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THE MILITANT

Published 3 times a week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

Workers of the World, Unite!

Published three weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 23, 1923 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 4, 1879. VOLUME VI, NO. 15 [WHOLE NO. 162] NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

No Retreat! Struggle or Annihilation!

Every day brings the report of a new blow dealt the German working class movement by the Hitler regime...

suppressed and the Fascist swastika still waves from the Karl Liebknecht House. New decrees signed by "comrade" von Hindenburg...

significance. The world movement of the proletariat is at stake in Germany; the fate of the Soviet Union is involved...

greater practical interest is the recent agreement concluded by the Deutsche Bank and Disconto-Gesellschaft...

authoritative backstairs spokesmen of the upper stratum of the apparatus. While this unbelievable indifference is being manifested...

that what was counter-revolutionary on Tuesday is good Bolshevism on Wednesday? Unfortunately, the situation is not as clear as it should be...

well—and the newspaper reports to the humiliation of the Communist movement, confirm it—that the Austrian and Scandinavian leaders are being scanned by an increasing number of Communist officials...

LEON TROTSKY "Soviet Economy in Danger"

The following letter was addressed to the editorial board of the "Sozialistische Arbeiterzeitung" (Central organ of the German Socialist Workers Party)...

Arrest Soviet "Trotskyists"

We are reliably informed from the U. S. S. R.: In the course of the month of January, a large number of arrests were made in Moscow and Leningrad...

Jap Advance Hits U.S.S.R.

With laudable thoughtfulness, the Japanese imperialists lay their plans in advance and then follow their schedule carefully. Many moons ago, a Japanese "surveyor"...

To Union Sq. on Saturday

The Unemployed Councils of Greater N. Y. have issued a call for a demonstration on Saturday, March 4 at 11 A. M. on Union Square...

Roosevelt Regime Reopens Question of Russ Soviets

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

Comintern and World Revolution at Decisive Historical Turning Point

When comrade Trotsky, in his writing "Germany: The Key to the International Situation", issued the urgent warning to the proletarians of all countries...

Anti-United Front Policy Plays Into Hands of Socialist Party Bureaucrats

The conference on unemployment, held under the auspices of the "Labor Committee" of the Socialist party of New York last week...

OPEN FORUM

BONAPARTISM & THERMIDOR IN THE SOVIET UNION DOES THE DANGER THREATEN? Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Friday, March 3, 1933

Anti-United Front Policy Plays Into Hands of Socialist Party Bureaucrats

brothers of the Lewises, Schlesingers, Kaufmans and their ilk in the labor movement, revealed at this conference how seriously are to be taken their piously hypocritical protestations against violence...

Anti-United Front Policy Plays Into Hands of Socialist Party Bureaucrats

The basis of the crisis in the Soviet Union is the necessity of laying a socialist basis in one land and a backward country going on from triumph to triumph in an ever faster tempo...

BROWNSVILLE MASS MEETING

"The CRISIS IN GERMANY" Examples: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Brownsville Labor Lyceum SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M. 219 SACKMAN ST. Bldg. N. Y. Between Gramercy & Liberty Aves. ADMISSION 15 Cents

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

(Continued from Page 1) From. We are far from the idea, naturally, of explaining this "lack of understanding" and this "inability" by the personal qualities of the individual leaders. It is a question of the system of thinking, of the political tendency, of the factions which have grown out of old Bolshevism.

4. Elsewhere your article calls to mind that the Left Opposition, especially and primarily Rakovsky, warned against the over-stretched tempos of construction in good time. But right next to this you write of allegedly analogous warnings of Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky. Your article refers twice to the perspicacity of the latter without recalling with a single word the irreconcilable antagonisms between the Right and the Left Opposition.

Since 1922, the Left Opposition, more correctly its future staff, conducted a campaign for the working out of a five year plan, the axis of which was to be the industrialization of the country. As far back as that time, we proved that the tempo of the development of the nationalized industry could, in the very next years, exceed the tempo of Russian capitalism.

In the course of a series of years Bukharin was, to employ his own expression, the preacher of "toroise-pace" industrialization. So he remained, at that time, when the Left Opposition demanded going over to the five year plan and to higher tempos of industrialization.

5. How unfortunately your article mixes up Bukharin's criticism with the criticism of Rakovsky, is perceptible from the following circumstance: In the same days that your paper called attention to the apparent perspicacity of Bukharin in the past, Bukharin himself categorically and completely renounced all his former criticism at the Plenum of the Central Committee, and all his former prognoses, as fundamentally false.

6. Right after the appearance of my brochure "Soviet Economy in Danger", a turn-about-face took place in Soviet economic policy which throws a bright light upon the problem engaging us and makes possible an infallible check upon all the prognoses of the various factions. The story of the turn-about-face—in two words—is the following:

The XVII Conference of the C. P. S. U. approved in January 1932 the principles of the second five year plan. The tempo of growth of industry was established at approximately 25 percent, with Stalin declaring at the conference that this is only the minimum limit, and, that in the working out of the plan this percentage must and will be raised.

The Left Opposition characterized this whole perspective as a fruit of bureaucratic adventurism. It was as if to be understood, accused of striving for the counter-revolution, for the intervention of Japan and for the capitalist if not the feudal restoration.

The C. I. At a Turning Point

(Continued from Page 1)

proletariat. "For," as Lenin said, "internationalism does not consist in phrases, declarations of solidarity or resolutions, but in action."

"The whole future of the Russian revolution is at stake. The whole future of the international workers' revolution is at stake." These words of Lenin in 1917 are terribly timely. The same historical problem is posed today as in 1917. In 1917, in Russia, it was a question of preventing the repression of the peasant insurrection, which would have sounded the "knell of the revolution" and have signified "the final triumph of the Kornilov regime"; in saving the Russian revolution, the first fortress of the "world-wide proletarian revolution" was being saved.

Now it is clear to every Communist worker what was meant and what is meant by the policy of "socialism in a single country". The Communist International itself, with all the conquests of the October revolution, is in danger. And it is in Germany that the most important section is deciding today: the Hitlerist counter-revolution is taking the lead of the international counter-revolution; the German proletariat is representing in this moment the most vital interests of the world revolution.

Germany, by itself exhausts the problem of the "permanent revolution". The truth of Marx that no true, no respite is possible for the forces of the revolution (for the working class), "before it has destroyed, annihilated the power by which the old society asserts itself," is fully confirmed. "After the revolution, the permanent counter-revolution becomes (for the forces of the old society) a question of daily existence." The German bourgeoisie, after having utilized the social democracy to strangle the revolution of 1918, is today driven to risk the Fascist counter-revolution, by arming the discontented petty bourgeois masses in order to pit them against the working class with the aim of extorting from it the last concessions, in order to preserve its profits at the price of the most ferocious repression and the starvation of the toiling people.

Not a doubt, therefore, that we are at the present moment before a decisive turn in the revolutionary period opened up by the victory of the Bolsheviks in October 1917. Not a doubt that Hitler seeks to gain for German imperialism the favors and the concessions of the Versailles powers by making himself the butcher of the proletariat of his countries and the Gallifet of the Russian Commune.

of Marxian foresight but behind-handedly, after its head had collided against the disastrous consequences of its own economic adventurism.

Even more glaring do the distinctions in the three conceptions (the Right, the Centrist and the Marxian) appear on the field of agriculture. But this problem is too complex to be touched upon even fleetingly within the limits of a letter to the editorial board.

I hope to issue a new brochure on the perspectives of Soviet economy. Prinkipo, January 26, 1933.

What is Demanded? The only means of making the supreme effort to exclude this catastrophe, to deal with this crisis which is striking at the heart of world Communism—is a decisive turn on the part of the Communist International, with the recall, at this moment so heavy with responsibility and danger, to the posts of struggle, and of leadership which rightfully belong to them of all the comrades of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), and primarily, the comrades of the Russian Opposition who have been thrown into the places of exile and deportation: comrade Trotsky, comrade Rakovsky, the hundreds upon hundreds of other old warriors of the October revolution.

The immediate convocation of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, demanded by the pre-conference of the Left Opposition, thus acquires an urgent and exigent character. This Congress, with the participation of the International Left Opposition, must prove to the proletarians of all countries that the Communist International does not intend to succumb; that the Communist International is on the contrary capable of regenerating itself to fight and to triumph.

Paris, Feb. 16, 1933. —FERROCI

For the German Opposition

The international pre-conference of the Left Opposition which recently concluded its sessions in Paris, adopted a decision to raise an international fund for the work of our German brother-section. It was decided that in every country where the Left Opposition has its national section, each member shall contribute a day's pay to the fund for our German section.

Our German section is laboring at the present time under the greatest of difficulties and the fund collected will not only be of the greatest aid financially, but it will also serve as a magnificent display of the international solidarity of the Left Opposition and all its friends and sympathizers with the Marxian wing of the German revolution. Despite the financial difficulties we are ourselves experiencing at the present moment, we gladly and enthusiastically appeal to all our readers to make a generous donation to the international fund for the Left Opposition in Germany.

As it was, the official Left wing decided on a policy which could not but yield the outcome that it did. It decided to go to the socialist conference with the ultimatum demand that the delegates denounce the organizers of the conference and follow the lead of the Communists, that is, of the Left wing unemployment conference.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Another «Friend» of the Soviet Union

Cleveland—On Saturday, February 11, another «Friend of the Soviet Union"—a lawyer by the name of Maurice Sugar, from Detroit—spoke before the Cleveland workers under the auspices of the FSU, at Engineers Auditorium.

After the customary, uncritical and rosy-pink picture of the state of affairs in the Soviet Union under the Stalinist regime, a question period followed. From all over the hall came questions regarding the burning problem of how the new Hitler government in Germany will affect Soviet Russia.

There were also some questions about Trotsky, as usual. What Mr. Sugar failed to do in the German situation, he made up for—in his own inimitable way—by the usual slanders and brazen lies about our comrade. Comrade Keller, of the local group of the Left Opposition, arose to reply, castigating the speaker for his criminal cynicism with regard to the Hitler danger and pointing to Trotsky's warning of an attack by a victorious Hitlerism in Germany against the Russian workers' state.

At the Socialist Party Forum.—At the S. P. forum, that same evening, comrade Gordon took the floor to bring the attention of the workers to the critical situation in Germany and to call for solidarity of all American workers with the hard-pressed German proletarians. He was cut short by the Socialist bureaucrats present and forced off the floor, because "the speech was succeeded only in isolating itself by alienating the latter."

Not merely this is of importance, but another circumstance, which does not, it is true, conflict with the other. The socialist workers—to say nothing of the hundreds of thousands and millions of unemployed—are not interested primarily in it at all, as yet! In whether or not the Communists have a right to fight for the leadership of the unemployed movement. What they are interested in is to set in motion a genuine united movement, powerful enough to extract some immediate concessions from the plutocracy and its government.

The Socialist Party Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

themselves with the bourgeois politicians, upon preserving a so-called respectability, of bush-hushing the mass movement—and relying upon this organized proletarian movement and its militant mass action, its demonstrative pressure, the socialist fakery will always choose the former again unless their rank and file is afforded the possibility of choosing the alternative of a united front with the Left wing.

This brings us to the question of the tactics which the official Communist party leadership pursued. In the Left wing conference for Unemployment Insurance, the representatives of the Communist League of America (Opposition) proposed that the conference shall make a direct appeal to the S. P. conference for a united front of both movements, for the merger of all the organizations represented by the two conferences so that the action of the New York workers for this specific goal might be successfully coordinated.

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LECTURE ON GERMANY

The crisis in Germany and the program of the Left Opposition will be the subject of the lecture by comrade Morris Lewit this Sunday, March 5. The lecture will be held at the Free Workers Center, 219 Second Avenue, between 13 and 14 St., under the auspices of Unser Kampf Workers Club, at 8 p. m.

OPPOSITION DEBATES I. U. L.

On Sunday, March 5 at 2:15 p. m., a debate will be held between the Left Opposition and the Industrial Union League on the subject, "Can the program and tactics of the Communist League of America bring about working class emancipation in the United States?" George Clarke will speak for the affirmative and Adolph Silver the negative.

Roosevelt Regime Reopens Question of Soviet Recognition and Credits

(Continued from Page 1)

"Socialism in one country" have parties outside of Russia to that of a watchman, whose purpose is to help ward off foreign intervention and particularly war. The economic relations of the Soviet Union with the capitalist world have been kept outside of the domain of revolutionary strategy.

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

This assumption has been knocked to pieces by living experience. England after the Conservative victory renewed the trade treaty with Soviet Russia some months ago; Germany has imposed a quota on its imports from the Soviet Union; political as well as "strictly business" factors entered into these steps.

It is admittedly impossible, by mass pressure, to force private interests in a capitalist state to buy and sell where it is not profitable for them to do so under given conditions. But these conditions themselves depend upon state laws in a large measure—tariffs, credits, restrictions on imports, etc.

Trading with Soviets and Workers Control

The question of a more systematic influence of the masses on the external commerce of a capitalist state is intimately bound up with the question of workers' control of production. Beginning with questions of wages and profit, the control of production expands over all the other functions of the enterprise, then of the group of enterprise, over whole branches of industry and the entire national economy.

Japan and U.S.S.R.

(Continued from Page 1)

"In general" and "in principle" with the League's position, he will not permit America to be pushed into war at this time. London will not reap the harvest if Washington can help it.

London again reveals her backing of Japan by declaring an arms embargo, whose patent fraud is recognized in the bourgeois press here and abroad. Present contracts are inviolable. And pray for how many years do the contracts run? How much has been allotted to Japan by Vickers-Armstrong? In the debate on the embargo that is inevitable, Lansbury, reveals the inner hollowness of the social democracy. He states that it is impossible to exclude the possibility of war between Japan and Russia.

Credits for the Soviet Union as a Political Question

The energy of the international Communist party, the sympathies of the masses, even the direct interest of the petty bourgeoisie, must be mobilized in a political manner in the various capitalist countries for the benefit of the broad masses and of the Soviet Union. This involves a break with the theory and practise of "socialism in one country"—but it has the little advantage that it directly ties up the immediate needs of the broad masses in capitalist countries with the problem of economic construction in the Soviet Union, in spite of the high interests rates which it offers. The Stalinist policy, of relying on the "strictly business" self-interest of capitalism to serve as the basis of economic collaboration which is indispensable to the work of economic construction in Soviet Russia, has been an utter failure.

FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 1933

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EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Aberr James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swaback

Friday, March 3, 1933 Vol. VI, No. 15 (Whole No. 162) Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year, Foreign \$2.50. One cent a copy.

OFF THE PRESS! Two New Pamphlets By LEON TROTSKY Soviet Economy In Danger 72 Pages 10 cents 48 Pages 5 cents 3 for twenty-five cents Minimum number per order 5 Postage 1c extra per copy PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street, New York