Vindicated

The Reichstag elections of July 31 were a reflection of the unstable and extremely precarious position of the present German state. They resulted in a political stalemate in so far as government power is concerned and definitely proved that no durable solution can be found for the political crisis of the country on the parliamentary plane. No single party, no bloc of parties exists, capable of ruling along the lines of the Weimar constitution.

The Fascists, of course, rose to the crest of their wave, but showed no appreciable increase in their vote over the amount Hitler received in the runoff elections in April. Both votes stand around the 13,000,000 mark. The resources of popular support for Fascism have thereby been drained. National Socialism, the party of Hitler, if it is not to disintegrate piece-meal, if it is to utilize the following it has amassed by volleys of promises, by tall talk about a radical transformation of the economic

and social life—has but one way out: The immediate and forcible seizure of power.

**On the Eve of a Coup d'Etat**  
When we remember that the Hitler movement is in a very specific sense indispensable to the further existence of German capitalism we can draw the necessary conclusion? Germany is standing this very day before a Fascist coup d'Etat.

The social democracy fared badly, as was to be expected, in last Sunday's poll. The S. D. P. G. of all parties lost the largest number of votes. This fact is fully consistent with the general decline of this party. Based on a platform of reforms—which have been shorn to shreds from day to day in the past few years; and of kowtowing to bourgeois democracy—which the bourgeoisie itself considers outlived, the social democratic betrayers of the working class cannot be expected to continue very long to hold on to the huge mass following which is growing constantly more dissatisfied with it, ever more suspicious of the reformist leaders.

**Communist Gains**

The Communist party alone made definite gains in the elections, receiving the highest vote yet cast for Communism in Germany—5,278,094. The small but very significant and heartening parliamentary victory of the C. P. G. is full of lessons, full of indications. According to an International Press Correspondence dispatch to the New York *Daily Worker*, the largest increase in the Communist vote took place in Berlin and the area around it. It must be remembered that it was specifically in the province of Berlin-Brandenburg that the Communist party leadership recently made offers of united front action to the heads of the local social democracy. The S. D. P. leaders rejected the united front proposals of the Communists and it was in Berlin-Brandenburg that the Communists in this manner began to expose the treacherous, splitting character of the social democracy before the workers. The big increase of the Communist vote in Berlin-Brandenburg is a victory for the application of the Leninist united front policy, hitherto disregarded and trampled under foot by the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. G.

**"The Defeat of the Trotskyists"**

When the *Daily Worker* (August 1, 1932), greeted editorially the election advance of our German brother party, calls it "a defeat . . . for the followers of Trotsky . . .", it is lying miserably, it is consciously deceiving the Communist workers. The election advance was, on the contrary, nothing more clearly than a confirmation of the correctness of the line of the International Left Opposition headed by comrade Trotsky. For it was the Left Opposition, which by its tireless propagation of the Leninist united front tactic against Fascism, by its unremitting criticism of the harmful, confusing and stupid theory of "social Fascism", by its timely evaluation of the political factors involved in the German scene—it was the Left Opposition, we repeat, which more than anything else contributed to the happy change in the course of the Communist Party of Germany, reflected in the united front actions at Berlin. This, at a time when it was slandered for its criticisms as "counter-revolutionary", when the Stalinists taught everywhere that the social democracy were "social Fascists" and that united fronts cannot be offered to "social Fascists"; when the Stalinists (Remmele-Thaelmann) proclaimed everywhere that Fascism was not really a menace, that the Hitler movement would rapidly fall apart and collapse—But the Left Opposition does not content itself with pointing out the correctness of its policies in the past. Our chief task

(Continued on page 3)

## Police, Troops and Vets

Eye-Witness Account of the Wash. Massacre of the Bonuseers

On the morning of Thursday, July 28 about a hundred policemen gathered in Pennsylvania Ave. and 3rd St. (Washington proper) to evict the bonuseers from Federal property comprising four old, moldy, half-torn down, buildings and several adjacent "wreckage lots".

About noon-time there were 800 blue-coats still trying to evict the "squatters" now numbering over 5000, over 2000 of whom came over from Anacostia to help resist the eviction.

The tension between veterans and police reached the breaking point about 1:30 P. M., when several fights broke out. One officer, panicky before the rage of the veterans, fired his gun.

The brawl was on. Fists were pounding, flesh, bricks came flying at the heads of police. In the turmoil six or seven shots were fired by the police. Police Cavalry, Infantry and Tanks

At 5 P. M. about 200 cavalry and 600 infantry, under orders of President Hoover, came up Pennsylvania Avenue, sabres and bayonets flashing in the sun. Five black tanks equipped with machine guns came rumbling behind them.

The crowds along the walks heckled and jeered the military who proceeded to order the ex-soldiers out of their "dwellings". They were greeted by the bonuseers with a barrage of bricks. Cavalry and infantry quickly adjusted their gas masks, and with little or no warning, cut across the lot, throwing gas bombs in and about the buildings and shacks. The vets were taken by surprise. They scurried to a nearby lot, another bonus encampment, where they stood their ground.

Gas bombs were thrown into their midst, but the men caught them and threw them back at the approaching cavalry so that many of the horses, without gas masks, reared and bolted. A number of the horses came prancing right up on the men. The vets grabbed the reins and jerked the horses around. Several men were pulled off their horses. The cavalry swung their sabres at the vets. Scores were cut about the face, neck, arms and back.

When the soldiers at Camp Marks (Anacostia) received word in the afternoon (Continued on page 3)

The hour of decisive struggle is close at hand. To play with a situation like the present is to play with disaster. A bold step is required of the Communist Party of Germany in order not to crash into an abyss.

The Communist Party of Germany must tell the working class in all frankness that its policies of the recent past were wrong. The party must show the workers that it is sincere and earnest in the attempt to correct, in the race to make up for lost time. Only in that way can the C. P. prove to the masses that it is their genuine leader, their trusted revolutionary vanguard.

The Communist party must hammer away persistently at an appeal to the followers of the social democracy and the reformist trade unions to put their leaders to the test, by demanding of them that they join in a united front of all the proletarian organizations in the fight against Fascism. This alone will reveal the truly treacherous face of the socialists misleaders before their adherents. The masses can only learn through the tests of struggle.

Already the demands of the Left Op- (Continued on page 3)

## The New York Picnic

This Sunday, August 7th, the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will hold a picnic at Tibbetts Brook Park. As at the last picnic a large group of comrades and sympathizers are expected to attend. Readers of the *Militant* who have attended the previous picnics of the organization do not have to be agitated to come to this one.

Attend the picnic this Sunday (August 7). Bring your friends and fellow-workers. Food, refreshments, and games will be on hand. Here is a chance to meet the members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition.

The place is Tibbetts Brook Park, Plot 2. Take the I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome Ave. train to the last stop, Woodlawn. At 10:30 A. M., comrades will meet there and walk to Plot 2. You can take a street-car or bus to the park.

# Letters From the Militants

## A Scandal in the Red Food Workers' Union

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Last week, the Left wing workers of New York witnessed a sorry spectacle. There was a "picket line" formed in front of the Foodworkers Industrial Union on 28th Street. The men were picketing their own collective organization! Placards, slogans appeared along the line.

An investigation of the whole matter shows, as we suspected, that the initiative for this action came from shady elements within the union, men with a doubtful record like Kenessey. It is also more or less established as a fact that these people sought and got the aid of the yellow fakers from the S. P.—types as notorious as Augie Claessens. The latter, of course, did his darndest to turn the affair into a campaign of vile slander and calumny against the Left wing as a whole and against Communism.

The "picket line" of the dissatisfied and restless workers within the Foodworkers Industrial Union was an ill-starred attempt, an action which only drives water to the mill of the disreputable "socialist" racketeers and which, in the last analysis, can only harm their own cause—the interests of the working class. As class conscious workers, who know the treacherous role of the S. P. and who realize how eager and anxious these bosses' lackeys are to take advantage of disagreements between militant unionists for purposes of betrayal, we must categorically condemn the "picketing" of the union headquarters as an act detrimental to the working class. The militant industrial unionist rejects and disdains such methods.

At the same time, we must take into account that there were sincere if misled militants participating in this anti-union action. It is necessary patiently to explain to them how false, how harmful their conduct was. They have to be made clear, that no matter what their grievances against the industrial union leadership may be, no matter how wrong this leadership may act, a fight against them must be confined to the limits of the union itself, if it is to be effective, if it is not to play into the hands of the bosses and their yellow agents.

And we must admit that the food clerks who took the altogether false road of "picketing" the F. W. I. U. headquarters did have genuine grievances. Much as we have to condemn their hasty and thoughtless behavior, we cannot overlook the fact that the Stalinist leadership of the union bears a good share of the responsibility for this disgraceful incident.

We have time and again pointed out in *The Militant* that the bureaucratic and high-hatted manner in which the F. W. I. U. functionaries deal with the membership, in the distribution of jobs, in the suppression of the elementary rights of union democracy, in overriding the decisions of the rank and file can only lead to such uncontrollable and disastrous outbreaks on the part of the workers.

The "picket line" incident has its roots in the past. It is a direct result of the non-Leninist policies of the Stalinist leadership in the union. Mechanical control, the subordination of the elementary interests of the workers—which caused the workers to join the union—to the needs of the party and the T. U. U. apparatus (as was the case in the Con-Coops, in the Cooperative Camps, etc.) can only stir up dissatisfaction and unrest among the rank and file. These facts cannot be dismissed by the Stalinists merely by calling those who raise them—stool-pigeons and counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. This method of the Stalinists only helps the real stool-pigeons, the real disrupters in our midst to cover themselves up and to strike a blow against the union at the critical moment—as was the case with the "picket line". It only confuses the rank and file workers and makes them unable to distinguish between the actual disrupters and those sincere militants who oppose the leadership on matters of policy because they want to help their union make progress.

The "picket line" is a dangerous symptom. It should be a warning to the leadership of the union and to the Stalinists in control of the party. If they look at it objectively, they will see the grave dangers it indicates.

It is high time now for the Communist workers in the F. W. I. U. to wake up, if they have the interests of the union at heart, if they want to fulfill their tasks as revolutionists. We must prevent the recurrence of such "picket lines" in the future.

There is only one way in which to do this: By demanding the restoration of workers' democracy within the union. By fighting for an open and frank correction of the party line of mechanical control in the union, by making the union a genuine class struggle union, devoted to the broader interests of the class. A

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turn must be made in the policy within the union, not by picking out scape goats, not merely by a lot of talk about "cliques"—but by admitting openly the mistakes of the past and by steering the course of the union back to the Leninist trade union line.

—FOODWORKER.

## A Run-in With the Party in Duluth

DULUTH, MINN.

A rousing open air meeting was held Sunday night by the Communist League on the Court House Square. Listening attentively to an excellent speaking program, 600 workers applauded vigorously the fight of the Left Opposition for the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Leninism. For the first time on the streets of Duluth the truth about the Chinese revolution and the crisis in Germany was told. Comrades Dunne and Skoglund, respectively, clarified these questions and demonstrated the international basis for the struggle of the Opposition, especially the menace of Fascism in Germany, which now constitutes the main danger to the Soviet Union.

Comrade Bloomberg's analytical report of the four national conventions of the political parties held in Chicago was frequently interrupted by stormy applause. In a speech filled with fighting exposure of the Republican and Democratic platforms, and satire and scorn for the Stalinist party platform, he called on the workers to rally behind the Communist party candidates in the coming elections.

It was not until the collection that the party bureaucrats became concerned. Some minor functionary called out to the audience that the money collected was not going to the Communist party. We can sympathize with the anxiety of one who makes a living from such collections on the street, but, as comrade Bloomberg immediately pointed out, the chairman, Miles Dunne, had openly announced the meeting under the auspices of the Communist League. All funds are to be used for our publication and organization work. The audience responded splendidly.

Comrade Cowl then made an appeal for the unity of the Communists in the name of the Communist League. He urged all class-conscious workers to demand of the party bureaucrats a cessation of their splitting tactics concealed under pseudo-revolutionary slogans of social Fascism and their slander against the Left Opposition. He challenged the hecklers to debate the disputed questions then and there or any other time or place they might designate. Workers who accept our program for reform of the party should not hesitate to support our press and join our ranks.

Instead of rushing to the defense of the position of the party as self-respecting Communists should, the Stalinists proceeded to start another meeting in the center of the crowd, amidst boos and angry shouts of the workers, who saw that the issue at stake in this instance was clearly the attempt of the party to break up the meeting, after they had been invited to participate.

One Stalinist bureaucrat, with the bureaucrat's contempt for the wishes of the working class, sneeringly launched a tirade of mud-slinging and personal slander against the character of Trotsky and the record of Bloomberg and Cowl. All of which, as is to be expected, left the audience cold. So that it was not difficult, in the midst of comrade Sara Avrin's speech on the "Washington Massacre" to bring the entire audience, with the exception of the few faithful, to the other side of the monument which served as our platform. Here our meeting continued with greatly increased interest and closed with a number of questions and discussion. We called on all the workers present to participate in the anti-war demonstration the following night.

As these lines are written for the current issue of the *Militant*, a public challenge to the Communist party to debate the proposition: "That Trotsky is an Enemy of the Working Class" has been issued in the capitalist press by the Communist League for Tuesday night on Court House Square. The results of this meeting and other organization work in Duluth will be reported in the next issue of the *Militant*.

—C. C.

## Extracts from Earl Browder's Autobiography

Discerning readers of the official party press will have noticed that Earl Browder, the present leader of the party, has been presenting us his auto-biography (or his confessions, if you like) in the guise of this or that political report. Shyness alone has prevented him from naming himself, but even the dullest reader can see whom he means when he talks. One extract from a recent confession will show what we mean:

"I have noted a widespread opinion that if a party or trade union functionary speaks in a loud, sharp tone, this is bureaucratic, but if he speaks gently and softly then this is a good, non-bureaucratic approach. As for myself I am all for the soft voice as opposed to harsh speaking, but I object to this being put forward as the essence of the question of bureaucracy. In fact, some of the worst bureaucrats that I have bumped into in my life were the softest speakers." (*The Communist*, July 1932, page 505.)

Always boasting about his gentle tongue!

## Opposition Progress in Africa

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of the 30th May last and the 50 Militants has provoked some life amongst the Stalinist bureaucrats of the Communist Party of So. Africa. Private meetings are now being held to discuss the best methods for killing the Trotskyist views, before penetrating into the minds of the oppressed people of Africa, to these meetings only those who are known to be anti-L. Trotsky have been privately invited. Expelled and unexpelled anti-Trotskyists are now united on an anti-Trotsky campaign. Some of our members (of the group, I sent you the names) have also been privately invited and since then the man that acted as chairman and treasurer of our meeting held on the 22 April last, has now completely taken quite a different attitude towards the Communist League of Africa (Opposition). They sing to the tune of anti-Trotskyism, and the first two lots of the Militants have been purposely held up, not to be sold, better to be returned to your League, but the last lot has been disseminated amongst the African Negro workers with good results.

### Stalinist Threats

It is perfectly clear to us that those who oppose the formation of the Communist League of Africa (Opposition) do so with a specific object that the Stalinists in So. Africa might value them so as to be reinstated into the C. P. S. A. Since I started this Opposition I am told of various things that would happen to me if I was in U. S. S. R. That I have committed an unpardonable crime by propagating the views of the International Left Opposition. I am asked why do you write to a group of men who oppose the leadership of the Communist Party of U. S. S. R.? Then they give as a kind of reasoning that L. Trotsky has tried to oppose the leadership of the party and has completely failed. You, too, will fail and you shall be condemned for life never to be reinstated into the C. P. S. A. Again I replied to all this talk that I do not see any mistake in the views expressed in the *Militant*. I see no crime that L. Trotsky has committed. I see nothing that might be styled a blunder but as to Stalin I can only come to the conclusion that he is an opportunist of the worst type the world has ever produced. In support of this conclusion let me say Stalin is the stumbling block of the world revolution. He should not have expelled and exiled comrade L. Trotsky from the C. P. S. U. and from the U. S. S. R. He knows quite well that if Trotsky is given complete freedom in the U. S. S. R. he (Stalin) would no longer be at the head of the Soviet Union; some one else would be. The International Left Opposition must see that comrade L. Trotsky is given the necessary freedom and returned to the U. S. S. R.

On the 2nd of July I was taken by surprise. The chairman and treasurer referred to above threatened to hand me over to the police for having sent their names to the Communist League of America (Opposition) applying for membership, and I was dragged at about 8 P. M. of the same day to Doornfontein Police Station but no charge has as yet been laid against me, so they threatened to murder me in the street. Comrades, this is just the beginning. I expect quite a lot of trouble from the Centrists, but we must not be down-hearted. The International Left Opposition must penetrate into the minds of the mine, town, and agricultural workers of Africa whether the Stalinists like it or not.

In following the instructions of the Stalinist bureaucrats there are serious blunders that have been and are being committed in the Communist Party of So. Africa and I have not doubt that it shall be the duty of the Communist League of Africa (Opposition) to induce the C. P. S. A. to follow the correct line and never ignore their mistakes.

### The African Opposition

In reply to your question. The Communist League of Africa (Opposition) is newly constituted. It is not a section of the Communist Party of So. Africa and has not been in touch with the Communist International. It is organized by an expelled Negro foundation member of the Communist Party of So. Africa (T. W. Thibedi). Although many of the expelled members expressed sympathy with the formation of the Opposition there is quite a lot of hesitation on their part to come forward like real revolutionists. They are in the main afraid that if they join the Opposition they would be condemned and never again be reinstated into the Party. We have been carrying on open air meetings and nuclei have been formed at these places. Krugersdorp, Vrededorp, Prospect Township, and Pretoria and we are also re-organizing the trade unions of native workers which in 1928 had 10,000 membership but has since 1930 been left by the Stalinist bureaucrats of the Communist Party of So. Africa to collapse. We have behind us the "Laundry Workers Union", 1,000 members strong, and the "Baking Employees Association" is speedily coming up. Amongst the Negro miners, nuclei have been set up at these mines: "City Deep Mine" and "Crown Mines." I must say this is the first time in the history of the revolutionary party in So. Africa that Negro miners are seriously being taken up. Again, a nucleus has been set up against the "Municipal Employees" at the "Doornfontein City Power Compound."

For many years T. N. Thibedi was the only Negro member of the C. P. S. A. and during this time succeeded in organizing the following branches of the

C. P. S. A. most of which were left to collapse after his expulsion from the party: Vereeniging, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Paarl, Evaton, Bloemfontein, Ndebele Location, etc., etc. At present the only branch that still survives is the last mentioned.

### The Party Slogan

In 1928 the Centrists forced this slogan on the C. P. S. A.: "Native Republic" as a stage towards the "Workers' Republic". Almost all the Negro members opposed this slogan as it tended to create a racial feeling and national hatred. I believe in "Workers' Republic", not in the native or European Republic, but I do not mind any one to come to the same conclusions. After that slogan was adopted at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International no one tried to propagate it with the exception of those who opposed it. The Stalinists were silent on this slogan in all public meetings. All the history of the C. P. S. A. is full of blunders that have been made particularly since comrade Lenin died.

There is not a single white or black trade union at the present time that the C. P. S. A. can boast of. One thousand members of the Laundry Workers Union left the C. P. S. A. in disgust; so did even the "Clothing Workers Union". Those were the only two Trade Unions which constituted the Federation of Trade Unions (A. F. T. U.).

We desire to have a complete set of the literature published by you but you should also not lose sight of the fact that we are a much poorer lot than you are, and do not forget sending also complete volumes of the *Militant* from No. 1 to the latest. From now onward I shall be writing you fortnightly.

Non-Europeans are the most unorganized of the South African Trade Unions.

Yours for a speedy Revolt.

Johannesburg, So. Africa

July 6, 1932.

## German Left Will Issue Weekly

The latest issue of *Die Permanente Revolution*, official semi-monthly organ of the Left Opposition in Germany announces that beginning with its next number our German brother organ will appear as a weekly. The terrific poverty existing throughout the German working class, and particularly among the revolutionary militants, has for some time stood in way of imperatively needed advance. Now, the growth of the ideas, influence and strength of our German section has succeeded in surmounting even this great obstacle. The appearance of *Die Permanente Revolution* as a weekly paper will enable our comrades to intervene more frequently and powerfully in the struggles of the German proletariat, bringing to them the ideas and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which the Stalinists throughout the world have so violently prevented or ignored and the Left Oppositionists have borne aloft.

The American Oppositionists send their German comrades warmest wishes in the success they have already attained and are convinced that the immediate future is rich with even greater progress for our cause.

The advance of *Die Permanente Revolution* comes a few weeks after the similar success obtained by our Bulgarian comrades who have been battling mightily not only against the stream of Stalinist abuse and violence, but the persecutions of the Bulgarian reaction. Their organ, *Osvobodhenye*, (Emancipation), which commenced as a monthly paper, is now appearing every week.

Our Swiss comrades, with the great traditions of internationalism associated with their land, have succeeded in a brief span of time in converting their mimeographed organ, *Bolshevik*, into a well-printed, well-edited monthly.

Finally, our Spanish comrades have just issued the first number of *Joven Espartaco* (Young Spartacus), a 16-page monthly magazine of the Opposition Youth. This step forward is a reflection of the gratifying progress our Spanish comrades have been making among the young revolutionists of the country, increasing numbers of whom are being organized into the ranks of the Left Opposition. *Joven Espartaco* makes the second paper in the International Left Opposition devoted to the youth, the first having been *Young Spartacus*, our own youth paper in the United States.

To *Osvobodhenye*, *Bolshevik*, *Joven Espartaco*, go our heartiest revolutionary salutations. The International Left Opposition is invincible!

## MILITANT BUILDERS

We're under way. Subs are coming in. They're not exactly rolling in but they are coming in a little bit faster than in the past month. And that's something. But seriously! A real effort must be made on the basis of the great timeliness and importance of our literature to bring in even more subs.

All the articles by comrade Trotsky and the other leaders of the International Left that we print in the *Militant* will not sell the paper. We must do that by getting subs and placing it on newsstands. Right now we must place a great emphasis on getting subs. You see, comrades, we need money, desperately. One of the best ways of getting it is by getting subs.

Now, who is going to come out on top at the end of the month? Will it be that neanderthal from Minneapolis, com-

## American Foreign Trade and the Question of Credits to the Soviet Union

Some figures on the decline in the foreign trade of the United States since the crisis set in, published in the *New York Times* of July 31, tell heavily in support of the slogan of the International Left for large scale, long term credits to the Soviet Union. According to the *Times* the decline in volume has been drastic. It arrives at this conclusion on the basis of the facts that the decline in the wholesale price level of commodities since June 1929, is 33.7 per cent; while the decline in value is 67.3 per cent. "These heavy losses" says the *Times*, "amounting in several cases to more than 80 per cent, are not the result merely of a decline in prices, but also of a sharp contraction in volume."

### MACHINERY DECLINE

Among the commodities which the United States is exporting in diminishing quantities are plows, which declined from 105,958 in 1929 to 8,204; and grain harvesters, which declined from 11,871 to 213. In the first five months of 1932 the United States exported 60 million dollars of agricultural machinery; whereas in the first five months of 1932 this figure fell to four million seven hundred thousand. Similar figures obtain for industrial machinery. Included in this decline is a precipitate decline in Soviet purchases of agricultural and industrial machinery. In a statement issued by the Amtorg in October of last year the value of Soviet purchases was shown to have declined by 51 per cent.

But the years 1929-32 are the period of the great growth and expansion of Soviet industry; of the growth of its inter-relationship with the world market. From August 1930 to June 1931, to take but one example, the Soviet Union doubled its exports to Italy and increased its imports sevenfold. So said Commissar of Foreign Trade, P. Rosengoltz to a delegation of 32 Italian industrialists, who visited the Soviet Union in June a year ago.

What is the cause for the decline in the purchase of what the Soviet needs to build its growing industry? The Amtorg statement of last October says, "The drastic decline in purchases is due to the lack of favorable credit facilities in this country as contrasted with long term credits extended to Soviet organizations by European countries." (Our emphasis.)

Credits are what the Soviet Union needs, long-term credits. But the Stalinized Comintern, hamstrung by the fatal theory of socialism in one country, dares not call on the working masses to demand credits from their capitalist governments for the workers' fatherland. It would be an open admission of the impossibility of building a socialist society in the Soviet Union with the efforts of the Soviet Union alone. And this admission Stalin cannot make.

He seeks to attain the same end—not through the class struggle; but by diplomatic maneuvers. That the Soviet Union has made diplomatic approaches to various capitalist governments for credits is no secret. The *Times* of July 15, 1931 reported the discussion between the Soviet delegation to Paris and the French negotiators in the following words: "The discussions center around a plan by which the Russians would obtain two to four year credits from France."

In fact trade treaties have been signed. One was signed with Italy last June. Duranty reported it from Paris. "The chief Soviet benefits from the trade agreement are credit for buying Italian machinery, aid from Italian specialists, use of the Italian merchant marine for shipping exports and a convenient market for grain, oil and coal." (*N. Y. Times*, June 20, 1931.)

But, the Stalinists have argued, the Soviet Union gets its credits by treaty. What need is there of making a mass fight of it? As comrade Trotsky pointed out in his *World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan*, the interest of the workers all over the world, in the Soviet Union and its socialist construction remains an abstraction unless it is concretized, in the present situation of world unemployment, by mobilizing the masses to fight for long term credits upon the basis of their understanding that the resulting orders would go some way toward relieving unemployment by opening up a number of factories.

In the United States it would mean that the index of employment in the agricultural machinery industry, for example, would rise from 22.1 at which it stood in June of this year. A similar rise would take place in every branch of industry with which the Soviet would place orders. An identical result would be achieved in all capitalist countries in which the Soviet was able to place orders. The volume of imports the Soviet would be able to command would be many

times in excess of its present volume, including the volume embraced by its present trade treaties. The result in the construction of socialist industry is too apparent to need elaboration. As one result the volume of exports could be increased with a further increase in imports. So the whole cycle of imports and exports could be increased.

The prestige of the Soviet Union would be increased in the eyes of the workers by its ability to work out large scale plans pivoted on its export and import relations with the world market, and its ability to meet its obligations.

An organized fight for credits is a lever to set the masses in motion against their class enemies. It creates the basis for a united front with the socialist workers against their leaders should they, as is most likely, oppose the united front.

The opportunities such a struggle affords to Communism to appear before the class as the leader in the fight for relief, and the opportunities for class education are enormous. To pass them by and call the slogan counter-revolutionary, as the Stalinists have done, is not the least of their crimes.

The Stalinist idea of diplomatic maneuvering for credits without calling on the masses who are vitally interested in the question rests upon a lack of faith in the masses. But the masses, learning from the Left Opposition, will force the Comintern to place this slogan in the forefront of the fight for relief. In the United States the workers under the pressure of the deepening crisis will force the party to translate its paper turn of half a year ago into a real class fight for long-term, large scale credits to the Soviet Union.

—T. S.

## New York's Aug. First Meet

Between 13,000 and 15,000 workers answered the call of the Communist party in a demonstration on Union Sq. against Imperialist war. In comparison with the two previous "Red Day" demonstrations, this year's meeting was one of the best—but only numerically.

The intensification of the economic crisis and the more recent attack on the veterans in Washington has served to awaken thousands of workers from passivity. But if the N. Y. demonstration was large in numbers, it was low in spirit. The meeting followed a stereotyped plan. The speakers were poor. The speeches of Sheppard, Trumbull and Amter in no way made the impending world slaughter clear to the assembled workers. They rambled on incoherently, discussing practically everything else. The war danger came in for the usual cut-and-dried slogans.

Germany—the key to the whole international situation, scarcely a mention. Only in the speech of Amter, did he make some vainglorious boasts about the large vote of the C. P. G. in the recent elections. Only one placard carried by the Y. C. L. called for the smashing of Hitler's Fascist hordes. But this was obscured by the multitudinous slogans which helped to confuse and mask the importance of the war danger.

If the placards of the 1929 demonstration against the war danger reflected the mad adventurism of the "third period", those carried in this year's meeting bore witness to the opportunism of the "new turn". One of the slogans read: "Hoover is responsible for the riot in Washington. We demand his impeachment." The S. P. must have turned green with envy when they saw this placard.

Amter, of course, did not fail to attack the "renegades from Communism"—the Lovestonites and the Trotskyists. While the crowd boomed and jeered any mention of Hoover, Roosevelt and the socialists, they greeted this attack on the L. O. with an icy silence. Apparently they did not see its connection with the war danger. If words can't do it perhaps silence might penetrate Amter's thick bureaucratic skull. We have our doubts.

The struggle against the war danger must not end with this demonstration, which is only a small beginning. The party must awaken the masses to the dangers awaiting the Soviet Union if Hitler seizes power. Only in this way will it fulfill its duty to the American and international proletariat. The L. O. has sounded the alarm. What is your answer, party members?

## Pioneer Publishers Notes

### MARXIST CLASSICS

Through an exchange arrangement with a local bookseller we have got a number of copies of the *Communist Manifesto*; *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*; *Wage Labor and Capital*; and *Value Price and Profit*. In the past we have received requests for this literature. In the course of our propaganda work among workers we frequently find it necessary to begin at rock bottom. This is all the more necessary today because of the terribly low ideological level that obtains in the party ranks under Stalinist leadership.

Unfortunately because of the terms of our exchange arrangement we are unable to offer any discount on this literature. The selling prices in the order in which they are listed above are: 10 cents; 25 cents; 10 cents; 25 cents.

rade Hedlund? Or will some other comrade take his laurels away from him? And what branch will come out on top? Will it be the old stand-bys, New York and Minneapolis? Or will our younger branches dispute the title with them?

It is too early to say. All we can do is point to the record of the staff to date which we give below:

A. Weaver 1 1-2

L. Goodman 1

H. Schwartz 1

J. Edwards 1

W. Wynne 1

The record by branches is as follows:

New York 4 1-2

Minneapolis 2 1-2

Chicago 1

Philadelphia 1

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN is out of print and is available only in the BOUND VOLUMES of comrade TROTSKY'S pamphlets.

# Great Britain and the U. S. at Ottawa

The Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa, Canada, for the past few weeks is of the deepest significance. Gathered here are the representatives of the dominions comprising the British empire. The ostensible purpose of the gathering is to unite in closer bond the King's "minions". But as the conference progresses its object becomes clearer and all the more decisive. It is necessary to seek the driving force of the conference and for this we will divert for a moment from the actual proceedings.

The post-war period witnessed profound changes in the world economic and political situation. Upon the debris of the war arose unforeseen a new power, fresh and vigorous, unexhausted by the conflict. The United States of America became transformed then from a debtor into a creditor nation to whom the entire capitalist world is today indebted. In the course of a few years she dominated the European scene and opened war upon the world markets. Today America is the dominant world power.

## America's Rise to Power

American capitalism, through her own enormous resources, without experiencing the long winding road from feudalism to capitalism but building fresh upon a capitalist structure, her industries the most modern in the world, her technique of the highest, drove ahead to the top-most pinnacle of capitalist development. She displaced England as the financial baron of the world. In the field of militarism she has also surpassed the Empire. World politics is now dominated by the United States. And most important of all, in the field of foreign trade she has also displaced Great Britain. It is only necessary to cite the relative changes in the world market to understand fully what this displacement has meant. Prior to the World War the United States had 12% of the world export trade and Great Britain 18%. Toward the close of the past decade the figure was reversed with America in England's place and England where America once stood.

Great Britain has not kept pace with this development of America. Her industrial technique for years remained unchanged. 19th century England could not keep abreast of the industrial apparatus of Uncle Sam. Her markets were grasped from her. Even her own dominions cast loving eyes to the United States. America invaded her South American markets seizing them one by one. Europe was already under the heel of Wall Street. In Asia the dollar penetrated deeply, ripping big holes in the British trade structure. And as has already been cited, in her dominions this same process took place.

It must be borne in mind, that the tremendous rise of American capitalism comes at a time when world capitalism is in decline. The hegemony of the United States exists at the expense of the rest of the world. Only by crushing Europe and putting her on ration has she been able to dominate there. By carrying on an intense assault upon the world market she was able to replace England. And there the conflict rages. The United States, seeks to perpetuate itself in power on the basis of domination of the world markets, made all the more necessary through her huge productive apparatus and by the contraction of the home market. England stands ready to defend her fortresses of world trade. Jarred and groggy she cannot stand many more steady blows.

## Britain's Demands

The stage is set; the play goes on. Great Britain is seeking closer ties with the dominions. The industrialization of the dominions brought them in constant conflict with the mother country. They

## The Struggle Between the Two Imperialisms

challenged the seniority rights of England. To avoid open rifts, the Imperial Conference in 1926 established and recognized full equality of the dominions. That conference diminished their subordination to Great Britain. But it hardly solved anything. While politically holding the Empire together, it could not and did not solve the hard economic problems. They exist today. Represented by Stanley Baldwin, Britain demands that the dominions establish greater trade within the Empire. It demands that the dominions give preference to British-made goods for which in turn preference will be given to British goods. Britain will charge no duties on dominion goods if the dominions will likewise remove all tariffs on British goods. They plan to solve the crisis in that manner. But more than that the Imperial Economic conference is a direct challenge to the United States.

To establish a balance of trade within the Empire means to strike a blow against American capitalism. At present Canada is principally involved. The same condition however exists in the other dominions and in discussing Canada we speak for the general trends elsewhere. Of foreign capital in Canada, the share of Great Britain fell from 77% to 39% while that of the United States rose from 16% to 57%. The U. S. finds an outlet market here for 40% of her exports. On the reverse side of the picture 68% of Canadian imports come from the United States, as against 15.2% from Great Britain. Of 100 principle import items in 1930, Canada was supplied in the following ratio: The United States 79%, Great Britain 14%, and the rest of the world 7%. The following table of Canadian imports supplied by the United States is of extreme importance because of the key character of the industries:

Ratio of imports supplied by the United States to Canada in 1930:	
91%	Electrical products
90%	Steel and Iron.
90%	Machinery.
99%	Automobile parts.
98%	Automobiles.
90%	Coal.
98%	Farm implements
78%	Crude petroleum
99%	Gasoline.
98%	Raw cotton.

Great Britain exceeded only in textiles. In money values the relative import trade in 1930 was as follows:

Total Imports:	
United States	\$847,442,037
Great Britain	\$189,179,738
Dominions	\$63,523,066
Foreign	\$148,127,841

In addition it must be stated that of Canadian exports, 45% went to the United States. The aims of the conference become clear. The conference aims at a general diminution of American trade within the Empire so as to allow for a general increase of Great Britain's trade as one of the steps leading out of her severe crisis. The steps already taken to curb American products such as steel, machinery, electric will fall however from reaching their mark. There are 1400 branch factories of American concerns in Canada. Any encroachments upon American trade will result in increased production of the Canadian plants to offset such restrictions as result from the conference. Almost the entire electrical industry in Canada is dominated or influenced by the United States. As soon as the announcement was made of an increase in the steel

trade between Canada and Great Britain, which would necessarily result in a fall of American steel trade, the U. S. Steel Corporation declared its intention of expanding its Canadian mills at Ojibwa. Similarly this would take place with the automobile industry, electrical supplies and machinery.

## Effects of Crisis

Thus Britain's attempt to offset American trade in the dominions will be met with a powerful opposition. The crisis has had terrific effects on both nations. While America is adjusting herself for a big drive, Great Britain has already girded itself for battle. She is driving her first blow through the Empire. In the midst of the present crisis Canadian imports declined 27%. In this general decline American imports receded to 64.5% while that of Great Britain rose to 16.5%. The figures themselves while expressing the general effects of the crisis show the efforts of Britain to pull itself up by its bootstraps while the United States is acutely involved in the worst crisis of her history.

The loss of the immense Canadian market compromising 40% of American exports would indeed be a severe blow to the United States. While heretofore foreign markets absorbed only 10% of the surplus production in the United States, the present crisis has established this all-important fact: Imperialist America will open a planned and concerted drive upon the foreign markets of an immense character reinforced by the greatest military activity heretofore witnessed. There is no other way out for her. Her huge industrial apparatus which during the "prosperity days" functioned at only 60% of capacity, needs a far greater outlet than the shrinking home market. The absorption of surplus production must be sought elsewhere. It can find no place except in the field of foreign trade. The world markets continuing in a state of contraction are already divided. The United States arrived on the scene late: the division of the earth had already taken place. She must now win these from the other imperialist powers. And foremost of these is England.

In Europe she has already replaced her to a vast extent. She is dominant in Britain's own dominions. In South America the trend is toward the United States. During the years 1913-27, the U. S. share of South American imports showed an increase from 24% to 38%, while that of Great Britain declined from 25% to 16%. In the rest of the world the same trend. At the expense of Great Britain the United States has gained hegemony. To maintain this it will be necessary for her to expand even more. But further expansion can come only in continued struggle with Great Britain. That involves a deep conflict. It has been raging for almost a decade. It will become more tense now. The Imperial Economic Conference is an example of this fierce antagonism. Here lies its significance.

To transform this into the language of politics is the task of the Communists. Even today the Stalinized Communist International, warped by its nationalist orientation, fails to grasp and fully understand the changes in post-war capitalism. In 1923 L. D. Trotsky, already established this fundamental change. In his brochure *Europe and America*, a few years later, he explained these new factors, tracing the decline of Great Britain's power and its replacement by the United States. He pointed out that this significant change demanded the application of a policy on the part of the Communists concentrating specifically and orientating around this new situation. Had this been understood, it would perhaps in part have prevented such a mis-

erable debacle in recent Comintern history as we have seen.

The dollar displaces the pound. America versus Britain. That is the tune of the world struggle. And therein lies the importance of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

## The Vets in Washington

(Continued from page 1)

noon, of the fighting with the Hoover army on Pennsylvania Ave., they started in a body to the scene of trouble. But they were cut off when the bridge over the Potomac was raised.

But if they were impatient to meet their enemy, the enemy was still more impatient to meet them. At 11 P. M. cavalry and infantry, a thousand strong, hove into sight. Several army planes zoomed above the camp. In the camp, the women and children had already "retired"; the vets themselves were "turning in"; when Federal planes and soldiers came to disturb their peace. It took them by surprise. It was a day of surprises.

Whistles were blown as an alarm. "Victorious" officers ordered immediate evacuation from Government property. The vets didn't move fast enough. They were baptized with a shower of gas bombs. The sweet-smelling, smacking, blinding gas put the vets on the move. Women and children ran screaming and weeping; the men followed cursing.

"Victorious" General MacArthur was weeping—from the gas. The whole field was covered with gas fumes. Soldiers lit torches and were applying them to the shacks.

The next morning you could see a charred and ashy field, filled with twisted and crushed-in sheets of tin, burnt-down autos, broken, soot-black bottles of gas, broken, burned beds, sooty pots, pans, black heaps of tin cans, unburned heaps of stinking garbage, several half-burned dolls and even a plaster bust of Geo. Washington, "Father of his country," lying in the ashes with his nose, lips and chin knocked off.

The work was done against defenseless half-starved workers in the name of law and order, in the name of private property, so that Hoover and the bosses could continue their work of receiving "fair and legitimate return on their money."

## Some "Strange" Facts

The work was done. But there were strange facts which cannot be overlooked.

Why could not the police, of whom there are 1400 in Washington, cope with the situation? Was there a shortage of tear gas bombs for them?

It is a fact that of the 1400 policemen, 1200 are ex-servicemen. They did not care for the dirty work. They passed the buck.

Not only the police. About 600 sailors were ordered to be ready for duty. They replied that they were sea fighters: If the authorities would get a warship alongside of the camp, (which was out of the question), they would carry out the orders. In this way they passed the buck.

The sentiment of the marines at Quantico was similar.

One more thing. Why were the troops ordered to the main camp at night? Here it is a question of psychology. It was feared that if the vets and soldiers met in the daytime face to face, eye to eye, there might result a serious breach of discipline.

Here we see indications of the coming breach in the strongholds of the bourgeoisie. Hoover and the bosses have something to be uneasy about!

—JERDICK.

# Opposition Delegates for United Front at Party's Anti-Injunction Conference

The Anti-Injunction Conference called by the Provisional Committee of which John Steuben is secretary (appointed), held its first meeting at the Manhattan Lyceum, July 28. The new "turn" in the party's method of approaching the masses was much in evidence. Neither the Communist party nor the Young Communist League sent a single delegate to the conference! This was indeed to be a broad conference including particularly A. F. of L. locals and general working class organizations. Yea, the chairman (appointed) introduced the main reporter as BROTHER Steuben. All through the conference it was "fellow workers and friends", "brother so and so" and "I tell you, friends, and fellow workers". A most disgusting and nauseating spectacle of attempts to fool oneself into believing that this was actually a mass conference.

The comrades of the N. Y. Branch of the Communist League, Saul and Weber, and Ruth Cannon and Herbert Capelis of the Spartacus Youth Club attended the Conference as delegates. They were unable to get the floor and make concrete proposals of work such as (1) immediate printing of 50,000 leaflets to be distributed by the organizations represented; (2) immediate sending of speakers to trade unions, political and fraternal organizations in a real attempt to broaden the conference through the united front tactic; (3) each organization to send delegates to assist the strikers on the picket line; (4) each organization to hold at least one open air meeting per week and popularize the fight against the injunction.

The meeting and discussion turned out to be, as usual, organized beforehand. The chairman seemed to know every speaker, even motioning to them individually to come to the fore as he called their names. When the report of the Credentials Comm. (appointed) came in, it was announced that there were 267 delegates representing 12 A. F. of L. locals, numerous trade unions and fraternal and mass organizations. All the organizations were read off, a long list of them; but when it came to reading the list of thirty "mass" organizations the reporter said it was too long and unnecessary. In this way they spared themselves the embarrassment of announcing that the Communist League (Left Opposition) and the Spartacus Youth Club had their delegates and were ready to support the conference with all the means at their disposal.

Then came the election of a Permanent Committee to build the Conference. To "facilitate" matters, the Provisional Comm. already had its list of thirty recommendations to compose the Permanent Comm. The chairman asked for additional nominees from the floor, and comrade Weber and Capelis were nominated. A vote was taken and many hands went up for their being added to the committee. Steuben, somewhat nonplussed at this showing, took the floor and said this would invalidate the committee of thirty, which was already proposed and elected. Comrades from the floor objected and pointed out that this merely meant adding two.

Although we are not on the official committee, the Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club intend to support fully the activities of the Conference. The proposals enumerated above will be carried out and plans are already under way. The club will send as many members as possible down to the picket line and there demonstrate our solidarity with the striking workers. We hope the near future will witness a real unity of our forces with the fighting Left wing workers and the advanced revolutionary

workers of the party and its auxiliary organizations.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

## League Manifesto on the German Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

position have brought positive results. In the province of Berlin-Brandenburg, the Committee of the C. P. G. after months of pressure from the ranks, made offers of united front demonstrations and action to the leadership, the Social Democratic Party there. The yellow socialists refused to accept the offers. The result was a tremendous increase of the Communist vote in Berlin-Brandenburg at the Reichstag elections of July 31.

Now is not the time to gloat over election gains. The struggle is proceeding in the streets. The lessons of Berlin-Brandenburg show the absolute correctness of the Left Opposition's demands. The Communists must repeatedly and constantly push the social democratic leaders on the carpet. They must push them to the wall on every available occasion. Their masks must be torn from their faces at every new step! The Communist Party of Germany must concentrate all its attention upon this task, it must speak out loudly in correction of the past mistakes. It must gain the full confidence of the workers by a frank and open change in policy from the top to the bottom. That is the way to establish the fighting, united front on the class for revolutionary action.

The silence of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International, of the American party must be broken. Workers, revolutionists, bombard your Communist party and revolutionary organizations with demands that the Comintern speak out, that the Soviet leadership give its message in this hour of need to the working class of the world that the Communist Party of Germany act decisively!

Demand the complete and open adoption of the Leninist United Front! Demand that the Communist Party of Germany put the reformist leaders to the test in action! The day of big battles is right at hand.

United working class action of the Communist and social democratic organizations must be posed in an international manner: a most intense and concrete collaboration between the German working class and the U. S. S. R.

Upon such a basis the working class of the world will be rallied against reaction. Unity in action will make the workers' front invincible. There is the way to defeat Fascism. There lies the road to proletarian victory.

Workers, show your international solidarity!

Long live the World Revolution!  
Communist League of America (Section of the International Left Opposition)  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

## After the German Elections

(Continued from page 1)

still lies ahead of us. The Fascist bands are murdering workers, revolutionists in the streets of Germany. Raids are taking place on the Communist headquarters in town and hamlet. The leading proletarian militants are massacred by Hitler's Brown Shirt assassins (remember Koenigsberg!). The white terror is in full swing. From his Munich citadel, the German Mussolini is planning the march on Berlin.

The economic crisis tears on unabated. The ranks of the unemployed are still swelling. The productive apparatus of German capitalism is choking in its own vise. Utter subjugation of the wage slaves—that is the slogan of the German bourgeoisie. That is why capitalism in Germany depends for its life on the daggers of Fascism, directed against the German proletariat.

## Fascist Demands

The Fascists are demanding the suppression of the Communist party already. Von Schleicher, the de facto dictator of the Reich, the man who controls its military, is reaching out a hand to his Fascist friends, to help them into power. Civil war, war against the working class is on already. Fascism in power can and will only legalize it, unfurl it in full and extend it to the borders of the Soviet Union with the aid of the world imperialists.

The Hitlerite coup d'Etat—the form, whether "legal" or open, is of secondary importance—is the threat of the hour. The establishment of the fighting unity of the German proletariat is a question of do or die. United working class action against Fascism can and must be achieved. The task of achieving it rests upon the shoulders of the German Communist Party alone.

The lesson of Berlin-Brandenburg forebodes success for the Communists in the application of the Leninist united front tactic. The Leninist tactic must be carried out in full. Not partially, not in isolated cases, but all over and everywhere. Not only in Berlin-Brandenburg, but on a national scale. Not once, but at every step and stage. The social democratic betrayers only last week urged "order and discipline" upon their followers, urged them to "concentrate upon the elections". The elections have solved nothing for the workers and they know it. The influence of social democracy in the German working class has been shaken as never before. For the workers realize that determined class action, militant and forceful, is the demand of the hour.

—S. G.

## Nine Years of Struggle of the Left Opposition

# The Burning Questions of Bonapartism and Thermidor

History is rich in analogy and analogy is rich in instruction. The events of the day have their roots in the events of yesterday and the one can best be understood by understanding the other and making comparisons. And while events do not repeat themselves in the same manner, but under new conditions and with new social forces and people working to produce them, it is nevertheless true that only by knowing how to utilize the method of analogy can the processes of historical development be best understood.

In utilizing this method, one must of course know not only its great scope but also its limits. That it is sometimes abused is an argument only against the abuse of it. If it is rejected out of hand, then history has only the most narrowly academic significance. Every event must then be approached as if it were entirely unique, entirely dissimilar from anything that ever went before it, entirely disconnected from our yesterday, approached as if we were blind men groping for something without the benefit of the light thrown upon out of the past. Not only does such an approach make today unnecessarily difficult to understand, but it renders impossible an analysis of what tomorrow will bring.

## Two Great Revolutions

An analogy, invaluable for an understanding of the powerful forces at work in the Soviet Union, is offered us when the Russian revolution is compared to the great French revolution of the eighteenth century. It is true that we live in a different epoch, that the Russian revolution is proletarian, that it has at its disposal far more vigorous and substantial forces to maintain its victory to the end than did the revolution of 1789-1794. But history, observed Lenin, shows degenerations of all sorts, and

there is no mystic, automatic guarantee that the Russian revolution cannot meet with the same tragic defeat that was suffered by the Jacobins in France. To proclaim such a religious doctrine, which is foreign to the objective Marxist spirit, is in reality to drug the revolution into a spirit of false security and to facilitate the operation of the forces inimical to its preservation.

The Ninth of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) was the day on which the revolutionary Jacobins, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, Lebas—"the Bolsheviks of the French revolution"—were overthrown by a combination of the Right wing Jacobins, the vacillators and the royalist reaction. The guillotine which sent the 21 Jacobin intransigents to their death the next morning amid the insulting cries of the counter-revolutionary mob, thenceforth bit no longer into the reaction. On the contrary, the epoch of the Thermidorian Reaction was opened up, climaxed five and a half years later by the triumphant ascension to power of Bonapartism, the Eighteenth Brumaire of the ex-sansculotte, Napoleon.

The whole Thermidorian epoch is one of such sterility, such degeneration, such shame, that it is generally skipped over by historians, both revolutionary and conservative. Michelet as well as Kropotkin bring their histories of the revolution to an end with the Ninth of Thermidor. Yet this epoch of degradation is replete with illuminating lessons.

Thermidor is not the counter-revolution as it is ordinarily referred to—the naked, open counter-revolution of Napoleon, of Chiang Kai-Shek, of Kornilov. The Thermidorian transference of power to another class was accomplished by Jacobins, in the name of "true" Jacobinism, of the true revolution, presumably to save the revolution from its foes,

It was accomplished to all external appearances virtually under the same old flag, with the old watchwords scarcely altered. No claim was laid by the renegade Jacobins to any fundamental change; they pretended only—and many of them, no doubt, in all sincerity—that they were purging the revolution of a "few isolated individuals", of a "few aristocrats" who were undermining the united fatherland. In fact, the wretched Jacobins who had moved far away to the Right, ever closer to the Gironde, to the "Marsh", continued to write on the morning after the execution of Robespierre that "we have exterminated a handful of individuals who disturbed the tranquility of the party; now that they are dead, the revolution will finally triumph!"

In its manifesto to the people of the revolutionary fatherland, issued after the execution of Robespierre, the Convention declared: "Citizens, in the midst of the brilliant victories gained over the foreign foe, a new peril threatens the Republic. . . . The work of the Convention will remain fruitless, the valor of the army will lose all its meaning, if the citizens hesitate to choose between the fatherland and a few isolated individuals. Hearken to the voice of the fatherland, do not take your place in the ranks of the malevolent aristocrats and the enemies of the people, and you shall once more save the fatherland!"

The "isolated individuals" to whom they referred were those who sought to preserve the real essence of the revolution, who responded the interests of the nethermost social classes against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, the royalists, the counter-revolution.

"Their enemies," writes the historian, Aulard, "were not content with having killed Robespierre and his friends; they culminated them by depicting them to the eyes of France as royalists as people who had sold out to the foreigners."

The unwitting Thermidorians, the Right wing Jacobins who were blazing the trail for the genuinely counter-revolutionary Bonapartist dictatorship, denounced the men they executed, impris-

oned and banished, as "counter-revolutionists". Could an analogy be more startling? In a report he made on the Convention which condemned the Left wing Jacobins, Brival, one of the Right wingers, said:

"The intrigues, the counter-revolutionists who covered themselves with the toga of patriotism, sought to destroy liberty, the Convention has decided to put them under arrest; these representatives are Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, Lebas, Robespierre the Younger."

Do not all these one hundred and fifty year-old words and acts have an astounding modern ring? The "counter-revolutionists" the "few individuals", the "malevolent aristocrats", the "royalist agents" (in those days they were the "agents of Pitt" just as they are today the "agents of Chamberlain")—do these designations require much change to become identical with the slanders directed against the Left Opposition today?

## Reasons for Thermidor

The Thermidorian reaction in France was made possible by a degeneration and corruption of the revolutionary party of that time—the Jacobin clubs. It was facilitated by the yearning for "peace and tranquility" of certain sections of the people and above all the politicians, wearied of revolutionary struggle, who were moving away to the Right. It gained impulsion from the pressure of royalists and reactionaries who had adapted themselves to revolutionary customs and speech to just the extent required by the times to save their hides from the wrath of the rising classes. The weak-kneed among the revolutionists yielded to the social pressure of the cunning among the reactionaries. The latter staked their cards upon the Right wing of the Jacobins to destroy the Left wing, and in the period of reaction which followed, all that remained of Jacobinism was destroyed and the Directory gave way to the naked and frank dictatorship of Napoleon. . . .

Such a process has been at work in the Soviet Union for many years now. The pedant who seeks an analogy of personalities, who identifies the execu-

tion of Robespierre with, let us say, the exiling of Trotsky, who hunts for identical occurrences and individuals in the two revolutions, will not only hunt in vain but will have missed the point entirely. At the head of the Russian revolution stands a proletariat, not a petty bourgeoisie mixed with artisans and a still amorphous working class. In the leadership stands a revolutionary Marxist party, steeped in proletarian revolutionary traditions, not an immature motley of Jacobin clubs. After the French revolution, a counter-revolutionary class took power which was able to rise and even to play a progressive role. The Russian revolution takes place in an epoch of the decay of world capitalism, when the leadership of the proletariat alone is progressive and can bring humanity forward. Factors like these form the limits of the analogy. But they do not eliminate it.

The Bolshevik party today is not the party which took power in October 1917. It has experienced a period of social and political reaction since the revolutionary wave broke on the defeat of the German October in 1923. Its doctrine has been sapped at the foundation, distorted and corroded. It has been swollen into a vast, shapeless mass by having hundreds of thousands of indiscriminately commanded workers and peasants poured into its ranks until it lost that distinctness and independence essential to a revolutionary party. It has been deprived of its principal functions by a usurpatory, bureaucratic apparatus, which raised itself above it and replaced it. Its revolutionary wing has been torn from it violently by the Thermidorian expulsions of the Left Opposition. For the free interplay of forces which can be controlled and checked by a trained party mass, has been substituted the manipulations of the apparatus which is itself manipulated, helplessly at times, by alien social forces pursuing their reactionary class aims through the channels of this apparatus. A Thermidorian corrosion has been eating away the vital organs of the party, and paralyzed it. (To be continued.)

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

# Hands off Rosa Luxemburg

by LEON TROTSKY

Stalin's article, "On Some Questions in the History of Bolshevism" reached me after much delay. After receiving it, for a long time I could not force myself to read it, for such literature sticks in one's throat like saw-dust or mashed bristles. But still having finally read it, I came to the conclusion that one cannot ignore this performance, if only because there is included in it a vile and barefaced calumny about Rosa Luxemburg. This great revolutionist is enrolled by Stalin into the camp of Centrist! He proves—does not prove, of course, but asserts—that Bolshevism from the day of its inception held to the line of a split with the Kautsky Center, while Rosa Luxemburg during the time sustained Kautsky from the Left. I quote his own words, "Long before the war, from about 1903-1904, when the Bolshevik group had formed in Russia and when Lefts first made themselves heard in the German social democracy, Lenin took the course toward a break, a split with the opportunists both at home, in the Russian social democratic party, and abroad in the II International, and the German Social Democracy in particular." That this, however, could not be achieved was due entirely to the fact that "the Left social democrats in the II International, and first of all, in the German social democracy composed a weak and impotent group . . . that was fearful even of uttering aloud the word, break, split." Such is the basic formulation of the article. Beginning with 1903, the Bolsheviks stood for a break not only with the Right but also with the Kautsky Center; while Rosa was afraid even to mention openly the word "split".

## STALIN'S IGNORANCE OF PARTY HISTORY

To put forward such an assertion, one must be absolutely ignorant of the history of one's own party, and first of all, of Lenin's ideological course. There is not a single word of truth in Stalin's point of departure. In 1903-1904, Lenin was, indeed, an irreconcilable foe of opportunism in the German social democracy. But he considered as opportunism only the revisionist trend, which was led theoretically by Bernstein.

Kautsky at the time was to be found fighting against Bernstein. Lenin considered Kautsky as his teacher and stressed this everywhere he could. In Lenin's work of that period, as well for a number of years following, one must find even a trace of criticism in principle directed against the trend of Bebel-Kautsky. Instead one finds a series of declarations to the effect that Bolshevism is not some sort of an independent trend, but is only a translation into the language of Russian conditions of the trend of Bebel-Kautsky. Here is what Lenin wrote in his famous pamphlet, "Two Tactics", in the middle of 1905, "When and where did I call the revolutionism of Bebel and Kautsky 'opportunism'?"

When and where did any divergences come out into the open between me on the one hand and Bebel and Kautsky? . . . The complete solidarity of the international revolutionary social-democracy in all major questions of program and tactic is an incontrovertible fact." Lenin's words are so clear, precise, and categorical as to entirely exhaust the question.

A year and a half later, on December 7, 1906 Lenin wrote, in the article "The Crisis of Menshevism", ". . . From the very first (see 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Backwards') we affirmed that we are not creating any special sort of Bolshevik tendency; we only take our stand everywhere and at all times in defense of the point of view of the revolutionary social democracy. And within the social democracy, right up to the social revolution, there will inevitably be an opportunistic and a revolutionary wing."

Speaking of Menshevism, as the opportunistic wing of the social democracy, Lenin compared the Mensheviks not with Kautskyism but with revisionism. Moreover he looked upon Bolshevism as the Russian form of Kautskyism, which in his eyes was in that period identical with Marxism. The passage we have just quoted shows, incidentally, that Lenin did not at all stand absolutely for a split with the opportunists; he not only admitted but also considered "inevitable" the existence of the revisionists in the social democracy right up to the social revolution.

Two weeks later, on December 20, 1906, Lenin greeted enthusiastically Kautsky's answer to Plekhanov's questionnaire on the character of the Russian revolution, "What we have claimed—that our fight for the position of revolutionary social democracy against opportunism, is in no manner whatsoever the creation of some 'original' Bolshevik tendency—has been completely confirmed by Kautsky. . . . Within these limits, I trust, the question is absolutely clear. According to Stalin, Lenin, even from 1903, had demanded a break in Germany with the opportunists, not only of the Right wing (Bernstein) but also of the Left (Kautsky). Whereas in December, 1906, Lenin as we see was proudly pointing out to Plekhanov and the Mensheviks that the trend of Kautsky in Germany and the trend of Bolshevism in Russia were identical. Such is part one of Stalin's excursion into the ideological history of Bolshevism. Our investigator's scrupulousness and his knowledge rest on the same plane!

LENIN AND LUXEMBURG

Directly after his assertion regarding 1903-1904, Stalin makes a leap to 1918 and refers to Lenin's sharp criticism of the war pamphlet by Junius, i. e., Rosa Luxemburg. To be sure, in that period Lenin had already declared war to the finish against Kautskyism, having drawn from his criticism all the neces-

## Reply to the Slandering of a Revolutionist

sary organizational conclusions. It is not to be gainsaid that Rosa Luxemburg did not pose the question of the struggle against Centristism with the requisite completeness, in this advantage were entirely on Lenin's side. But between October 1916, when Lenin wrote about Junius's pamphlet, and 1903, when Bolshevism had its inception, there is a lapse of thirteen years; in the course of the major part of this period Rosa Luxemburg was to be found in the Opposition to the Kautsky and Bebel C. C., and her fight against the formal, pedantic, and rotten-at-the-core "radicalism" of Kautsky took on an ever increasingly sharp character.

Lenin did not participate in this fight and did not support Rosa Luxemburg up to 1914. Passionately absorbed in Russian affairs, he preserved extreme caution in international matters. In Lenin's eyes Bebel and Kautsky stood immeasurably higher as revolutionists than in the eyes of Rosa Luxemburg, who observed them at closer range, in action, and who was much more directly subjected to the atmosphere of German politics.

The capitulation of the German social democracy on August 4 was entirely unexpected by Lenin. It is well known that the issue of the Vorwarts with the patriotic declaration of the social democratic faction was taken by Lenin to be a forgery by the German staff. Only after he was absolutely convinced of the awful truth, did he subject to revision his evaluation of the basic tendencies of the German social democracy, and while so doing, he performed that task in the Leninist manner, i. e., he finished it off once for all.

On October 27, 1914, Lenin wrote to A. Schliapnikov, ". . . I hate and despise Kautsky now more than all the rest, the filthy, vile and self-satisfied brood of hypocrites. . . . R. Luxemburg was right, she long ago understood that Kautsky had the highly developed servility of a theoretician—to put it more plainly, he was ever a flunkey, a flunkey to the majority of the party, a flunkey to opportunism." (Leninist Anthology, Vol. II, page 200, (my emphases).

Were there no other documents (and there are hundreds), these few lines alone could not unmistakably clarify the history of the question. Lenin deemed it necessary at the end of 1914 to inform one of the colleagues closest to him at the time, that "now", at the present moment, today, in contradistinction to the past, he "hates and despises" Kautsky. The sharpness of the phrase is an unmistakable indication of the extent to which Kautsky betrayed Lenin's hopes and expectations. No less vivid is the second phrase "R. Luxemburg was right,

she long ago understood that Kautsky had the highly developed servility of a theoretician. . . . Lenin hastens here to recognize that "servility" which he did not see formerly, or which, at least, he did not recognize fully on Rosa Luxemburg's side.

Such are the chief chronological guide-posts of the questions, which are at the same time important guide-posts of Lenin's political biography. The fact is indubitable that his ideological orbit is represented by a continually rising curve. But this only means that Lenin was not born Lenin full-fledged, as he is pictured by the slandering dabblers of the "divine", but that he made himself Lenin. Lenin ever extended his horizons, he learned from others and daily drew himself to a higher plane than was his own yesterday. In this perseverance, in this stubborn resolution of a continual spiritual growth over his own self did his heroic spirit find its expression. If Lenin in 1903 had understood and formulated everything that was required for the coming times, then the remainder of his life would have consisted only of repetitions. In reality this was not at all the case. Stalin simply stamps the Stalinist imprint on Lenin and coins him into the petty small-change of numbered adages.

## LUXEMBURG'S STRUGGLE AGAINST KAUTSKY

In Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against Kautsky, especially in 1910-1914, an important place was occupied by the questions of war, militarism and pacifism. Kautsky defended the reformist program, limitations of armaments, international court, etc. Rosa Luxemburg fought decisively against this program as illusory. On this question, Lenin was in some doubt, but at a certain period he stood closer to Kautsky than to Rosa Luxemburg. From conversations at the time with Lenin I recall that the following argument of Kautsky made a great impression upon him: just as in domestic questions, reforms are products of the revolutionary class struggle, so in international relationships it is possible to fight for and to gain certain guarantees ("reforms") by means of the international class struggle. Lenin considered it entirely possible to support this position of Kautsky, provided that he, after the polemic with Rosa Luxemburg, turned upon the Rights (Noske and Co.). I do not undertake now to say from memory to what extent this circle of ideas found its expression in Lenin's articles: the question would require a particularly careful analysis. Neither can I take upon myself to assert from memory how soon Lenin's doubts on this question were settled. In any case they found their expression not only in conversations but also in correspondence. One of these letters is in the possession of Karl Radek.

I deem it necessary to supply on this question evidence as a witness in order to attempt in this manner to save an exceptionally valuable document for the franchise on election day. When, in the history of the labor movement in this or any country, has the capitalist class granted the workers one single thing except where they have been forced into it by mass pressure? The ballot box did not get even one iota of consideration. Why, the very right to vote for the expropriated masses was achieved through the force of working class power. The eight hour day was not attained by voting one party in and another out. The struggles that finally secured the eight hour day for the American workers, (one of the brightest pages in U. S. labor history) constitute the greatest denial of this fake teaching.

Meaning of Ballot Box

The capitalist class well understands the significance of the ballot box. Votes are a clue to the strength of a party, but they do not indicate that the voters are anything else but a discontented, passive mass. It is strikes, demonstrations and huge movements that make the capitalist class sit up and take notice. The S. P. fears to embark upon this course. Thus, as an avowed party of reform, it can never gain any reforms at all.

But, if one wants further proof as to the real meaning of the promise of the S. P. for unemployment insurance and relief, he has only to look to Europe. There the Socialist parties have already had the honor to serve the bourgeoisie, in governmental capacity. In Great Britain the last act of the late "labor" government is indicative of this fact. Faced by a growing deficit in the budget, the MacDonald-Henderson cabinet decided to save the capitalists from bankruptcy. How? By eliminating the allowance to the parasitic royal family? Oh, no! The Labour party leaders are the 'umble servants of his Majesty George V. No, their method was to place this burden on the shoulder of the proletariat, by cutting their already paltry dole.

We have even a more glaring instance in Germany. There the criminal leaders of the German S. D., on pretext that Bruening was preventing the advent of Fascism slashed the unemployment insurance several times, in the notorious emergency decrees. Thomas is shouting aloud about Fascism being prepared for America today. This is laughable. But the workers can rest assured that when Fascism actually threatens, he will bow his knee before the American Bruening.

But the Socialist party says that capitalism is the cause of unemployment. They propose the abolition of the system by the ballot box. No forcible confiscation of property—they promise to the fearful petty bourgeoisie. When will they "abolish" the capitalist system?

theoretical biography of Lenin. In the autumn of 1928, at the time of our collective work over the platform of the Left Opposition, Radek showed Kamenev, Zinoviev and myself—probably also to other comrades as well—a letter of Lenin to him (1911?) which consisted of the defence of Kautsky's position against the criticism of the German Lefts. In accordance with the regulation passed by the C. C. Radek, like all others, should have delivered this letter to the Lenin Institute. But fearful lest it be hidden, if not destroyed in the Stalinist factory of fabrications, Radek decided on preserving the letter till some more opportune time. One cannot deny that there was some foundation to Radek's attitude. At present, however, Radek himself has—though not very responsible still quite an active—part in the work of producing political forgeries. Suffice it to recall that Radek, who in distinction to Stalin is acquainted with the history of Marxism, and who, at any rate, knows this letter of Lenin, found it possible to make a public statement of his solidarity with the insolent evaluation placed by Stalin on Rosa Luxemburg. The circumstance that Radek acted thereupon under Yaroslavsky's rod does not mitigate his guilt, for only despicable slaves can renounce the principles of Marxism in the name of the principles of the rod.

However the matter we are concerned with relates not to the personal characterization of Radek but to the fate of Lenin's letter. What happened to it? Is Radek hiding it even now from the Lenin Institute? Hardly. Most probably, he entrusted it, where it should be entrusted, as a tangible proof of an intangible devotion. And what lay in store for the letter thereafter? Is it preserved in Stalin's personal archives alongside with the documents that compromise his closest colleagues? Or is it destroyed as many other most precious documents of the party's past have been destroyed?

## WHERE IS LENIN'S LETTER TO RADEK?

In any case there cannot be even the shadow of a political reason for the concealment of a letter written two decades ago on a question that holds now only an historical interest. But it is precisely the historical value of the letter that is exceptionally great. It shows Lenin as he really was, and not as he is being recreated in their own semblance and image by the bureaucratic underheads, who pretend to infallibility. We ask, where is Lenin's letter to Radek? Lenin's letter must be where it belongs! Put it on the table of the party and of the Comintern!

If one were to take the disagreements between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg in their entirety, then the historical correctness is unconditionally on Lenin's side. But this does not exclude the fact that in certain questions, and during definite periods Rosa Luxemburg was correct as against Lenin. In any case, the disagreements despite their importance, and at times—their extreme sharpness, developed on the bases of revolutionary proletarian policies common to them both. (To be concluded.)

Only when they get a parliamentary majority. The nearest the S. P. will get to this "revolutionary" act is to hold the reins of government for the bosses. Today they are already in the saddle in the city of Milwaukee. The same evictions and police terror against the unemployed reigns in Milwaukee as in any city controlled by the democratic and the Republican parties. This is a signpost for the future. If the Republican and Democratic parties are outspoken representatives of Wall St., the Socialist party is its concealed, demagogic, radical-tongued servant. And as such it is all the more dangerous to the working class in its struggle for emancipation. A vote for the Communist party is an indication that you are aware of the heinous role of the S. P.

—CLARKE.

break of the crisis which was immediately followed by the futile conferences held by Hoover, the big industrialists and labor leaders, the Daily Worker suddenly announced that "the Communist Party and the most conscious sections of the working class—which more and more recognize the Communist party as their leader in all present-day struggles—accept the challenge of Hoover's National Fascist Council" (November 28, 1929). This in the leading editorial. And to make clear the extent to which the Stalinists considered that Fascism had already established its sway in this country, it was announced four days later, under the headline "Big Fascist Body Aims at Workers—Act as Government", that "Out of the White House crisis conferences has grown a powerful Fascist organization. . . . Hoover and his cohorts find the usual 'democratic' machinery of the capitalist state inadequate to meet the onrush of the growing crisis and have created this new, more facile machine to take over the most important functions of the capitalist government at the present time. . . . The Fascist nature of the agrarian-imperialist-labor body makes it more useful to the capitalists than their existing state machinery" (November 30, 1929.)

Fascism is the Government in U. S.!

If the English language has any meaning at all, the Daily Worker was seeking to convey to its readers the idea that the "ordinary democratic" state machinery of the bourgeoisie was no longer serviceable to it and that a Fascist council was now acting as the government.

Another few days later, a headline announced that "Congress Takes Back Seat For Fascist Council", and the article read: "Congress, which meets next week, will be merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping, Hoover will act as the executive of the Fascist economic council, and attempt very little through Congress in the present crisis" (December 2, 1929). "Organization is rapidly growing," boasted the Worker on December 5, "to meet the threatened drives of Hoover's Fascist state apparatus."

Plainer speech could not be asked for. A Fascist council had been organized in America. It was already the state apparatus. The "usual democratic" Congress was "merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping". Triumphant Italian Fascism has not achieved very much more than this in order to establish the dictatorship of the Black Shirts.

In England Too!

With the boldness of conception and sweep that characterizes genius and insanity alike, the Daily Worker proceeded to overrun Great Britain as well with its brand of Fascism-turned-out-on-the-editorial-type-while-you-wait. On December 5, 1929, a news story announced "the swift transformation of MacDonald's government into Fascism thinly disguised as a 'Council of State' to meet the economic emergency". The editorial writer on the first page of the same issue (about three years ago, remember! What foresight! What prophetic gifts!) "Following the example of its world-rival, the United States, the British capitalist class has begun organizing for an open Fascist dictatorship to replace the famous British 'democracy' . . . Ramsay MacDonald's and the 'Labor' party's function is precisely to prepare the way for the open Fascist dictatorship in England."

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Isn't this little contrast a dazzling tribute to the wisdom, the foresight, the perspicacity, the discrimination, the infallibility of the present Stalinist leadership, nationally and internationally? A meteorologist who persistently predicted snowstorms in the Sahara Desert and hot spells at the North Pole, who announced squalls for a sunny Tuesday and sunshine for a rain-drenched Friday—has a place set aside for him as a member of the Political Bureau of the party. He will fit it like a glove.

—S.

# Fascism-U. S. & German

It Was Discovered in U. S. and Ignored Where It Really Was

It is not correct to assume that the petty bourgeoisie, which formed the bulk of the troops of Fascism in Italy and Germany at its inception, are automatically guaranteed to support such a movement elsewhere, always and from the very outset. Fascism, attaining power in Italy, very swiftly demonstrated that the desperate hopes placed in it by the petty bourgeoisie as a defense against the big bourgeoisie, were grounded in nothing substantial. Mussolini very soon revealed the elementary political truth of the present epoch in particular: the petty bourgeoisie can play no independent role; it follows either the big bourgeoisie or the proletariat. In Italy, Fascism is the instrument of naked rule by the sword of the industrialists and the large landowners. Nor could it be otherwise. This disappointment of the illusions of the petty bourgeoisie causes many of them, particularly in other countries, to develop a certain hostility towards Fascism, which they envisage, and with a certain justification as the betrayer of their hopes for relief from the upper and nether millstones of the class struggle.

This hostility we see manifested in a small measure by the cries of fear uttered in this country by typical spokesmen for the petty bourgeoisie. In the United States, so thoroughly dominated by monopolist capitalism, the crisis has been extremely severe for the middle class citizen. The goliath of bureaucratic government, arch-representative of big capital, looms before him like some monstrous nightmare. At every repressive measure taken by the executive committee of the sovereign class, our petty bourgeois burgher utters a shriek of terror: "Fascism is growing in the United States! The government is turning Fascist! There is a Mussolini in the White House!"

## Dewey's Theory

The extent to which this "mistake in identity" has unfolded is surprising. John Dewey, the pathetic figure who is seeking to organize a third party of liberalism, rarely misses an opportunity to give vent to his theory about the growing movement of American Fascism. The Nation and the New Republic echo him along the whole scale of their feeble tones. The plagiarist par-excellence from the ideas of liberalism, social democracy and Stalinism, A. J. Muste, sings the same song of dread. Norman Thomas and the other member of the American socialist priesthood are of course also found in this motley chorus.

But this inability to make a distinction between the growth of repressive measures against the working class, violence and brutality used against it, on the one hand, and on the other hand Fascism, that is, the naked rule of the bourgeois dictatorship in which every fragment of the democratic raiment of capitalism has been ripped off completely, including the most elementary rights of the working class movement—does not originate with Dewey, Muste and Thomas. In this country, it is the contribution to political science made by the Daily Worker and its party directors.

The announcement that there is not merely a powerful Fascist movement already in existence in this country, but that it has virtually taken over the government, is an extravaganza originally displayed for the instruction of the American workers by Stalinism. In the light of the uninterrupted series of blunders made by the German party leaders in relation to Hitlerism in Germany, the theory of the American party leaders stands out in all the bolder stupidity—a striking revelation of the studied incompetency of the present-day leadership (save the mark) of the International.

Almost three years ago, with the outbreak of the crisis which was immedi-

ately followed by the futile conferences held by Hoover, the big industrialists and labor leaders, the Daily Worker suddenly announced that "the Communist Party and the most conscious sections of the working class—which more and more recognize the Communist party as their leader in all present-day struggles—accept the challenge of Hoover's National Fascist Council" (November 28, 1929). This in the leading editorial. And to make clear the extent to which the Stalinists considered that Fascism had already established its sway in this country, it was announced four days later, under the headline "Big Fascist Body Aims at Workers—Act as Government", that "Out of the White House crisis conferences has grown a powerful Fascist organization. . . . Hoover and his cohorts find the usual 'democratic' machinery of the capitalist state inadequate to meet the onrush of the growing crisis and have created this new, more facile machine to take over the most important functions of the capitalist government at the present time. . . . The Fascist nature of the agrarian-imperialist-labor body makes it more useful to the capitalists than their existing state machinery" (November 30, 1929.)

## Fascism is the Government in U. S.!

If the English language has any meaning at all, the Daily Worker was seeking to convey to its readers the idea that the "ordinary democratic" state machinery of the bourgeoisie was no longer serviceable to it and that a Fascist council was now acting as the government.

Another few days later, a headline announced that "Congress Takes Back Seat For Fascist Council", and the article read: "Congress, which meets next week, will be merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping, Hoover will act as the executive of the Fascist economic council, and attempt very little through Congress in the present crisis" (December 2, 1929). "Organization is rapidly growing," boasted the Worker on December 5, "to meet the threatened drives of Hoover's Fascist state apparatus."

Plainer speech could not be asked for. A Fascist council had been organized in America. It was already the state apparatus. The "usual democratic" Congress was "merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping". Triumphant Italian Fascism has not achieved very much more than this in order to establish the dictatorship of the Black Shirts.

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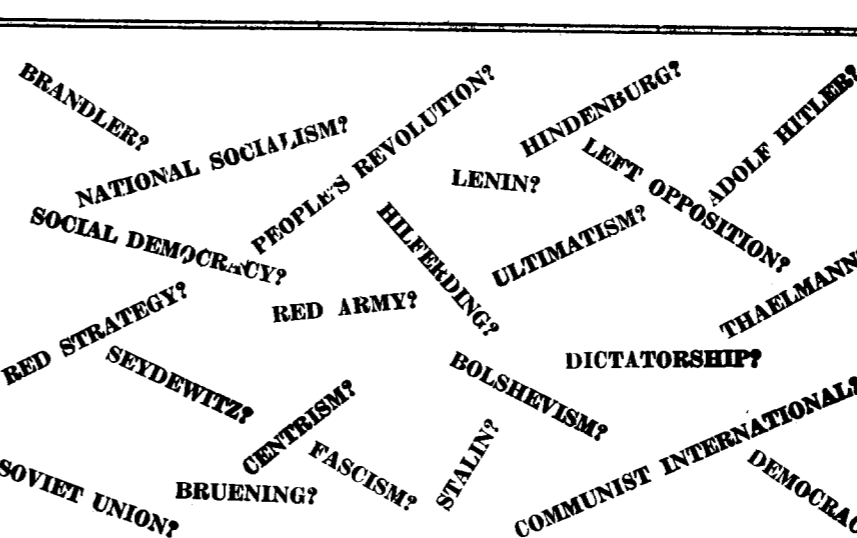
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THE TURN IN THE C. I. AND THE SITUATION IN GERMANY is out of print and is available only in the BOUND VOLUMES of comrade TROTSKY's pamphlets.

# LEON TROTSKY

## WHAT NEXT?

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat



With Germany on the edge of the volcano that threatens to erupt at any moment, Leon Trotsky's penetrating analysis of what is next on the order of the day in Germany is the most timely revolutionary document of the moment. It is priced so low for a quick sale. Order your copy now!

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Read carefully the resolution presented by the Left Opposition to the New York Conference Against War at the Labor Temple on August 8. It is printed on page 3 of this issue. The resolution contains Lenin's revolutionary views on the struggle against war. It is Lenin's language, in letter and spirit! It is the language of Bolshevism which every Communist and militant worker must agree with. Why did the Stalinist leaders force the 300 Party members, delegates to the New York Conference, to vote against it? Why were Lenin's views rejected by the bureaucrats in favor of a petty bourgeois pacifist resolution? Why was the "Christian pacifist" Barbusse hailed while Lenin was howled down?

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Left Opposition Alone Raises the Voice of Lenin at N. Y. Congress Against War

Stalinists Unite with Liberal Pacifists to Reject Resolution of League Delegation on Fight Against the War Danger

A conference composed of more than 200 Communist workers at which a resolution giving Lenin's views on how to combat imperialist war, is jeered at and voted down. A conference to discuss the war danger at which only a small handful of Opposition delegates, representing

an expelled faction of the Communist party, defends the standpoint of Bolshevism. A conference at which the representatives of official Communism take upon themselves a stubborn defense of pacifists, advertise them, praise them, and at the same time seek to gag the

voice of the revolutionary followers of Lenin. A conference which not only turns down a Lenin resolution, but gives a thunderous vote of endorsement to a resolution presented in the name of a committee of pacifists and petty bourgeois liberals.

That was the Conference on August 8 at the Labor Temple in New York called by the American Committee of the World Congress Against War organized by Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Albert Einstein, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Maxim Gorky and others.

We intend to present here an extensive report on all the important phases of this conference, not only in order that the misleading and deliberately inadequate report in the official Communist party press may be rectified, but to enable the militant, class conscious workers to have a complete picture of the depths of opportunism to which the Stalinist bureaucracy has sunk in the crucial question of working class politics: the question of war.

### The Petty Bourgeois Liberals Set the Tone

The conference, as the report of the credentials committee showed beyond argument was composed overwhelmingly of Communist workers and the closest sympathizers of Communism. The Committee at the door, the committee on the platform, the chairman of the conference, and its real managers, were all Communists, taking painful precautions to conceal their political identity. Yet, it was left to the outstanding liberal at the Conference to strike the keynote—pacifistic through and through.

With a repulsively unctuous parade of studied respectability—the polite introductions of "Mister So-and-so" and "Miss So-and-so"—Roger Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, was called on to open the Conference in the name of the absent Theodore Dreiser, in an introduction by a Communist secretary whose party press only yesterday catalogued the same Baldwin as a "Social Fascist". Baldwin purchased immunity from a similar attack by per-

mitting the use of his name as a screen for the organizational manipulations of the Conference behind the scenes by the Stalinists. But for this, he received in return an infinitely greater concession from his opponents: the uncritical adoption by them of his pacifist program.

With Baldwin's speech, from one standpoint at least, there can be no quarrel. He adhered rigidly to the aims of the Congress as expounded by its initiators and directors, and repeated them faithfully. Need his speech be given here? It is better to present it in the form of a quotation from the Anti-War Congress call sent throughout the world from Paris:

"We make an appeal to all peoples, to all parties, to all men and women of good will. It is not a question of the interest of one nation, of one class, of one party. All are concerned. All are in danger... We do not have to make a plan of action in advance. That would mean hampering the liberty of those we are summoning, and it is they who in the Congress will freely present their different plans and finally try to come to a decision as to common action. What we want is to raise an immense wave of opinion against war whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from, wherever it may menace."

This call was signed not only by such social patriots as H. G. Wells and Upton Sinclair, who have the right to sign it because it really corresponds to their confused petty bourgeois pacifism, but by Sen Katayama, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, that is, by the real organizer of the whole enterprise!

Baldwin expressed his support for civil liberties and his opposition to war. He pledged the support of the Left wing intellectuals to a movement against war. He had no idea to present as to what the program of such a movement should be to deal effectively with the problem, nor could he be expected to have. He was in favor of revolutionists being in the movement. "The Communists must be in this movement," he said, "Not as a party, because no political parties are to participate." In this he was only partly correct; more accurately, he was correct up to forty-eight hours before he

spoke. For, as we shall see, the original plan to hide the face of the Communist party was changed and by a forced march the party sent its delegates at the last minute.

Baldwin delivered the speech of a sincere liberal opponent to war, to war in

general, to war as something beyond the realm of classes and the class struggle. But that is the limit of the criticism that may be leveled against him. He spoke according to his lights.

But Baldwin not only was allowed to (Continued on page 2)

## The Hitlerites at the Gates!

### Alarm Signal!

On the anniversary of the German republic, Hitler stretches out his hand for power. The bloodthirsty Storm-Troops of Fascism are mobilizing outside of Berlin. The social democratic hero of the "Iron Front", Hindenburg, is negotiating directly with the Fascist chieftain concerning participation or leadership in the government. It is now no more a question of months and weeks; it is a question of days and hours. The blindest of the blind must now see the imminence of a Fascist coup d'Etat. Shall Hitler come to power without the most furious resistance of the proletarian masses? From the social democratic leadership, we expect nothing but the playing of the last act of treachery. But what is the Communist party doing? Dreadful, menacing, fatal silence! With Hitler on the threshold of power, we say openly to the working class:

If the Communist party allows Fascism to take the helm in Germany without organizing the broadest and most violent movement of mass resistance, it will have committed an act of betrayal which will brand it eternally in the history of the proletariat!

If the Communist party does not fight to the bitter end against the Fascist triumph, its betrayal will stand at the same abyssal depths as the social democratic treachery on August 4, 1914!

A terrific, historical responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Stalinism. It is being tried before the masses of the world. A greater responsibility rests upon the party members and Communist workers in general. Speak out, workers, speak out before it is too late! The knife of Fascism descends upon our throats!

### Fascism Must Not Take Power Without Armed Resistance

All dispatches confirm—the news of the Fascists' concentration of forces around Berlin. Hitler himself is right on the scene, but remains incognito. There are well-founded rumors of pressure from the Brown Shirt ranks for a march on the capital, for a coup d'Etat. Hitler is said to utilize the threat of this pressure in his bargaining for a "legal" seizure of power with the Junkers in control. Constitution Day also brings with it, ironically enough, the information that President Von Hindenburg is to offer Hitler the portfolio of Chancellor.

But most ironical of all is the proclamation of the new decree "against rioting." This decree provides for nothing more nor less than a counter-revolutionary tribunal. The chief provision in the establishment of the bloody tribunal which is to mete out capital punishment to "Whoever commits homicide on an assailant from political motives (that is, in the struggle with the Fascist assassins) or on a policeman or any person summoned to his aid (read: the Brown Shirt auxiliaries) is: "a special court which can refuse to take evidence for the defense." All of this is proclaimed in the name of Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution—the ingenious handiwork of Hilferding, Wels, Kautsky and Co.

### The Governmental Manipulations of the Bourgeoisie

Hindenburg's offer of the Chancellorship to Hitler is accompanied by several "conditions":

- "1. The Constitution is to be respected."
- "2. The Fascist militia must not be employed as auxiliary police."
- "3. There must be no equality between the Fascist militia and the Reichswehr, or regular army."
- "4. There must be no party government relying on storm detachments for support."

The sham of these conditions is all too apparent. Hitler is to be asked to respect a constitution which the spokesman of the present government itself declares "does not unite but divides the nation." These are the words of Von Gayl's, the Minister of the Interior in the Von Papen cabinet, at the Reichstag celebration.

The "conditions" and the proposal of Von Hindenburg are the force behind the scenes of which the Junkers are handing over the reins of power to the logical heir of a capitalism seized by the throes of social agony. The apparatus for the "legal" extermination of the workers' organizations has been rigged into shape. Only the finishing touches are still to be applied to the Nazi coup d'Etat. Whether this will be done with the official sanction of Hindenburg's Field Marshal or by a march on

Berlin is of secondary importance, German stands beyond the debate.

### Social Democracy—Perennial Betrayer

Most wretched of all, clinging on as if to a last straw, is the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Driven from its Prussian government posts by a little band of 13 infantry soldiers, dispersed by Von Papen, who rules by the grace of the Hindenburg dictatorship, it nevertheless still stuck to its democratic pose. It appealed to the Reich Supreme Court for a decision against Von Papen! The Supreme Court knew its class task and told the social democracy in so many words that it does not give a fig about the democratic forms. But the last defenders of bourgeois legality are not to be outdone. After dragging the German working class from debacle to debacle, from Weimar down to Von Schleicher, they now resort to a pure declaration of faith: "Hitler will perish, democracy is eternal!"

The social democracy is even today holding back the proletariat of Germany from establishing the united front of the class, from open and determined action against the murderer clutching at its throat. The social democratic funkies are scared for their own skins, they know that working class action will sweep them away with one blow and clear the road for the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are ready to sell out the workers of Germany on a last and desperate speculation on saving their hides. They would still rather trust the bourgeoisie which is kicking them down with both feet than break the inaction of the working class.

### Where is the C. P. G.?

Where is the German Communist Party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat? After a half-turn in the direction of the Leninist united front on June 20, when it proposed to the leadership of the Berlin district of the S. D. P. G. common action against the suppression of the social democratic Vorwaerts, after participating together with the socialist workers in demonstrations conducted by the S. P. D. G. fakery and in spite of them and their rejection of the Communist proposals—after reaping profit therefrom by an appreciable increase in the C. P. vote at the Reichstag elections of July 31, the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party has slunk back into its old, catastrophic error, content to rest upon its meager parliamentary laurels at a time when the class struggle is about to be decided on the arena of brutal, open combat. The latest reports reaching us from Germany bring the information that (Continued on page 4)

## Monarchist Putsch in Spain

Militarist Coup in Seville and Madrid is Quickly Crushed

The military cabal headed by general Sanjurjo which sought to overthrow the republican regime in Spain and raise again the banner of the degenerate Bourbon dynasty, has been crushed by the governmental forces without great difficulty. In Seville itself, where the monarchists had concentrated about 6,000 troops, they were swept out of control within 24 hours. In Madrid, where a putsch was attempted by a smaller group, the monarchists received even shorter shrift. Their whole movement now appears to be thoroughly dissolved.

Significant in the whole affair is the prompt popular response to the monarchist challenge. The hatred accumulated in the breasts of the masses under the bloody regime of Alfonso, Primo de Rivera and the Jesuits, was given furious vent again on this occasion. Just as last year when the threat of a monarchist plot in Madrid brought the whole city to its feet in militant reprisals which took the form of burning to the ground several of the ecclesiastical and lay centers of the black reaction. Immediately upon learning of Sanjurjo's attempt, a similar popular storm burst upon Madrid, Seville and other centers, with the people emphasizing their hostility to the reaction, which has been watered down systematically by the republican-socialist governmental coalition, by razing numerous monarchist and militarist clubs and centers, destroying their press and demonstrating in every spontaneous form a relentless opposition to the return of the dynasty and all the things associated with it.

That the monarchists should choose the present day—scarcely more than a year after the proclamation of the republic—for an attempted comeback, is itself a reflection on the present regime, which, the leaders of the uprising hoped, had created sufficient discontentment with itself among the masses to make possible a monarchist victory. The discontentment of the masses is indubitable, the militarists gauged its temper incorrectly. The opposition to them has not been altered in the minds of the mass.

The government of Azana, supported by the socialists, has remorselessly robbed the masses of every achievement that was looked forward to when the republic was proclaimed. Not one of the problems confronting the country has since been solved satisfactorily. The land-hungry peasantry, still groaning under the exploitation of the large landowners, the agricultural laborers whose lives are a monotonous permanency of misery, have not received an iota of assistance from the Madrid government. The sole "advance" written into the statutes for the workers, the eight-hour day, remains a dead letter; for the suffering masses of the unemployed it is a cruel mockery. The expectations of the Catalonians have been traduced, and they are as far away from independence as they ever were. The civil rights promised the people have been ruthlessly torn from them by the law for the "Defense of the Republic", which contains Draconic measures of suppression and despotism directed exclusively at the working people. Strike movements have been suppressed with Bourbon cynicism.

In all this, the working class and peasantry has groped blindly for a way out, deprived of leadership. The socialists have betrayed them into the hands of the bourgeois republicans. The anarcho-syndicalists, themselves leaderless and utopian, have only brought confusion into the ranks. The official Communist party has made a terrible debacle since the beginning of the revolutionary events in Spain. That is why the recent proletarian rising in Alto Lobregat, instead of becoming a new point of departure for progress, marked a high point in

producing a wave of depression among the masses.

The emergence of the monarchist pestilence may have the effect of re-invigorating the proletarian movement, and thus offer increased opportunities for the Communist movement. It is notable that in Seville the aroused populace released the imprisoned Communists and syndicalists from jail and bore them on their shoulders. A Leninist—not a Stalinist course—could make this symbolic gesture a national revolutionary reality in the not distant future.

## Lessons of the Bonus March

With their dispersal following their forceful eviction from Johnstown, the worker-vets have rung down the curtain on the first act of the fight for the bonus. It is the close of the first act but it is not the final scene. The fight they put up against the iron fist of "democracy" was too dramatic, too fraught with forebodings of the treatment the capitalist class holds in store for its wage slaves for the working class to forget it.

Under the remorseless pressure of the steadily deepening crisis, goaded to action by the cynical indifference of "their" government to their misery, and still permeated by illusions about the institutions of democracy, the vets spontaneously marched on Washington from all parts of the country to demand their "back wages". The outstanding aspect of that march was its spontaneity. It was not prepared for. It was not organized in advance. In this sense it may be said that the vets were thrown up by the flux of the class struggle.

### Waters Leadership

During the six weeks they were encamped in Washington they tolerated the leadership of the Oregon cannery ex-superintendent who watched their fight with the police and their heroic resistance to the military from the side lines. This individual organized a military police which beat up the Reds, and worked with the secret service men to terrorize and intimidate the men. He conferred regularly with chief of police, Glassford and together with him arranged for the segregation of the vets who followed the leadership of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League.

Under Waters' leadership the fight assumed a narrow character, limiting itself to a demand for relief without any class content or class issues. No attempt was made by the vets to link up their fight with the broader fight for class relief led by the Communists. By this policy the vets were condemned to fight an isolated struggle without the active support of the masses of the working class who watched their fight with the greatest interest.

By all this the vets gave abundant evidence of their lack of class consciousness. Perhaps this was to be expected. The average age of the vets was somewhere between thirty-five and forty. They had come through the years of "prosperity" with profound illusions about the "difference" of American capitalism from the old world imperialism. They were deeply impregnated with the democratic nature of "our republic".

The tactics of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League in denouncing everybody not a faithful follower of the one true Bolshevik, Stalin, alienated them from the masses of the vets and made their isolated demonstrations easy for the police to break up. They failed in their elementary Communist duty of raising the class consciousness of the vets. For this (Continued on page 4)

## Trotsky Elected to Anti-War Meet

On June 27, 1932, the Fourth National Congress of the League of War Invalids and Victims of Greece met in Athens. Fifty-seven delegates from all parts of the country participated in the deliberations. The years of existence of this militant organization have been filled with heroic struggles against the bourgeoisie and militarism, and the report rendered the delegates by the National Committee was not only accepted but the complete confidence of the membership was expressed in the leadership it had presented. The National Committee of the League is composed entirely of mem-

bers of the Greek Left Opposition, Bolshevik-Leninists (Archio-Marxists), and it was unanimously re-elected at the end of the sessions.

The Congress decided to send delegates to take part in the international "Congress Against War" organized under the names of Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. As an indication of the sentiments of the former soldiers of the Greek bourgeoisie, the Congress elected as its first delegate the leader of international Bolshevism, comrade Leon Trotsky!

### Mass Meeting

## THE COMMUNISTS AND THE WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

### LENINISM VS. PACIFISM

- HOW SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS FIGHT AGAINST WAR?
- WHAT RELATIONS HAS STALINISM WITH PACIFISM?
- HOW SHALL WORKERS DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION?

Hear the Opposition Delegates to the New York Anti-War Conference Deliver the Speeches Suppressed by the Bureaucrats

JAMES P. CANNON

MAX SHACHTMAN

HUGO OEHLER, Chairman

on WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1932, at 8 P. M.

at STUYVESANT CASINO, 2nd Avenue and 9th Street

Admission 10 Cents

Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

# Report of the New York Anti-War Conference

(Continued from page 1)

set the official tone of the conference by his speech, but it was enthusiastically applauded by the assembled Communist workers disoriented and intellectually demoralized by their leaders who, all during the conference, did not utter a single word of criticism of the speech, did not make a single reservation, did not indicate in any way that the Communists would not identify themselves with the point of petty bourgeois pacifism. It is at them, that the criticism should be directed!

## Left Opposition Makes Itself Heard

If the party spokesmen maintained an oyster's silence on the role of pacifism at the conference, they made amends by their vociferous attacks upon the Left Opposition. It is no exaggeration to say that the real center of attention at the Conference was the Left Opposition and the standpoint it presented.

All the preliminary arrangements went off smoothly, in accordance with the previous decisions of the party. As an innovation in the party's "united front" conferences, the chairman and committees were not appointed this time, but formally at least elected from the floor. Let nobody be deceived about this change of heart. It was not dictated by any concern with elementary principles of workers' democracy, but rather as a concession to its "prejudices on fairness" entertained by the liberal partners of the party in the movement. What constant protests from Left Opposition delegates and other non-Stalinist forces at similar conferences failed to gain from the party bureaucracy, the petty bourgeois pacifists and men of letters were able to gain with little difficulty, if only as a formality without real meaning. There was only one slight slip-up in the party's plans: the selection of the credentials committee. One non-Stalinist delegate, I. Dryar, who represented a branch of the International Workers' Order, was elected on the committee as the fourth member in addition to the three already chosen for the posts in advance. Their report will come up later on.

The delegates of the Communist League of America (Opposition) were comrades James P. Cannon, Hugo Oehler and Max Shachtman. Despite the presence at the door of the Argus-eyed Ludwig Landy, the professional Stalinist manager of such projects, the Opposition delegates were permitted to enter the hall without being challenged. As other delegates came in, they invariably had in their hand either a copy of the *Militant*, or a mimeographed copy of the resolution we had prepared in advance for submission to the Conference, or both. To prevent in advance the complete suppression of our point of view, we had made adequate arrangements for the distribution in the lobby of our resolution so that, in any case, the bulk of the delegates would at least have a written memorandum of the standpoint of the Opposition.

In contrast to our resolution, printed elsewhere in this issue, the chairman, Jackson, a party member in the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, presented a resolution in the name of the American Committee. A more wretched piece of hollow pacifist literature could hardly have been read by a Communist without gagging. The tone set by the liberal "keynote" was to be consecrated in the form of a resolution, undoubtedly drawn up by the party fraction in the American Committee for the purpose of satisfying the totally disparate elements collected as the directors of the struggle against war, ranging from Harry Elmer Barnes and Upton Sinclair to . . . Moissaye J. Olgin, and presented by a Communist chairman for adoption by a Communist audience.

The resolution, which we challenge the party press to reprint as it was read at the Conference, endorsed the whole enterprise without reserve, endorsed the call sent out by Romain Rolland. In other words, the chairman called upon the Communist workers present to endorse a call which declares that war is not a "question of interest of one nation, of one class". To endorse a movement to "raise an immense wave of opinion against war, whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from, whomever it may menace", that is, to oppose a war—if the words have any meaning at all—of the working class against the bourgeoisie, to oppose a war of national liberation of an oppressed colonial people against an automatic imperialist oppressor, to oppose a revolutionary war of a victorious proletariat against a bourgeois enemy—to oppose all those wars which Lenin tried to teach the exploited of the earth to carry on unrelentingly.

By this resolution, the Communist workers were to commit themselves, for example, against the idea symbolized by the war of the Russian workers and peasants against their bourgeoisie in 1917-1918, the war of the Chinese people against the imperialists in 1925-1927 or their war against Japan in Manchuria today, against the war conducted by the Soviets against Pilsudsky's Poland in 1920 or against the Menshevik agency of imperialism in Georgia more than a decade ago, concerning this reactionary document, the Communist stage-managers of the Conference had only words of praise. They sewed their condemnations for something else.

No sooner had the chairman announced that there would now be discussion from the delegates, than comrade Shachtman of the C. L. O. (O.) delegation, jumped up to request the floor to read a substitute resolution. Taken aback, the chairman replied that there would be "adequate

opportunity for everybody" to speak if the names of the speakers and their organizations would be sent up to the platform on slips of paper. We have never had any illusions about this procedure. It is employed for the purpose of enabling the chairman to make an arbitrary selection of speakers, for the audience is left in the dark as to who has asked for the floor until the chairman announces his name and place. However, immediately upon this announcement, a slip of paper was sped to the platform in so ostentatious a manner that the whole audience could see that we had been the first to make the request. After a hurried consultation on the platform with the Central Committee prompter in charge of the floor arrangements for the party, Joseph Brodsky, the chairman gave the floor to Shachtman.

By a snap vote, it had already been decided that on the burning question of war, the speakers from the floor would be limited to five minutes each. In view of the delays in getting started, this left less than an hour for discussion on the most important Conference question: the resolution of opinion and policy. Comrade Shachtman was therefore able only to read our resolution. It was heard in an intense silence throughout the hall and when, at the end of the first five minutes, a few zealots began shouting that his time was up, the chairman, with half an eye to his liberal partners, announced that the speaker would be permitted to finish his reading.

The Opposition's resolution is printed on the third page. Let every worker read it and see for himself if it isn't almost a word for word transcription in condensed form of all that Bolshevism has taught on the question of the war struggle, which every Communist worker should be duty-bound to support.

But instead of fulfilling their revolutionary responsibility of mobilizing the Communists in support of such a resolution as against the pacifist resolution, of supporting Lenin as against Barbusse and Sinclair, the party spokesmen at the conference did two significant things

## The Stalinists Reply to Us

First, they felt compelled, for the first time in years at such conferences attended by them and the Opposition, to discuss the two points of view: the Stalinist and the Leninist. At previous conferences, where comparatively secondary questions of dispute were involved, they felt their mechanical strength to be sufficient to settle the question in the usual manner, i. e., by merely ignoring our standpoint or by shouting us down with infamous slanders or by ridding themselves of the problem by expelling us forthwith. At this conference, where a fundamental question of principle was involved, where the party leaders had worked themselves into a position where they had to defend pacifism as against Bolshevism, the mechanical majority apparently did not suffice and the principle objections to the party line had to be met, at least to outward appearances, by an open discussion of the merits of the respective standpoints. In this lies the greatest victory for the revolutionists: the fact that for the first time on any extensive and public scale, in the presence of hundreds of Communist workers, the views of the Opposition were presented in head-on collision with the views of Centrism with the latter compelled to defend themselves from the criticisms of the Left wing.

Second, in defending themselves, the Stalinists not only made an elaborate apology for pacifism and pacifists, but a demagogic attack upon Leninism. This was the only significance of the speech delivered by Olgin.

As soon as Shachtman concluded the reading of our resolution, the chairman introduced Moissaye J. Olgin for the job of replying to the Opposition was highly characteristic. The only thing for which Olgin is "well-known" to any degree in connection with war and the defense of the Soviet Union, is his ardent support during the last world war of Wilson and his Fourteen Points, and, after the Russian revolution, his faithful services as a scribbler on the yellow Jewish *Daily Forward*, where he tried to convince the readers that Lenin and Trotsky were not only German spies but that they were strangling the Russian democracy in the blood of the people. But if Upton Sinclair, another hero of the "war to end all wars", and H. G. Wells, who played a similar role, are fit to lead a movement now against the danger of imperialist war, there is no reason why Olgin should be excluded. Only, one should retain at least a slight sense of proportion and values. Of all the people available in the party to "fight imperialist war and defend the Soviet Union" in the course of a vicious attack upon the spokesmen at the Conference for Lenin's standpoint the selection of the man with the least rights of anyone to speak on the question, was a

little too much. Discretion alone should have dictated another choice.

Olgin feebly and half-heartedly mumbled a repetition of the vulgar driveling with which the *Daily Worker* of that morning had greeted the conference—tenderness for the pacifists and calumny and rudeness for the Opposition—sought in vain to put some "revolutionary spirit" into his remarks against the "Trotskyists". At the same time, he introduced a new idea into Communist politics: the substitution of moral standards for political and class criteria. "Men like Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland are at least sincere in their opposition to war. They will defend the Soviet Union. The 'radical' phrases of this Trotskyist resolution," he continued, "criticize the Communists for uniting with Barbusse and Rolland. And what do they propose in their place? That the Communist International shall make a united front with the Second International and the Amsterdam International! They propose," cried this maestro of irony and revolutionary intransigence, "that we shall unite with Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit to defend the Soviet Union!" The indignant sarcasm almost robs us of reply. However that may be, the fact remains that we never sat down with Hillquit and Abe Cahan to attack the Soviet Union, whereas Olgin did. His conversion to irreconcilability towards Hillquit is very gratifying, but it lacks the humility of the neophyte that should accompany it.

In any case, the manner in which Olgin posed the question is both ludicrous and unworthy of a revolutionist. The problem of fighting war and defending the Soviet Union is not exhausted or even approached by moral considerations. Sincerity and honesty of this or that individual is a great virtue, but it is not decisive in politics. The defense of the Soviet Union is a political question which is decided by the process of the class struggle. Not Barbusse's sincerity or Sinclair's repentance is of great consequence, but the masses. Barbusse, Rolland, Einstein, Alla Nazimova, and even Michael Gold, do not have nor will they ever have the masses following them.

The masses, that is, the majority of them, still follow the social democrats. Without the support of these masses, the struggle against war and for Russia will, at best, limp along on one foot. The problem is to mobilize these masses. But this can not be done by a Venetian carnival where the Communists hide behind "respectable" petty bourgeois masks. It can only be done by a correct policy, the policy of the united front as adopted by the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

## Olgin's Irony—at the Expense of Lenin

Olgin was followed several speakers later by his fellow party delegate, Dr. A. Markoff, who has been equally successful in the professions of dental surgery and Stalinist officialdom. Both of them worked up considerable merriment in the audience with their principal observation on our resolution: "Just look," they jeered, "in one sentence they call the social democrats traitors and social patriots. And in the very next sentence they propose that we should make a united front with these same traitors and patriots to fight against the war danger!" The fact that the scores of party members present joined in the laughter, is a deplorable, but quite comprehensible, commentary on the low level of understanding to which their leaders have driven them. We shall be unrelenting in our endeavors to change that situation.

But Olgin and Markoff, who have the responsibilities of the leadership, even if it was obtained by disemboweling themselves, who know that our resolution, far from being a subject for mockery among Communists, is merely a simple statement of established Bolshevik ideas, displayed a demagogic scoundrelism which is unforgivable. Their labored irony was exclusively at the expense of Lenin. More, it was at the expense of the revolutionary training indispensable to the workers present. Were the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" the "danger" at the Conference, or was the danger constituted by the stifling pacifist vapors which rose to drug the senses of the workers? Obviously, the latter, for the pacifists are the outstanding leaders of the movement, it is their resolutions which are presented . . . and adopted with Stalinist assistance. The duty of a Communist leader was to center his criticism on the pacifists and not on Lenin.

In deriding our resolution, the Stalinists not only took up the cudgels for pacifism, but brought out the graveyard of the Communist International those sorry remnants of sham radicalism against which Lenin and Trotsky fought such a terrific battle at the Third Congress of the Communist International, and in the event of whose victory at the Congress, Lenin said, the International in February 1922, on the question of the conference of the three Internationals proposed by the Vienna (Two-and-a-Half) International, the "ultra-Leftist" opposition was represented by the Spanish, French and Italian delegations. In their name, Cachin, the progenitor of Olgin and Co., moved:

"The enlarged Executive, after discussing the invitation addressed to the Communist International by the Vienna International for the participation in a common conference of the Second, Two-and-a-Half, and Amsterdam Internationals, decides not to accept." And after this motion was defeated, the 1922 Olgin and Manuiskys declared: "It

seems to us that the reformists of all countries are parting more and more with the working class and that they follow a policy contrary to the daily defense and welfare of the proletariat. We do not doubt that they will be, under any conditions, the adversaries and saboteurs of the real united front of the working masses."

Like Olgin at the Conference, and like his masters in the Politbureau, they could not understand how the Comintern could denounce the reformists as traitors and at the same time join in a united front "from the top" (Horror of horrors!) with the same traitors. They could not understand it, because they simply neglected to notice that the reformists had millions of workers behind them, just as they have today—the social democratic parties, and not the Sinclairs and Barbusse and Wells!

## Lenin's Comintern in 1922

What was the Comintern resolution adopted against the standpoint of Cachin? What was its attitude towards the International headed by such proven traitors and social patriots as Vandervelde, Henderson, Wels and Co.? It declared:

"The Enlarged Executive of the C. I., taking note of the proposition of the Vienna International declares for the participation of the parties of the Communist International in the projected Conference. The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International also proposes the participation in the Conference of all the Industrial federations and associations, both national and international; of the Red International of Labor Unions; of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International); of the C. G. T. U. of France; of the Italian Syndicalist Union; of the American Federation of Labor (even Gompers you see!) and of other autonomous industrial associations. The Communist International also considers it necessary to invite the principal anarcho-syndicalist organizations; the I. W. W., the Shop Stewards, etc. . . . The Communist International accepts the agenda of the Conference as proposed by the Vienna International, viz., a defensive fight against the capitalist offensive and a struggle against reaction, as an addition it proposes to complete the agenda with the following items:

"1. Preparations of the fight against new imperialist wars.

"2. Relief action for the reconstruction of the economic life of Soviet Russia." Etc., etc., to the permanent discomfiture of all past, present and future Cachins and Olgins!

We can still hear, ten years after wards, the echo of the words of a Markoff of those days: "How? You denounce Vandervelde as Belgian imperialism's war minister, Henderson as His Majesty's war minister, Wels and Scheidemann as the Kaiser's war ministers, the Georgian Mensheviks as the armed counter-revolutionary agents of Allied imperialism—and yet you propose to sit around one table with them to discuss as point 1 on the Agenda 'Preparations of the fight against new imperialist wars'? Down with the Executive Committee of the Communist International! Down with Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and all the other Trotskyist renegades! How! then down, workers of the world!"

And yet, on April 2, 1922, comrades Radek, Bucharin, Zetkin, Rosmer, Katayama, Vuyovitch and the rest of the delegation of the Communist International literally sat down in Berlin with such confirmed and tested social patriots as Hlysmans, Vandervelde, Stauning, Otto Wels, Ramsay MacDonald, Tsereteli (the Georgian Menshevik, whose party had shot down scores and hundreds of revolutionary workers and peasants of Georgia), for the Second International, and Crispin, Longuet, Martov, Abramovitch, Adler and Bauer of the Two-and-a-Half International to discuss a united front against war and the capitalist offensive. Isn't it strange, Dr. A. Markoff, D. D. S.?

And do you know, Messrs Olgin, Browder and Markoff, what Mr. Emile Vandervelde said at the Conference to the Communists? "Whilst we are being told, for example, that men like Jouhaux, Merheim, and Henderson, Vandervelde or Longuet are serving the interests of the bourgeoisie, it is, to say the least of it, strange that these same men should be invited to take part in the defense of proletarian interests." Now, Citizen Olgin, do you see who is the originator of this argument? Is such flagrant plagiarism from a social democrat, a social-Fascist, so to speak, permissible for a "leader in the struggle against war"? And further do you know what reply Vandervelde and Conferees received from the Communist representative? Radek declared:

"But then you say: 'If this is so, what do you want of this Conference, what tactical maneuvers are you after?' And I will tell you boldly and clearly to your face what you want. You came to this Conference because you had to; you were the instruments of world reaction, and now, whether you want it or not, you must be the instruments of the struggle for the interests of the proletariat. And without confidence we say to you: we sit down at the same table with you, we will fight with you, and this fight will decide whether it is a maneuver, as you say, in favor of the Communist International or a stream which will unite the working class. What you do will decide the meaning of our action. If you fight with us and with the proletariat of all lands—not fight for dictatorship, we do not expect so much, but fight for a crust of bread, fight against

further world ruin—then in this struggle the proletariat will come closer together, and then we shall judge you not on the ground of this terrible past, but on the ground of fresh facts. So long as these are not present, we go with cold hearts into these negotiations, and into this common action with deep mistrust that you may fail us ten times in this battle. But we will try to fight together, not for love of you, but because of the unprecedented need of the hour which drives us and compels you to confer in this hall with the very Communists you have treated as criminals." (Conference Minutes, pp. 32-33.)

Our readers will pardon our extensive quotations from the past. The Stalinist marauders have brought such deeducation into the movement, they have so violently obliterated the past, the Leninist past, that the very foundations of our movement have become obscured and remain unknown to the new generation of Communist workers. The marauders compel us each time to dig up A B C truths out of the past, to elucidate them with painfully elaborate simplicity, not merely for the prematurely senile bureaucrats but primarily for the new Communist forces whom they are so cruelly miseducating.

In any case, the quotations we have cited—a few out of thousands—are enough to show that when Olgin and Markoff played upon the emotions and ignorance of the workers present, when they sought to whip up a mob spirit against the Left Opposition, they were actually jeering at—Lenin!

## Cheer Confusionists -Gag Oppositionists

Olgin and Markoff were not the only speakers, although they spoke officially in the name of the Communist party. The floor was also given freely to various other representatives. The terrible confusion existing among party members who spoke on this fundamental question of the struggle against war, could only leave a saddening impression upon Communists acquainted with the elements of Marxism. Few indeed spoke on the question from the standpoint of the class struggle and revolutionary policy. One was opposed to the war because a relative was killed in the last war. Another, an engineer who had been to the Soviet Union, and who continued to emphasize that he represented nobody but himself (and isn't that the case with the rest of the respectable window-dressing behind which the Stalinists are practising their opportunistic policy?) delivered a speech which was a disgrace, not so much to himself, but to the conference of Communist workers who cheered him. One of his relatives, too, had been wounded in a war and he demanded (and how militantly!) that we shall no longer petition our governments against war, but demand that they do not unleash the dogs of war. Is the distinction plain to you? Furthermore, proposed this ingenious representative-of-nobody-but-himself, this movement should carry on a campaign to enlighten the "soldiers, the police, the government spies" (we quote literally) to "humanitarian ideas against war." He was thickly applauded, but not one party member in his speech had a word to say about his standpoint—they were too occupied with defending the pacifists against the Left Opposition.

Another speaker was Roth, a member of the Socialist party from Ithaca, New York. The discovery of this or that isolated socialist worker who supports the Soviet Union, and his decorative presentation by the Communist party at its "united front" conferences, is the substitute which Stalinism offers today in place of winning the masses of reformist workers in a genuine united front. Roth's speech was also widely applauded and exempted from a word of comradely criticism by the party speakers. After having heard the sharp Communist criticism we made of the social democracy in our resolution, not only consonant with participation in a united front but quintessential, this Socialist declared: "I am glad to see that the fratricidal war in the Left wing movement of labor is confined to a few factions in the Communist and Socialist movements." By "Fratricidal war," he evidently meant our revolutionary criticism. His gratification, too, was justified. He met with no such revolutionary criticism from the Stalinists; nor did the pacifists who have been imposed upon the "Anti-War Congress" as its leadership.

But if every well-intentioned muddle-head could get both the floor and acclaim of the Stalinists, a different attitude was adopted towards the delegation of the Left Opposition. Towards the end of the meeting, Brodsky, who manipulated the conference of the party with the skill and cynicism common to the legal profession, suddenly made a motion to bring the discussion to a close. Why? Because comrade Cannon had sent up his name to the chairman to speak in defense of our resolution which Stalinist speakers had been given extended time to attack and misrepresent, immediately, comrade Cannon rose, as did other delegates in various parts of the hall, to demand if he would be given the right to make a concluding defense of the resolution before the house. The hall was in an organized tumult. Stalinist "plants" sought to shout down comrade Cannon's request for a point of information from the chair as to the procedure on the resolution. Without paying the slightest bit of attention to his insistent calls to the chairman, the latter kept pounding the table with his gavel, admonishing all to sit down and remain silent.

The elementary right of a delegation

to speak at least once, not to mention a summary, on a resolution accepted by the chair for a vote by an assemblage, was simply and literally ignored. The Stalinists were determined that the Left Opposition should not get the floor again to present its point of view, which had already caused so much embarrassment in their ranks. While comrade Cannon was still on the floor attempting to get a response from the chairman, the latter put the pacifist resolution to a vote. It was overwhelmingly adopted, with negative votes from less than ten percent of the delegates, and the chairman tried to proceed to the next order of business without putting our resolution to a vote, apparently under the impression that this was a party membership meeting. Voices of protest again were raised throughout the hall, and the steering committee decided to put our resolution forward. It received a small minority of the body, a voice vote which included over twenty delegates.

Thus the Conference, which gagged the Opposition speaker and cheered the pacifists, voted overwhelmingly for Barbusse and howled down the words of Lenin!

The gagging of the Opposition on the floor came only after an unsuccessful attempt to unseat the Opposition delegation. When the credentials committee met, Ludwig Landy, not a committee member, pointed to our credentials and observed: "That's from the Trotskyists. Unseat them!" Dryar, a committee member, turned upon him and demanded: "Are you a committee member? If not, we don't take any instructions from you!" Nevertheless, the proposal to unseat us was made in the Committee, and were it not for the resistance of Dryar and his promise to the Stalinist members that he would bring the matter to the floor and fight to have us seated, their proposal for exclusion would undoubtedly have been reported. As it was, the report was brought in to "seat all delegates" and before you could say "Jack Robinson!" the report was declared accepted and the chairman hurried on to the next order of business.

What they did not succeed in doing with us, they succeeded in doing with the delegate from the Weisbord group who presented his credentials at the door while the conference was in session. Upon his protests, the doors were immediately closed at the rear of the hall, a scuffle took place and he was barred—without any of our delegation inside the hall knowing what had happened until after the conference. In the course of the scuffle, when members of our League had come to the assistance of the excluded comrade who was being attacked by Stalinists, the police were called to "preserve order." They remained thereafter at the credentials table near the entrance, supervising the newcomers to see that they conformed with the "requirements" established by the Committee! Their supervision was undoubtedly of great assistance in preserving the level of the conference at the point of unruffled peace so desirable to its organizers.

All doors open to petty bourgeois pacifists! Suppression of the Marxists! Cheers and applause for the liberals, the "honest", the "reliable" friends of Russia, the people who are, at best, weak reeds to lean on and, at worst, treacherous allies! Boos and hisses for the revolutionary Communists! This is the balance-sheet of the party's policy at the New York Conference.

## London in 1915 and New York in 1932

There is a striking analogy with our position contained in what happened at the obscure "London Conference" of February 14, 1915, called by the Allied social patriots and Centrists, to which Lenin's Central Committee sent as its representative, Maximovitch (Litvinov), to present the Bolshevik standpoint on war. His report is included in Lenin's article of March 3, 1915, "On the London Conference". Here is a brief, instructive quotation:

"I take the floor and protest against the official representative of our party not having been invited to the International Socialist Bureau. The chairman, interrupts me and contends that all those 'whose names are known' have been invited. I protest a second time against the failure to report on the actual representatives. Thereupon I refer to our manifesto which expresses our standpoint towards the war and which was sent to the I. S. B. Before we can speak of peace terms, we should establish with what means we shall strive for them and towards that end it must be established if a general revolutionary social democratic basis exists, if we are conferring as chauvinists, pacifists or as social democrats. I read our declaration, but the chairman does not let me conclude and declares that it is not yet made clear (!) if I am a delegate and that they have come together 'not for the purpose of criticizing the various parties' (!) . . . I . . . seek to continue the declaration in order to establish if I may remain. The chairman interrupts me and does not permit me to put 'conditions' to the conference." Etc., etc., in almost stupefying similarity to the New York Conference at which the Bolshevik delegates were also denied the right to present their standpoint in contrast to that of petty bourgeois liberalism.

Lenin's views on the question of war finally managed to make their way through the working class world despite the gavel of a whole race of "chairmen" who "interrupted". Our views, which we learned from Lenin, which we

(Continued on page 3)

# A Letter to Roger Baldwin

On Stalinist-Pacifist Relations at the Anti-War Conference

August 9, 1932.  
Mr. Roger Baldwin, Director  
American Civil Liberties Union  
New York City

My dear Baldwin:

You left the anti-war conference at the Labor Temple last night after your opening speech as the representative of the "American Committee for the World Congress against War." Allow me to inform you of what transpired after your departure and to put some questions to you.

Two resolutions were presented for consideration—the official (pacifist) resolution presented in the name of your committee, and a different resolution, outlining the Leninist program for the fight against war, presented by the delegation of the Communist Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).

The floor was then given to a number of speakers who defended the official resolution and attacked the resolution of the Left Opposition. Pacifists, "Left" Socialists, official Communists and others spoke. The leader of the attack on the Leninist resolution, appropriately enough, was Olgin; the same Olgin whom you will remember as the ardent patriot who attacked the Lenin program in 1917-18 from the standpoint of Wilson's "14 points." Our request for the floor to defend our resolution and answer the attacks made against it was refused by the chairman.

Was it a pre-arranged plan on your part to leave the meeting and thus give tacit support to the steam-rolling of the Bolshevik-Leninists, or did you have other engagements, more important and more pressing at the moment, than the question of the fight against war and the principle of free speech in a movement under your leadership?

I am inclined to the first assumption. And, from a political point of view, your indirect support of the suppression of the Left Opposition at the conference is quite comprehensible. You, and the tendency you represent—pacifism—were undoubtedly the victors at the conference. In the united front between the Stalinists and the pacifists in the anti-war movement the Stalinists have yielded the principle positions all along the line, from Paris to New York. The program, the character of the preparatory propaganda and the leadership are pacifist. In return for these concessions you allow the Stalinists to manipulate the movement organizationally and to suppress the voice of the Left Opposition which they fear more than anything else. That is what your united front looks like to us.

It must be admitted, again from a political point of view, that you and your fellow-thinkers have made an excellent bargain. We cannot condemn it on those grounds, for we have never put the question of free speech and democracy as the fundamental question. We have stated more than once that we could reconcile ourselves even to bureaucracy if it could be demonstrated that it serves a revolutionary end. It is precisely because the Stalinist bureaucracy works in an opposite direction, because it serves as a blind instrument of reaction, that we oppose it so intransigently.

But some clarification is needed as to your position. Hitherto you have defended free speech as a principle, even to the extent of demanding it for the Mensheviks in Russia and the Ku Klux Klan in America. That was your right, of course. But if you have modified your standpoint; if you have decided to sacrifice the principle of free speech where we are concerned in a movement under the direction of your national committee in return for the truly enormous concessions in principle made by the

Stalinists, then you ought to make a frank public explanation of your change of position and the reason for it.

Frankness and clarity are of special importance in every aspect of the struggle against war which incorporates at the present moment all the interests of the U. S. S. R. and the world proletariat. In the struggle against war nothing is more dangerous and disarming than ambiguity and deception. Let the position of every group be made clear in every respect! The faction to which I belong—the Bolshevik-Leninist faction—devotes itself especially to this work of clarification, not only of its own position but also of others.

In putting these questions to you I trust you will understand that they are meant invidiously in a personal sense. I do not doubt the sincerity of your intentions in the anti-war movement. It is your program that we oppose. It is the ambiguity as to your attitude toward the right of the Left Opposition

to participate and defend its viewpoint in the conferences organized under the auspices of your national committee that we seek to clear up.

The Left Opposition is not against the participation of sincere pacifists in the anti-war conferences. It is against the pacifist program and the pacifist leadership, aided by the treacherous sanction of the Stalinist bureaucrats. To that we will always counterpose the Lenin program and the revolutionary leadership. This aim motivated our appearance at the conference last night and our request from the floor there. It will be the same in the future.

The specific question to which we desire an answer now stands: Do you and the "American Committee for the World Congress against War" of which you are a prominent member, recognize our right to participate in the conferences and meetings under its direction and to defend our views there, or have you come to a tacit agreement with the Stalinists to exclude us? We will find the way to popularize the Lenin program in any case. We ask no favors. The sole object of this inquiry is clarification of your position.

Yours,  
JAMES P. CANNON.

## The New York Anti-War Conference

(Continued from page 2)  
accepted because they were tested in the very crucible of war and revolution, will also make their way. Of that we have always been confident, and our convictions were strengthened manifold by the feeble, cowardly, apologetic defense the Stalinists made against our criticisms at the Labor Temple.

The Conference, we said, centered upon our standpoint, much to the chagrin of the Stalinists. They had originally planned the whole affair as an elaborate masquerade, a repetition of the catastrophic experiments with the Anglo-Russian Committee and the Anti-Imperialist League. Instead of a revolutionary presentation of the Communist position, as an absolute pre-requisite for a united front with the non-Communist masses, the party planned a "respectable" movement for which the liberals would furnish the window-dressing, thereby presumably enabling the party to win the masses—without the masses knowing a thing about it! Listen to how the party-controlled New Masses of this August, with the distinguished Olgin on its editorial board, speaks thus of the movement: there must be built "a realistic, uncompromising, American, peace, movement, cooperating actively with the sane and determined forces of peace in other countries to the end that the war-makers may be exposed and checkmated on every front." "Sane and determined forces of peace"—how smoothly these Stalinized dilettantes slip back into the language of "sane" liberalism, of the Nation and the New Republic!

In harmony with this dazzling plan to present pacifism as revolutionary, while revolutionaries are dressed up into pacifists, the party had decided not to send official delegates to the anti-war conference, apparently under the impression that this would somehow prove that the conference was nothing if not respectable. We are able to state here confidently and on incontrovertible authority that this was the original plan of the party strategists. They decided only at the very last minute to change this plan—only after the appearance of last week's Militant, where we exposed this cowardly piece of opportunism and announced that we would go to the Conference to present our point of view. Not even Baldwin, apparently, was tipped off to the change in the party's plans, because he referred in his speech to the fact that "of course" the Communist party would not participate officially.

Further indications that this was the original plan is seen in the fact that officially the T. U. U. L., the red trade union central organization, sent not a single delegate. The Young Communist League, which has as one of its highest tasks the struggle against war and militarism, was not represented by a single delegate! And even the party did not send any of its prominent leaders. To represent official Communism, it sent a successful dentist, an equally successful lawyer, a business man, and a second-hand journalist. The conference must not be "too red." It must be respectable. It must satisfy the liberal authors, painters, poets and actors. It must conform to the idea of a masquerade.

A big debacle is being warmed up for us in the Stalinist kitchens. If in no other question, then at least in the question of the struggle against war the Stalinists have had a "consistent" policy. Daily, deafening, endless cries about the "war danger", and opportunistic, combinations with all the shady and dubious elements inside and outside the labor movement to "lead" the struggle against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union as a substitute for the leadership of the Communist party. This was the meaning of the combination with Purcell and Co., with Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei and Peng Yu-hsiang, as well as with all the other adventurers and traitors who used Stalin's "Anti-Imperialist League" either as a refuge from working class storms at home or as a Communist Monte Carlo where their fortunes might be replenished. In no case was this hollow substitute for a revolutionary struggle successful in advancing the genuine anti-war movement by an inch or in adding to the defense of the Soviet Union.

The present course being followed by the Comintern in the Barbusse Congress enterprise can lead to only one conclusion: catastrophe. One more or less will not matter, say the cynics. They are wrong. The capital accumulated by others and usurped by Stalin is far from inexhaustible. Each debacle has served to diminish it. Stalin continues to squander it and brings the world revolutionary movement and the Soviet Union increasingly closer to a horrible end. It is high time for the Communist workers to awaken and act. The Opposition will be at their side.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

# The Party and the 6-Hour Day Slogan

In the first period of the crisis the Communist League of America advanced a series of slogans for the fight against unemployment. Among these, and as an outstanding propaganda slogan, we advanced the slogan, "For the Six Hour Day, the Five Day week WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY." Today, Hoover, Green and Hearst are making capital out of the six-hour day, five-day week proposal. It is advisable to review the present struggle and find out why the capitalists have stolen a march on the workers, WHO is responsible, and FIND OUT WHAT THE RESULT WILL BE. The slogan for the six hour day has been advanced in one form or the other by unions for over a decade, but not until the present crisis and the establishment of a permanent army of unemployed has the slogan attracted wide-spread attention by different classes, for different ends. This must be explained.

The tremendous increase in productive forces, the rationalization since the last war, has laid the economic base for a corresponding change in the use of labor power. Around the value form of the product the capitalists attempt to reorganize the American labor power, on the basis of the reorganized industrial structure of American imperialism. From this flows increased class struggles. Around the attempted reorganization of the labor power, will first develop struggles on immediate demands that can lead in short order into deeper channels. If we allow the capitalists to reorganize the labor power to their own liking the workers will have less space necessary for the running jump to overthrow capitalism. If we allow the capitalists to reorganize the labor power without presenting a Marxian analysis, the class must again condemn the vanguard for failure. The Stalin policy has already failed in this field.

### The Capitalist Aim

In this period of capitalism, the fall in the rate of profit forces the capitalists to make up the loss by the most drastic steps. They must change the ratio of necessary labor (wages) and surplus wages (surplus value) to their interest. The lengthening of the work-day has given way to the speed-up and drastic reduction of wages in order to reduce the necessary labor and increase the surplus labor to keep up the falling rate of profit. In crises, and in sections of the industrial structure the capitalists are still able to lengthen the work-day, but the general trend is in the opposite direction, due to the developed productive forces which forces them to resort to speed-up and general wage cuts. The developed productive forces since the war have forced into the structure for the first time an absolute decrease of the number of workers employed in production, which opened the door for a permanent army of millions of unemployed workers.

This new condition called for new action on the part of the capitalists toward the commodity, labor power, if they intend to continue to exploit the workers. Likewise, it calls for bold steps by the workers' vanguard; to utilize the contradiction in the capitalist system to enable the class to take one or more steps forward. This can be done in many ways, but in this field it can only be done one way—and that is by presenting a Marxian analysis of the higher relation of labor power to production and present a Marxian program of action for the class. The party under Stalinist leadership not only failed in this task but now comes out with action that closes the door to the whole problem.

The Editorial of the Daily Worker of August 4 (city edition) dealing with Hoover-Green shorter week proposal plays into the hands of the capitalists and presents another heap of confusion

in the ranks of Communism. The editorial tells us in terms none too mild that the Hoover-Green, and we may add, Hearst Five-Day week proposal is a maneuver against the working class. To be opposed to the Hoover-Hearst-Green shorter week proposal is not a difficult thing for a Communist paper but to present class reasons why take up. To pass off the shorter work-day proposal of the capitalists as another stagger plan is to miss the very center of the contradiction, the relation of production and the commodity labor power. Not to understand this A B C of Marxian economy, makes impossible an adoption of Marxian tactics and strategy for the class.

### A Stalinist Muddle

The editorial further, either through ignorance or lies, confuses the stagger plan with the struggle for, "The six hour day, the five day week and no reduction in pay." The editorial says, "The socialists, the Mustelites, the Trotskyites are putting forward the slogan of 30-hour week without reduction of pay. In reality they are helping put into effect

## MILITANT BUILDERS

### THE MIRACLE ISSUE

As our readers know from our front page appeal for financial help we are facing extraordinary difficulties in getting the Militant out each week. Last week they seemed so insuperable that after the paper was sent off to the post office we still could not believe it. And when the happy realization was borne in on us we felt that we had performed a miracle. Last week's issue will go down in the history of our movement as the miracle issue.

### MOVING UP

Of course, one of the best and soundest ways of obviating such miracles and the situation which makes them necessary is to get subs. We are doing this but the tempo is too slow. Some time ago we warned that the number of subs which expire each week must be more than balanced by new subs. Comrades, we are barely holding our own. We are moving up but too slowly. The record for this week which we give below if compared with last week's will show that.

Comrades, the Militant is in danger. We ourselves must save it. Part of the work must take the form of raising subs. Subs, get subs, get renewals. We must get subs.

A good sign in the staff record is the fact that the oldtimers are being crowded for their places. New comrades are stepping out ahead of them.

J. Weber	4
A. Weaver	2 1-2
C. Cowl	1
P. Schulman	1
H. Nashua	1
L. Goodman	1
H. Schwartz	1
J. Edwards	1
W. Wynne	1
The record by branches is as follows:	
New York	10 1-2
Minneapolis	3 1-2
Chicago	2
Philadelphia	1

Other branches—get busy!  
**GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**

As might have been expected with the present developments in Germany the demand for this pamphlet has shot up like a sky rocket. Our supply is almost exhausted. All that we have left are some hundred copies. And at the rate they are going they won't last another ten days. This is last call for this pamphlet. In next week's issue we will have to announce it as out of print.

the stagger plan." The above argument is about as effective as the ultra-Leftist who says; because the capitalists rule by the parliament and the Communists participate in parliaments, both are fakers; because the capitalists advocate social insurance and the Communist advocate social and unemployment insurance the Communists are no better than the capitalists. Every immediate demand has two sides to it, its exploiter and exploited side, its reformist and revolutionary side. In the struggle for immediate demands the capitalists and reformers struggle for one end, and the revolutionists for the other. Such is the case with unemployment insurance, with elections, with strikes, with civil war and likewise with the demand for the six-hour day the five day week, and no reduction of pay.

The Stalinists present the seven-hour day slogan as correct, and the six-hour day slogan as false. The editorial bases its argument upon, "the full time work week being around 50 hours, the demand for the 30 hour week without reduction of pay would be not to take the struggle of the workers seriously and to pave the way for the stagger plan." The bourgeois average of 50 hours a week for full time workers (how many at full time work in the crisis?) does not determine the slogan for the class, as Stalinists contend.

The six-hour day, five-day week, without reduction in pay is based upon the needs of the workers at the present stage of American capitalism. The editorial says, "Through speed-up the capitalists hope to get out of the workers the same production in the six hours as they now get out of an eight hour day." The capitalists have already accomplished this in the past and in the future the speed-up will be increased, even though the workers don't get any reduction in hours. Seven hours, under capitalist speed-up, is too much. The workers cannot stand the pace. The hours must be reduced to six if ordinary health is to be had. The struggle for the six-hour day does not mean the 30 hour week average. The eight hour movement of the eighties did not mean a 48 hour average. The six hour day struggle is the driving force to reduce all hours in industries that run all the way from 8 to 16 hours. If we win the six hour day it will only mean about a 40 hour AVERAGE for the American industries.

### Hours and Wages

A reduction of hours for the class, on the basis of class struggle, regardless of the bosses' ability here and there to lower wages—has the directly opposite effect on wages. History proves the reduction of the hours of work per day causes wages to rise. Marxism also proves this—in case some Stalinists care to consult their Marxian economics.

We have warned the party many months ago in the columns of the Militant about the danger of playing around with the six-hour day slogan. We said if the party did not take the lead, the reformers and the capitalists would take the lead and turn it into a campaign against us to reduce the standard of living further. The capitalists and reformers, through the neglect of Stalinism now have their hands on a weapon and will use it on our heads. In the eight-hour day struggle in the Eighties the workers had the weapon and used it over the heads of the capitalists. Every immediate demand is a race between the classes for the lever; and the tactics and strategy, based on Marxian analysis will determine if we can obtain the lever, instead of the capitalists, in the class struggle.

The slogan, advanced by us many months ago for "Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union" has also met the same fate in the hands of these Stalinist muddleheads. The Communist League of America must intensify its activity within and outside of the party in the class struggle to win a greater organized Left Opposition to give us more pressure upon Stalinist revisionism, to enable our class and vanguard more effectively to fight the capitalists.

The slogan for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay, is the central propaganda slogan for the struggle against unemployment. To unite the employed and unemployed upon a solid organizational basis. It is not a question of social insurance, or immediate relief, or the shorter work day, or long term credits to the Soviet Union or the United Front—which is first and which is second. Immediate relief is the most pressing problem for the class at the moment but this does not mean we build a movement around the slogan of immediate relief as the first or central slogan. Depending upon ebbs and flows, upon sharp turns or victories, other slogans will be shifted to the spotlight and then replaced by one of the other slogans. The structure must be built on a solid organizational base, that touches the roots of the capitalist system that spans the whole period of unemployment, and at the same time enables the other slogans to build upon this structure. This slogan is the slogan for the reduction of hours, "The six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay."

—H. O.

### PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

By good fortune we have picked up a copy of Max Eastman's biography of comrade Trotsky which is out of print. The title of it is—Leon Trotsky, the Portrait of a Youth. We have only one copy and we refuse to sell it. But we will turn it over to the Militant staff to be included in its premiums to be offered to the highest standing member of the staff of Militant Builders at the end of August.

## The Left Opposition's Resolution at the New York Anti-War Conference

The Conference Against War assembled on August 8th at the Labor Temple, representing numerous labor and fraternal organizations of New York, declares that the problem of imperialism has now become a most acute question requiring the immediate consideration of the working class of this country and the rest of the world.

The present world-wide crisis of capitalism is accentuating the conflicts among the imperialist powers to the highest degree and by the very nature of capitalist society is driving them headlong towards another bloody conflict for the re-division of the markets and other sources of power in the world, in which each of the great powers, expecting a victorious outcome, hopes to emerge from the crisis raging in its midst. The numerous "disarmament" conferences which have been held in Geneva are an enormous swindle, comparable to the various "peace" conferences and maneuvers of the days before the world war of 1914-18, which were calculated by the imperialist powers merely for the purpose of jockeying for position in the field of armaments and for lulling the working class of the world into a feeling of false security during which all the preparations were actually being made for war itself. The preaching of "disarmaments" is pernicious, hypocrisy which, in reality, serves to disarm the working class at the same time that the capitalist class is arming itself to the teeth.

### War and the Soviet Union

The preparations for a new imperialist world war go on simultaneously with the preparations for an aggressive assault upon the Soviet Union. The imperialists have a permanent hatred for the Soviet Union not only because of the economic advances it has made, but prim-

## Lenin's Fundamental Views Which Were Voted Down By the Stalinists in Alliance With the Pacifists

arily because it is the fatherland of the workers everywhere, the beacon light which inspires the proletariat throughout the world to intensify its fight for emancipation from capitalism.

The strength of the international proletariat is the best defense of the Soviet Union. The attack upon the latter, therefore, is commenced by the capitalist offensive and the assaults of Fascism upon the working class outside the Soviet Union. War against Russia is a military continuation and prolongation of the attack upon the proletariat in every country. The defense of the Soviet Union cannot be conceived of without a revolutionary struggle of the working class in all lands, led by the Communist parties, against their own bourgeoisies. Defense of Russia without positive participation in this revolutionary struggle is merely a liberal gesture.

War is not an arbitrary act of evil-doing individuals. It is the inevitable product of capitalist imperialism which cannot be abolished without the overthrow of the ruling class and its system. Only to the extent that the working class is united under the leadership of the Communist party will it be able to conduct an effective struggle against the danger of imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet fatherland of the proletariat.

The war of 1914-1918 not only revealed the bankruptcy of capitalist society, but above all the bankruptcy and treachery of the social democracy of all lands, including the pacifists, who served as an obstacle in the path of working class struggle against war. Pacifism and so-

cial democracy, today also, are the petty bourgeois agencies of imperialism in the ranks of the working class. The conference condemns and rejects the views of these tendencies as dangerous to the genuine struggle against war. "Resistance to war", "general strike to stop war" and similar slogans of pacifism are deceptive phrases and gestures, without the revolutionary unification of the working class under Communist leadership which can put an end to war only by working systematically to convert the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

In the event of an outbreak of imperialist war, the working class decisively rejects the reactionary idea of "defense of fatherland", for it has no fatherland except the Soviet Union. In a war of imperialism, the working class takes a defeatist position. While participating in the armies of the capitalists for the aims of its own class, the proletariat works for the defeat of its own bourgeoisies as the first step in the overthrow of its capitalism. The struggle against war, therefore, is primarily the struggle against one's own ruling class and does not begin only when war has broken out. It must be carried on in the same class spirit: before, during and after the outbreak of war.

### The Key Danger—Hitlerism

While calling the attention of the workers to the acute threat to the Soviet Union contained in the Japanese attacks on Manchuria, supported by French imperialism, which is the most active supporter and organizer of the anti-Sov-

iet movements on Russia's western frontiers, the conference declares that the present situation in Germany constitutes not only the gravest danger to the Soviet Union but to the existence of the working class and revolutionary movement throughout the world. Upon victory or defeat of German Fascism will depend the fate of the world working class and the Soviet Union for the next epoch. Hitler can preserve himself in power only as a counter-revolutionary agent of France and the other great powers, only as the butcher of the German proletariat vanguard, only as the primary instrument in a military attack on Russia. The defeat of Hitlerism is therefore the immediate problem of the world working class, and requires the utmost concentration of forces. The conference therefore urges upon the German Communist Party a consistent application of the policy of the united front towards the social-democratic masses to annihilate Fascism in the form of a proposal to the social democratic party for a united front on the basis of concrete minimum demands, aimed at a united death-blow to the Hitlerites. The policy of the united front developed under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky at the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International, the unity of the working class will make it possible to smash Hitlerism and thus destroy the instruments of reaction directed at the Soviet Union. The problem of the struggle against war is now posed most acutely by the Fascist menace in Germany and it is there that the battle is concentrated at the moment.

### For Revolutionary Struggle Against War

The acuteness of the situation requires that the Communist International shall take the initiative and leadership in the development of an international struggle against war and for the defense of the

# Hands Off Rosa Luxemburg

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)  
When Lenin, going back into the past, wrote in October 1919 ("Greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists"), "... in the moment of the seizure of power and the creation of the Soviet Republic, Bolshevism remained alone in the field, it had drawn to itself the best of the tendencies closest to it in socialist thought." I repeat, when Lenin wrote this, he unquestionably had in mind also the tendencies of Rosa Luxemburg, whose closest adherents, e. g., Markhlevsky, Djerjinsky and others, were working in the ranks of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin understood Rosa Luxemburg's mistakes more profoundly than Stalin; but it was not accidentally that Lenin once quoted the old couplet in relation to Luxemburg,

Betimes the eagles down swoop and  
neath the barnyard fowl fly,  
But barnyard fowl with outspread  
wings will never soar amid the  
clouds in the sky.

Precisely the case! Precisely the point! For this very reason Stalin should proceed with caution before expending his vicious mediocrity when the matter touches figures of such stature as Rosa Luxemburg.

In the article "In relation to the History of the Question of the Dictatorship," Lenin (October 1920) touching upon questions of the Soviet State and the dictatorship of the proletariat, already posed by the 1905 Revolution, wrote, "Such outstanding representatives of the revolutionary proletariat and of the unfalsified Marxism as Rosa Luxemburg evaluated immediately the significance of the practical experience and came forward at meetings and in the press with critical analyses of it." On the contrary, "people, of the type of future Kautskyites," evinced an utter incapacity to understand the significance of this experience. In a few lines, Lenin fully pays the tribute of recognition to the historical significance of Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against Kautsky, the struggle, which Lenin himself had been far from immediately evaluating at its true worth. If to Stalin, the ally of Chiang Kai-Shek, and the comrade in arms of Purcell, the theoretician of "the worker-peasant party," of "the democratic dictatorship" of "Non-antagonizing the bourgeoisie," etc.,—if to him Rosa Luxemburg is the representative of Centrism, to Lenin she is the representative of "unfalsified Marxism." What this designation meant coming as it does from Lenin's pen is clear to any one who is even slightly acquainted with Lenin.

## THE BANNER OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

I take the occasion to point out here that in the notes to Lenin's works there is among others the following said about Rosa Luxemburg: "During the florescence of the Bernstein revisionism and later of ministerialism (Millerand), Luxemburg carried on against this tendency a decisive fight, taking her position in the Left wing of the German party." In 1907 she participated as a delegate of the S. D. of Poland and Lithuania in the London Congress of R. S. D. L. P., supporting the Bolshevik faction on all basic questions of the Russian revolution. From 1907, Luxemburg gave herself over entirely to work in Germany, taking a Left-radical position and carrying on a fight against the Center and the Right wing. Her participation in the January 1919 insurrection has made her name the banner of the proletarian revolution.

Of course, the author of these notes will in all probability on the morrow confess his sins and announce that in Lenin's epoch he wrote in a benighted condition, and that he reached complete enlightenment only in the epoch of Stalin. At the present moment announcements of this sort—combinations of sycophancy, idiosyncrasy and buffoonery—are made daily in the Moscow press. But they do not change the nature of things. "What's once set down in black and white, no ax will hack nor all your might." Yes, Rosa Luxemburg has become the banner of the proletarian revolution!

How and wherefore, however, did Stalin suddenly busy himself—at so belated a time—with the revision of the old Bolshevik valuation of Rosa Luxemburg? As was the case with all his preceding theoretical abortions so with this latest one, and the most scandalous, the origin lies in the logic of his struggle against the theory of Permanent Revolution. In his "historical" article, Stalin once again allots the chief place to this theory. There is not a single new word in what he says. I have long ago answered all his arguments in my book "The Permanent Revolution." From the historical viewpoint the question will be sufficiently clarified, I trust, in the second volume of "The History of the Russian Revolution" (The October Revolution), not on the press. In the present case the question of the Permanent Revolution concerns us only insofar as Stalin links it up with Rosa Luxemburg's name. We shall presently see how the hapless theoretician has contrived to set up for himself a murderous trap.

After recapitulating the controversy between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks on the question of the moving forces in the Russian revolution and after masterfully compressing a series of mistakes into a few lines, which I am compelled to leave without an examination, Stalin indites, "What was the attitude of the Left German social democrats, Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg to these controversies?" They concocted a utopian and a semi-Menshevik schema of the Permanent Revolution... Subsequently this semi-Menshevik schema was caught up by Trotsky (partly by Martov) and turned into a weapon of strug-

## Reply to the Slandering of a Revolutionist

gle against Leninism. "... Such is the unexpected history of the origin of the theory of the Permanent Revolution, in accordance with the latest historical researches of Stalin. But, alas, the investigator forgot to consult his own previous learned works. In 1925 this same Stalin had already expressed himself on this question in his polemic against Rak-dek. Here is what he wrote then, "It is not true that the theory of the Permanent Revolution... was put forward in 1905 by Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky. As a matter of fact this theory was put forward by Parvus and Trotsky." This assertion may be consulted on page 185, "Questions of Leninism," Russian edition, 1926. Let us hope that it obtains in all foreign editions.

## LUXEMBURG AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

So, in 1925, Stalin pronounced Rosa Luxemburg not guilty in the commission of such a cardinal sin as participating in the creation of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. "As a matter of fact, this theory was put forward by Parvus and Trotsky." In 1931, we are informed by the identical Stalin that it was precisely, "Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg... who concocted the utopian and semi-Menshevik schema of the Permanent Revolution". As for Trotsky he was innocent of creating the theory, it was only "caught up" by him, and at same time by... Martov! ! ! Once again Stalin is caught with the goods. Perhaps he writes on questions of which he can make neither head nor tail. Or is he consciously shuffling marked cards in playing with the basic questions of Marxism? It is incorrect to pose this question as an alternative. As a matter of fact, both the one and the other obtain here. The Stalinist falsifications are conscious in so far as they are dictated at each given moment by entirely concrete personal interests. At the same time they are semi-conscious, in so far as his congenial ignorance place no impediments whatsoever to his theoretical propensities.

But facts remain facts. In his war against "the Trotskyist contraband," Stalin has fallen foul of a new personal enemy, Rosa Luxemburg! He did not pause for a moment before lying about her and vilifying her; and moreover before proceeding to put into circulation his stallion's doses of vulgarity and disloy-

alty, he did not even take the bother of verifying what he himself had said on the same subject five years before.

The new variant of the history of the ideas of the Permanent Revolution was indicated first of all by an urge to provide a dish more spicy that all those preceding. It is needless to explain that Martov was dragged in by the hair for the sake of the greater piquancy of theoretical and historical cookery. Martov's attitude to the theory and practice of the Permanent Revolution was one of unalterable antagonism, and in the old days he stressed more than once that Trotsky's views on Revolution were rejected equally by the Bolsheviks as well as the Mensheviks. But it is not worth while to pause over this.

What is truly fatal is that there is not a single major question of international proletarian revolution, on which Stalin has failed to express two directly contradictory opinions. We all know that in April 1924, he conclusively demonstrated in "The Questions of Leninism" the impossibility of building socialism in an one country. In autumn, in a new edition of the book, he substituted in its place a proof (i. e., a bald proclamation) that the proletariat "can and must" build socialism in one country. The entire remainder of the text was left unchanged. On the question of the worker-peasant party, of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, the leadership of the October Revolution, on the national question, etc., etc., Stalin contrived to put forward, for a period of a few years, sometimes of a few months, opinions that were mutually exclusive. It would be incorrect to place the blame in everything on a poor memory. The matter reaches deeper here. Stalin completely lacks any method of scientific thinking, he has no criteria of principles. He approaches every question as if that question were born only today and stood apart from all other questions. Stalin contributes his judgments entirely depending upon whatever personal interest of his is uppermost and most urgent today. The contradictions that convict him are the direct vengeance for his vulgar empiricism. Rosa Luxemburg does not appear to him in the perspective of the German, Polish and international workers' movement of the last half-century. No, she is to him each time a new, and, besides, an isolated figure, regarding whom he is compelled in every new situation to ask himself anew, "Who goes there Friend of foe?" Unerring instinct has this time whispered to the theoretician of socialism in one country

that the shade of Rosa Luxemburg is irreconcilably inimical to him. But this does not hinder the great shade from remaining the banner of the international proletarian revolution.

## LUXEMBURG AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Rosa Luxemburg criticized very severely and fundamentally, incorrectly the policies of the Bolsheviks in 1918 from her prison cell. But even in this, her most erroneous work, her eagle's wings are to be seen. Here is her general evaluation of the October overturn, "Everything that the party had the power to perform in the sphere of valour, of forceful action, of revolutionary far-sightedness and consequent success—all that was fully carried out by Lenin, Trotsky and the party comrades. All the revolutionary honor and the capacity for action, which the social democracy of the West so lacked, were demonstrated by the Bolsheviks. Their October insurrection was not only the true salvation of the Russian Revolution but it also saved the honor of international socialism." Can this perchance be the voice of Centrism?

In the succeeding pages, Luxemburg subjects to severe criticism the policies of the Bolsheviks in the agrarian sphere, their slogan of national self-determination, and their rejection of formal democracy. In this criticism we might add, directed equally against Lenin and Trotsky, she makes no distinction whatever between their views; and Rosa Luxemburg knew how to read, understand, and seize upon shades. It did not even fall into her head, for instance, to accuse me of the fact that by being in solidarity with Lenin on the agrarian question, I had changed my views on the peasantry. And moreover she knew these views very well since I had developed them in detail in 1909 in her Polish Journal... Rosa Luxemburg ends her criticism with the demand, "In the policy of the Bolsheviks the essential must be distinguished from the unessential, the fundamental from the accidental." The fundamental she considers to be the force of the action of the masses, the will to socialism. "In this relation," she writes, "Lenin and Trotsky with their friends were the first who have set an example to the world proletariat. Even now they remain the only ones who can exclaim with Huss, 'This, I have dared!'"

Yes, Stalin has sufficient cause to hate Rosa Luxemburg. But all the more impetuous therefore becomes our duty to shield Rosa's memory from Stalin's calumny that has been caught by the hired functionaries of both hemispheres, and to pass on this truly beautiful, heroic and tragic image to the young generations of the proletariat in all its grandeur and inspirational force.  
Prinkipo, June 28, 1932

# The Black Hordes of Fascism at the Gates of Power

(Continued from page 1)

the Central Executive Committee of the C. P. G. has condemned the Berlin-Brandenburg united front action of June 20. The whole theory of "social Fascism" with all its disastrous appendages is to remain intact. The "red united front" under the leadership of the Communist party" is to remain the line.

Nothing can be more fatal, nothing can be more tragic than this thoughtless and irresponsible action of the German Stalinists. At a time when the deadly enemy is at the doorstep, the Stalinist bureaucrats persist in their headless and giddy ultimatum game. They simply refuse to tear the mask off the treacherous social democracy at this, the most propitious moment. They are throwing away the opportunity of uniting the Communist vanguard with the social democratic workers in one common front which the workers all want and for the sake of which they will break with the treacherous leaders who want to sabotage it. The criminal, headless German Stalinists must be stopped!

Where is the Communist International? What has the Stalinist faction in control of the C. I. and of the Soviet Union to say in this hour of desperation? Stalin and his faction are maintaining a dastardly silence, a silence which condones the criminal policy of the German leadership. We stigmatize this unheard-of, cowardly, silence on the part of Stalin as an act of treachery.

The Stalinist leadership has allowed the working class of Germany to pass from one defeat to another in the last year alone. Emergency decree has followed emergency decree. The workers have received wage-cut upon wage-cut, unemployment has swelled to fantastic proportions and unemployment insurance has been stripped to the bone, the banks have crashed, the workers' rights have been trampled under foot, the press (even the (Vorwarts) suppressed, Von Papen

swept away the Reichstag, the dictatorship was instituted in Prussia—all without a struggle, all without any resistance. The Communist party has simply played the role of a helpless onlooker. It has not given the working class leadership. It has paralyzed by the Stalinist line of policy. The bourgeoisie has been pushing through an unobstructed offensive. The Fascists are primed for power. Germany is to be handed over directly to the butchers of the working class!

## The Next Step of Fascism—War Against the U. S. S. R.

But not only Germany. The next step in the bourgeois offensive is war—the international, the imperialist extension of Fascism—imperialist war against the workers' state, against Soviet Russia. The Fascists have gained their following by vague and magnanimous promises. There is no other way for German capitalism than the bloody rule of Fascism. There is no other way out for Fascism than the adventure of imperialist war against another nation, war in which it will receive unconditional support from the money bags abroad. That nation is and can be none other than the U. S. S. R., the fatherland of the international working class, the fortress of the world revolution!

We are at a turning point in history. The German working class is not yet crushed. The institution of Fascism is, however, a matter of days. The Stalinist leadership has enormously failed in its task. Without the guidance of its revolutionary Communist party, left in the hands of the petrified and putrefying social democracy, the working class of Germany will be lost and with Germany lost, defeat, terrible, bloody defeat stares into the eyes of the Soviet Union and the working class of the world.

Fat, yet, it is not too late. But the fatal moment is almost here. Not a single hour, not a minute is to be lost. Workers, Communists, the destiny of the

## LESSONS OF THE BONUS MARCH

(Continued from page 1)

failure the vets and they have paid a heavy price.

The tactic of passive resistance which the vets pursued finally exhausted the little patience of the capitalist class. The armed forces of the government were called into play. First, the police proved unreliable—1200 of the 1400 cops were themselves ex-servicemen. The sailors who were summoned next, notified their masters that they were "sea fighters", and did not enlist to fight on land. The marines gave a similar answer.

The newspapers, hungry for sensational stories, spread the story far and wide in all its gory details. No item of the gruesome butchery was spared. The New York Evening Journal reporter said that he saw a vet who was lying prone, face to the ground stabbed in the back by a bayonet! No one can be mistaken about the job that was done in Washington by Hoover's orders.

The working class will not soon forget

what it learned from the bonus fight. The fight put up by the veterans will yet become one of the traditions of the revolutionary working class movement. The traditions of American democracy and legalism have become thinner in the minds of the workers. We are nearer to the day when they will snap. This we owe in part to the fight put up by our class brothers in Washington.

The capital which this fight has given us must become the special weapon of the Communists to advance the cause of the revolution. We must proceed by raising the class consciousness of the vets by linking up their fight with the fight for general class relief from the crisis at the expense of the capitalist class and its government. The national conference called by the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League for the end of September must work out a program of accomplishing this task. We will support it with all the means at our disposal.  
—T. S.

# Ferment in the British Party

Open Letter from Comrade Stewart Purkis to Harry Pollitt

Dear Comrade Pollitt,

You have asked a straight question: you have a straight answer. You have asked me how far I go with "The Communist"—the bulletin which contained comrade Trotsky's article "Germany: the Key to the International Situation", and other material by the British Group of the Left Opposition. My answer to you and to my comrades in the British party is: "I go with it all the way." Not only does this answer inevitably incur expulsion; it also entails misunderstanding, disappointment and condemnation amongst valued comrades. It is my duty to them and to the Party, that I state clearly why I take any stand with the British Group of the Left Opposition.

## Stand—One of Policy

First I wish to say that my reasons are political, not personal. During my five years of Party membership, I have experienced—with few and trifling exceptions—nothing but good will and comradeship in my Party life: the rank and file of the Party are, as a whole, splendid comrades and fellow workers. The leadership of our Party has in it men of outstanding gifts: a writer as acute as R. P. Dutt; an organizer as skilled as Emile Burns; a speaker, tactician and mass leader as able as Harry Pollitt. Such is the character of the rank and file: such is the quality of the leadership.

This is my estimate of our Party and its leadership. I state it that it may be clear that it is not because of unsatisfactory personal relationships with the rank and file, nor because I underestimate the ability and gifts of its leadership that I line up with the Left Opposition. I support the Left Opposition because I believe that the policy of the British party and of the Communist International is at fault on those very root issues for which comrades Trotsky, Rakovsky and the many comrades of the Left Opposition have fought and have been expelled.

## Reviewing Past of Party

The very facts I have indicated—the gifted leadership of the British party, the comradely and industrious rank and file, the developed objective conditions—all these contrast so vividly with the Party's failure to win the leadership of the British working class, that every Communist has it as his plain duty to ask himself whether the Party is on the correct line. The position in Britain today, after ten years of hard struggle is: (1) **Parliamentary**: 70,000 votes for the defence of the U. S. S. R.; (2) **Industrial**: no roots in factories or trade unions; (3) **Political**: complete failure to make the revolutionary way out plain to the workers. This position repeats itself in the Communist parties throughout the world. These facts have moved me to accept the Left Opposition criticism of the strategy of the Communist International.

At the time of the Left Opposition struggle and the expulsion of comrade Trotsky, I was a new member of the Party. Even then it was difficult for me not to oppose the contention that Trotsky, who had shared the leadership with Lenin, who—in the words of Stalin "had the immediate direction of the practical organization of the uprising," and to whom "the Party was first and foremost indebted for the garrison's prompt going over to the Soviet" could be the "counter-revolutionary" into which Party calumny slowly pictured him. Literature was sparse. The Party's little great men the Arnolds the Ernies Browns, the Murphys, they said their say. One remained unconvinced but ill-equipped and so refrained from voting. With others I worked on in the Party and continued to study the issues raised by the Left Opposition.

The literature has come slowly to hand. On the past issues—Poland, China, Russian industrial and agricultural development, the Anglo-Russian Committee, all the evidence I have seen

cured justifies the Left Opposition and condemns the line of the Communist International. But though the Left Opposition has been correct, it seemed inadvisable to risk expulsion from the Party, even to take part in a fight to win the re-admission to the Communist International of comrades whose past line had been the correct one. Past issues were past. One turned to the work which clamoured to be done at every depot gate and street corner.

## The Crucial Issue of Germany

Then hard on the heels of the disturbing attitude of the Communist International towards the Spanish Revolution, came the crucial issue of Germany. Party comrades "in the know" whispered that the Fascists were to take power unopposed. German industry is so important to the success of the Five Year Plan, that nothing must disturb the relations between German Capitalism and Russian Socialism. The Five Year Plans were to be completed with the help of German industry: whatever the government!

But comrade Trotsky's writing on the German issue, especially "Germany: the Key to the International Situation", the "Letter to a German Comrade" and "What Next?" have vividly shown the position in Europe. They have made it clear that "Who wins in Germany wins in Europe". They have presented the danger of war on the U. S. S. R., not as an annual August shilliboleth, but as a living reality.

In 1930 Trotsky warned the Party that their forecasts of the early collapse of Fascism were not justified. Twelve months ago, Trotsky pointed to the United Front of the Communist and social democratic organizations as the only policy which could ensure the defeat of Fascism, the break-up of social democracy, and successes in the struggle for proletarian power. Today events tardily compel the Party towards Trotsky's line. But time in this struggle is the life and death factor. The line which Trotsky pointed out two years ago, the Party begins to shuffle towards today. These delays and weaknesses of both the Communist International and the German leadership threaten disaster to the U. S. S. R. and to the whole working class movement. In the present situation it is to me a clear duty to put comrade Trotsky's writings in the hands of the Party membership, that his leadership may be available to the working class in this hour of need. That is why I support the work of the Left Opposition in issuing the bulletin for circulating in the Party and to militant workers.

When I was expelled from the Railway Clerks Association, the R. C. A. leadership saw and condemned my action as a "breach of rule". Many of my fellow members and my comrades in the Party saw and supported my action as the course which loyalty to the working class demanded.

I know that I may now be condemned by you and by many valued comrades for breaking rules by circulating this material on Germany. But we who do this hold that loyalty to the Party's cause is more important than keeping rules which ban vital discussion in the Party.

In this short letter I cannot set out the Left Opposition case on the major political issue: the case for the policy of International Revolution against National Socialism (even when it wears the guise of "Socialism in one country"), and all the tactical issues which follow from it. I ask every comrade who sees the importance of mastering these issues to write to me for details of the publications of the Left Opposition.

I write this letter to make it clear that my course of action is dictated by political and not personal motives; and that if my acceptance of the Left Opposition position and support for its works entails my expulsion, I shall from without the Party do my utmost—together with my Left Opposition comrades within the Party—to strengthen the Party for its real task: the organization of the working class for the world struggle for world socialism.

With Communist greetings,  
STEWART PURKIS.  
4. Hogarth Hill,  
London N. W. 11. July 27th, 1932.

## MARXIST CLASSICS

Through an exchange arrangement with a local bookseller we have got a number of copies of the **Communist Manifesto**; **Socialism, Utopian and Scientific**; **Wage Labor and Capital**; and **Value Price and Profit**. In the past we have received requests for this literature. In the course of our propaganda work among workers we frequently find it necessary to begin at rock bottom. This is all the more necessary today because of the terribly low ideological level that obtains in the party ranks under Stalinist leadership.

Unfortunately because of the terms of our exchange arrangement we are unable to offer any discount on this literature. The selling prices in the order in which they are listed above are: 10 cents; 25 cents; 10 cents; 25 cents.

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