WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

EMILITANT

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1932

Comrades, Readers, Friends!

weekly MILITANT is at stake. Unless Every comrade on his metal! No stone we raise our \$1,000 press fund we shall must be left unturned. Wherever a spark be forced to retrench.

we say that the life of the weekly MILI-For a long time we have been struggling tion press? against a deepening financial crisis of our own. It has developed to the point where we are forced to say categorically —the life of the weekly MILITANT is at stake.

To every comrade, every reader and sympathizer falls the duty of coming to the aid of our press. Comrades active in the press drive should double and triple their efforts. Those not in it should immediately put to himself the question -what can I do to help the Opposition

The first form this response should take and, at the moment, the most important, is—a donation. Upon reading you help? this appeal every comrade should send us as much as he can spare. No amount is too large, no amount is too small. And every bit helps.

Upon our own members devolves the added duty of canvassing their friends

NEW YORK PICNIC-MAY 29th The drive now going on for the Left Opposition Press will culminate in New same time it will be the occasion, when the comrades and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York will greet the return of comrades Morgenstern and Goodman, our two Philadelphian comrades now serving jail sentences for "sedition".

Food and refreshments will be on hand. We will have a brief social program, games, rowing, ball-playing and other enjoyments. Keep the date open-Sunday, May 29th.

Militant Builders

\$

rades are slowly cutting down his lead. canvass of all their subscribers and symnature of things and holds bright promovement almost exclusively of the conpathizers. In this work comrade Hedlund will, no doubt give a good account should be a telling answer to those disof himself. On the other hand comrades appointed "revolutionists" who persist scribed in the last issue should hustle.

as follows with the figures for the month outside of the movement. of May (in dollars) in parenthesis: C. Hedlund (6)—11; V. Dunne (6)—9; L. Roseland (3 1-2)-5; M. Dunne (3)-8; L. Nagy (2 1-2)-3; C. Forsen (2 1-2)-3; A. Buehler (2)—2; M. Rosen (2)— -2; W. Curran (1)-2; S. Zalmanoff (1)-1; P. Carlson (1)-1; C. Cowl (1) _5; F. Schulman (1)—1; F. Barach (1) -4; C. Johnson (1)-2; S. Lessin (1) -1; N. Berman (1); G. R. Herman (1); J. Ross (1); H. Milton (1-2)-1; T. Drohny (1-2)-2; J. Carr (1-4)-3; C. Skoglund-3; F. Cheloff-2; G. Ray-2; M. Gottlieb-1; M. Koehler-1; W. Wynne -1; J. Carter-1; H. Capelis-1; W. Herman-1; A. Swabeck-1; A. Glotzer the fields where the party leads actual -1; L. Logan-1; A. Kaldis-1; M. struggles. We are not speaking in this Sterling-1.

An emergency exists. The life of the and acquaintances for subs and donations. of sympathy exists for our ideas and our It is not our habit to exaggerate. When struggle the question must be put bluntly -How much can you give to save the TANT is at stake we mean exactly that. weekly MILITANT, to help the Opposi-

> Our readers too can participate in this work. They should not wait to be canvassed. They should respond at once. If possible they should canvass their friends and acquaintances. If they are not in a position to do this they can send in the name and addresses of likely contributors. We will approach them. But in the first instance they should respond with a donation.

> The response to this appeal must be immediate; it must continue until we reach and pass our quota of \$1,000. Comrades, readers, sympathizers, will

DEBATE

I. W. W. Representative Communist Representative

Is the Program of the I.W.W Sufficient for the Emancipation of the Working Class?

AFFIRMATIVE: C. B. Ellis Editor, Industrial Solidarity NEGATIVE: James P. Cannon

Communist League of America (Opposition) SATURDAY, MAY 14th at 8 P. M.

LABOR TEMPLE 14th Street and Second Avenue ADMISSION: 20 Cents Auspices: Joint Arrangement Committee

at the

The Party and the May Day Demonstration

Chicago and 8,000 in Minneapolis, it affords a good cross section of the splenthis, of course, bears testimony to the effects of the yet deepening crisis mov-Left. But it is also worth noting that, while the Socialist Party this year ventured into street demonstrations of a sort in several cities, it attracted only ison we exclude Milwaukee, where the Socialist Party is in control of the city administration.

pressed in the May Day demonstrations. spects for the party's future. But it

In practically all of the major cities Oppositionists in Minneapolis. But yet, weaknesses as an actively moving force in the class struggle are all too apparent. Such a comparison reveals an enormous gap which must be closed.

Experiences from Recent Struggles The gap is revealed most glaringly in instance of the question of militancy dis-

The May Day demonstrations organized played in such struggles—though that is by the Communist Party this year, when important in itself and cannot be distaken throughout the country as a whole, puted-but we are speaking here purely were bigger and more impressive than in the sense of how does the party lead any before in its history. Even when we and what support has accrued to its in the role of your predecessors in makdiscount any wildly exaggerated figures leadership. We will mention only some ing of me a symbol of the cause of labor. York on the last Sunday of this month

May 29th—in the form of a picnic to

realistic estimate of, for example, about first of all, the Pennsylvania and Ohio

ferred upon me with the greatest of humbe held at Tibbets Brook Park. At the 40,000 in the New York march, 20,000 in miners strike of last year. A splendid ility. This service I will ungrudingly played. Yet it did not result in a stren- of devotion, loyalty and fidelity. I give ists waiting for? Do they want personal did working class response. First of all, gthening of the miners positions, organi- -gladly and willingly-my very life to is very little of the National Miners un- holy struggle until every last instrument ion organized in these districts. We experienced the Paterson and Lawrence pletely liquidated and a classless society textile workers strikes. The party, much smaller numbers. In this compar-through the T. U. U. L. union had the zation." This is revolutionary talk. leadership of a section of the workers in both places. Yet it conducted a strike policy which resulted in a comparative We have, therefore, in politically back- strengthening of the A. F. of L. forces ward America a growing response to and a weakening of the Left wing. Prac-Comrade Hedlund is still at the head Communism, a distinct growth of Com- tically the same situation has resulted of the list although a number of communist influence. That is clearly exneedle trades workers. To this should Those who figure on overtaking him with Also we have an ever more distinct ex- be added the fact that the struggle for ease are counting without their host. pression of the fact that the new forces the unemployed, despite the very large They fail to take into account that Min- set into motion gravitate toward the demonstrations at the beginning of the neapolis is undertaking a systematic official Communist Party That is in the crisis today, has narrowed down to a

What is the Policy Pursued?

How can such a contradiction be poswho want to win one of the prizes de in looking for revolutionary awakening sible? We witness a splendid response employed and unemployed alike. A ser- the old house by the bourgeois press. separate and apart from the party. They to the May Day demonstrations organized The staff and its record to date is will themselves only remain hopelessly by the party while in actual struggles it fails to really win the working class confidence and loses ground. The reason the party further affirmed the right of for this must be sought essentially in the working class to demonstrate for the policies and methods the party leadits demands on the International Labor ership pursues. It is not to be sought Holiday. In this sense the demonstra- merely in the question of insufficient toward employing the united front tactic. 2; O. Coover (2)—3; L. Basky (1 1-2)—
tions were militant turnouts. And we party contacts in the factories, nor in 5; R. Sacharow (1)—4; R. Ruskin (1) the smaller items which are being brought disgraceful scene of attacks upon Left out in so-called self-criticism. Voluminous theses and resolutions have been compared to these turnouts, the party written on these questions without, however, striking at the essential issue. With a correct policy and a correct orientation these difficulties—although they are considerable—could nevertheless easily be overcome. What is involved is essentially the failure of an orientation which will unite the workers in struggle.

The important question confronting the Communist Party today is particularly the one of a correct united front policy We have no intention at all to propose that a united front policy is a universal solution for all times and under all conditions. On the contrary we think that the method pursued in the May Day depresenting a Communist program and entering Communist candidates and appeal for the working class support to Communism. To assume a formal guise of a united front election activity is

Tom Mooney Must Be Freed!

New York's May Day parade. Free Tom termination to fight. What is necessary Mooney!—with a spirit the rain could now is to ebgin withuto delay a serious not dampen. One knew that all over the approach to the whole working class United States hundreds of thousands of with the idea of setting them in motion his fellow workers were shouting the for the freedom of Mooney. They must same demand with the same spirit. It be approached in the first instance was the voice of the class conscious van- through their organizations. guard, the future troops of the revolution, demanding the freedom of the living symbol of their struggle against capitalism. One had only to hear the measured beat, the deep tone of their shouting to realize how profoundly stirred they were by the monumental hypocrisy and brazen impundence of that watch-dog of capitalism, his excellency, the governor of California, he, who "convinced" himself of Mooney's guilt and refused to

Free Tom Mooney! It was the response of the American working class to the impassioned cry of Mooney himself against this latest insulting verdict of capitalist class justice. Mooney's letter of April 23 to Rolph says clearly that his place is in the ranks of this vanguard, in the front rank of the war against capitalism. Tom Mooney - has today grown to be a mighty oak, admittedly too dangerous to be at liberty during this desperate economic crisis, because he symbolizes the onward march of the revolutionary workers toward a better civilization-"You have continued zationally or otherwise. It failed entire the cause of the toilers all over the used in this dastardly frame-up is comwill replace what now passes for civili-

Under the circumstances, for what betto free Mooney could Communists ask? ist press so aptly puts it, are neither Mooney is ours even in his thinking. Will we take his mandate and mobilize the forty-three seats, rising from 113 to 156. masses behind the vanguard? This depends now upon the leadership of the Second International received an increase Communist Party.

This has been amply demonstrated in the less lost heavily, especially the party of very strikes mentioned above. The build- Tardieu. The Communists retained their Comintern"—the "cound reasoning" of the ing of a serious Unemployed Movement 12 seats (Two former Communist deputis quite inconceivable without an aplies in the French parliament had been elections. Herriot and his followers are proach to the existing workers organi- expelled from the French party and zations for united pressure to obtain the that accounts for the false figure of 10 demands which in reality involves the representatives ascribed to the C. P. in ious movement for the liberation of Tom The acknowledged parliamentary leader Mooney, the Scottsboro boys and all class of the French Communists, Marcel war prisners requires this tactic. And Cachin, suffered defeat in a constituency above all, the defense of the American from which he had been returned to the working class in the present reactionary Chamber time and again for years. onslaughts upon their elementary rights

OPPOSITONSTS SLUGGED IN MINNEAPOLIS ON MAY DAY

(Continued on page 2)

Free Tom Mooney! Free Tom Mooney! The responsibility is their's. The rank papointments written on the stationery We do not care how reactionary the

leaders of the reformist organizations

are, the cause of Mooney is dear to their rank and file. And our mandate gives us the right to be heard. If for the nonce the shouters of names, the Stalinists, will restrain their vocabulary of epithets and denunciation, will substitute for slander and abuse the simple prosucceed in winning the support of the for Communist influence, we need not thrown away.

speak here. The Stalinists insist nowadays upon being assured in advance of the leadership of any movement they enter. For example this is what they proposed to the Marine Workers' Defense Committee. smash the movement. They smashed freedom. the Mooney conferences in Staunton and Belleville, Illinois last winter because they could not slander their way into the leadership. In Minneapolis and St. Louis as in time they must, we will enter them -the same story.

the Communists shall lead the movement of the Communist vanguard and the adstruggle with excellent militancy dis- render to my class, with the greatest for his freedom. What are the Stalin- vance of Communism.

shouted tens of thousands of workers in and file has already demonstrated its de- of the Comintern and witnessed by a notary? What holds them back? What limits them to demonstrations of the vanguard and street runs?

They have reached an impasse. The masses, it is now clear even to them, are not their property and do not obey their beck and call. They must now go to the masses in their organizations and work with them as equals. For this they have every requisite in the objective situation and every help from Mooney. But for this they must throw overboard their fake united front from below and their ideological weapons of slander and l abuse.

This turn is not easily made. There are the "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyposal of a united front of working class ites who have been agitating for this organization on the sole issue of freeing turn right along. They will lose face Mooney, the Communists can and will when the party rank and file sees that the "counter-revolutionists" were correct workers. Of the possibilities which this after all. Bureaucratic prestige is no would open up for the fight for relief and small matter. It is not to be lightly

The party rank and file can resolve this dilemma It can raise its voice through discussion and resolution. It can and must say that it demands the immediate calling of genuine united front conferences of all working class organizations Failing this they make every attempt to on the sole issue of fighting for Mooney's

For its part, the Left Opposition will continue to hammer home this theme. And when the conferences are convened, to fight with the party rank and file for Mooney has almost guaranteed that the freedom of Mooney, for the unity

-T. S.

effects of the yet deepening crisis moving the American workers toward the left wing and progressive or nationality. I will never cease this left But it is also worth noting that

ter mandate to organize the movement who, as one of the writers in the capitalsocialists nor radicals, gained some The socialists, the French section of the of twenty-three seats making their present total in the Chamber of Deputies 129. All the Right wing bourgeois part-

The capitalist press expresses surprise and conditions demand a definite change that the French moderates should attain such an advance so shortly after the constant gains of the reactionaries in Germany. But there is nothing at all to be surprised in all this. The Radical-Socialists have not for one moment con-By comparison with standards estab- cealed their intention to uphold the tradilished during the past few years, the tional French policy, the unconditional Minneapolis May Day demostration was defense of the treaty gains of the world a gratifying event. Without doubt it war, through which France has obtained was the largest turnout of workers for her immoderately expanded nolitical a parade and demonstation since 1924. domination in Europe. On the other The method of assembling the workers hand, the French politicians know full from the different sections for general well that a reactionary regime in Germobilization at Bridge Square was well many will be even more dependent upon French "good will"-because of the in-

The victory of Herriot's Radical-So-| ternal situation such a regime would cialist party in last Sunday's run-off produce in the Reich-than the present elections in France only culminated the Bruening government. Taking all this recent trend toward the bourgeois Left into consideration, it costs the French in that country. The Radical-Socialists bourgeoisie very little to provide a safety valve for the growing dissatisfaction of the masses languishing under the rapidly progressing economic crisisin this self-same Radical-Socialist party.

> Despite the election trick of Tardieu the attempt to utilize the assassination of President Doumer by a White Guard Russian for the purpose of creating a wave of reaction through misrepresenting the assassin as an "agent of the republican bourgeoisie prevailed in the preparing to take the helm. Their position, as a result of last Sunday's poll is so tsrong that they are not directly obliged to any of the other parties for support. Naturally, the leaders of the socialist party, greedy for the ministerial chairs, are making all sorts of overtures to the victors. But, from indications in the press, it appears that the latter are more inclined to bargain with the Centre parties, allegedly for the purose of avoiding any serious repercussion on the Bourse that might result from the constitution of a "Left" cabinet. Painleve, the Herriot men's choice to succeed Doumer in the presidency according to the latest newspaper reports has withdrawn in favor of Lebrun, the candidate of the Centre-Right, so as to "maintain national unity and the continuity made necessary by the President's death". If this report is true then a definite trend toward collaboration between the election victors and Tardieu is in order.

The results, in so far as the Communists are concerned, are not very encouraging. The French party has barely been able to hold its own, at a time when increased unemployment, wage reductions and general poverty sweep the country. Reports are still forthcoming as to how the party carried on its elecsults, it could not have been anything but defective. In France, which is commonly known to be the hearth of reaction in the world today and which also figures most prominently in all plots and planned attacks against the Soviet Union, the importance of influencing the working class in a revolutionary direction, is self-apparent. To allow the reformists and the bourgeois demagogues to canalize the resentment of the toiling masses of France at this time is especially dangerous. The future will bring

Bring the Unity Negotiations into the Open!

The revelations in last week's Militant | For Communists the unity of the revthe Party leaders and the expelled Right the basis for any kind of maneuvers. It front appearance does not at all serve wing have awakened a new interest is no object of private understandings the purpose. May Day demonstrations In one of the suburbs of Chicako, in employs against workers who dare to among the Communist workers in the and agreements. Unity concerns the have become a revolutionary tradition Melrose Park, the brave defenders of law question of unity. And the informal disclass whose interests are bound up with and should be so maintained. It would and order opened up a volley of machine cussion arising from it, according to the the organization of its political van- be far more correct for the party to gun fire on a meeting of unarmed, defensereports we have received, is not confined guard. Only people who are in reality conduct these demonstrations in its own to the horse-trade behind the scenes be- separated from the Party and the class name, also in the formal sense, and call tween the Centrist bureaucrats and the and freed from their control can think upon the working class to give its sup-Lovestone group. The revival of senti- of discussing unity, its terms and con- port on that basis. For the participation ment for unity with the Left, that is, ditions, its possibility or impossibility at in the coming elections this is more so with the bona fide revolutionary faction, is noticeable.

that was never thought of by the mach- Unty or division, like all other vital inators. In part, it is an expression of questions of the movement, must be unthe fundamental solidarity which the derstood by the Party and decided by proletarian militants in the Party feel the Party before the eyes of the protoward the Left Opposition. It is also a letariat. Only so can the decisions be and does not help in the least. sign of resentment against the under firmly grounded. Therefore, our first decover maneuvers to readmit the Right mand is a discontinuance of the whisopportunist leaders; the proletarian ele- pered negotiations behind the back of however, an entirely different affair. And legionaires, racketeers and reactionaries weight in the Party. Therefore our tion from the level of a deal between vanced conditions as well. In Germany side of the authorities. In reporting choice will be heard in the back room business men into a discussion of prin- today, the threatening danger of Fascism the event, even the capitalist press had conferences, even though we are not ciple considerations by the entire rev- demands imperatively the working class to assume an apologetic tone, in line there as invited guests. The time is op- olutionary vanguard. Bring the unity united front. In the United States today with its general hypocricy. The Melportune for a restatement of the attitude negotiations into the open! of the Left Opposition on unity.

the moment, in secret.

What the Left Opposition has to say There is a logic in this development on the subject needs no concealment.

about the secret negotiations between olutionary vanguard is not and cannot be monstrations of a purely formal united

the conditions of the working class

The Police Shootings in Melrose Park

--A. S.

festation of Capitalist democracy in this of this winter, as a characterization of land of the free and home of the brave. the desperate methods the ruling class tion campaign, but judging from the reless unemployed workers who had gath- intend to cow the hungry unemployed ered to protest against police brutality to abject submission in the face of their and to demand the elementary right of misery. But these methods have been free speech, of demonstrating in common against the ravages of the capitalist economic order which has reduced some twelve million toilers to starvation in ing more and more that the only way the United States alone. Nine workers were wounded, three of

with the approval and under the command of the local authorities of Melrose Park, known for their intimate connec-The matter of actual struggles for the tions to the local industrial nabobs, the elementary needs of the workers is, American Can Company. American (Continued in Editorial Notes—Page 4) struggle demands it just as imperatively, together with the Chicago massacre of and assembly for the workers.

Last Friday witnessed another mani- last summer and the Detroit murders conditions it imposes upon them.

It is by such examples that the bosses tried before. The millions of jobless and their families will not suffer in silence. They will fight. They are realizout for them is through struggle.

Determined and broad action for free them seriously. The shooting took place speech and against outrages of the Mel-far greater tests than the elections. If necessity by all workers. The Communist party, having the interests of the pared for them, the policy of the party working class at heart at all times, sens- which is closely bound up with the ening its needs at every moment and point- tire policy of the Comintern must be reing out the road to it at each step, must orientated accordingly. The results of the opportunist leaders, the protestion such a broad representation of the question of the questio union, into every factory, into every tionary workers. They point to the necworkers organization with a proposal for essity we have stressed time and again, an extensive united front against police of reexamining the fundamental princirose Park incident will take its place brutality and the right of free speech ples, strategy and tactics of our Inter-

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

A Criticism of the Needle Trades Article

BROOKLYN, N. Y. Dear Comrades: My attention has been called, somewhat belatedly it is true but still in time, to the article in the April 15 issue of The Militant, entitled "Left Wing Victory or Treacherous Bargain." The appearance of an article of this type over the signature of J. P. Cannon is cause for great concern-concern for the revolutionary integrity of The Militant and apprehension for the honest detachment of comrade Cannon. It is quite in order for the Right wing of the C. P .- the Lovestoneites, to besmirch themselves with fabrication woven out of their own disordered minds, but for The Militant to fall a victim to as openly treacherous and perfidious a piece of work that has ever been attempted by the Schlesinger Right wing, is to almost believe in the possibility of the impossible. Amongst a few misleading statements comrade Cannon makes, is one that "The third group, the weakest numerically and one that came to life only recently and has played very little part in the life of the local, is the "Left wing" group directed by the C. P." This statement is absurd. The slightest knowledge of the situation in the International L. G. W. U. and especially Local 9 points out clearly that the strongest forces of the Left groups are concentrated in Local 9. The Left group of Local 9 was the first to defeat the \$3.75 tax, proposed by the International administration. In the elec tain to be unpopular, to be in a minortions for the Executive of Local 9, last ity. Often he finds himself outside of December, the predominant Kirtzman- the union and forced to go into another Lovestoneite Bloc was so uncertain of organization. When I walked out of the its ability to retain control over the union hall, several members followed me Local that it opened a speakeasy, used approved John Lewis vote-stealing meth. the actions of Hudson and his gang. ods, etc., (all ancient history). Here was They told me that my criticism had been a perfect opportunity for the I. L. G. W U. administration to order the election illegal and corrupt and call for new elections, thereby practically assuring the defeat of the Kirtzman Bloc. It did not grasp this "opportunity". The reason is apparent and especially to the Right wing forces. Another inaccuracy: "The Left wing group", states comrade Cannon, "came to life only recently." By innuen. do this would compel one to believe the group was formed "recently". Not so. It is a fact that the group has been in existence since early 1930 and was incorporated in the officially organized Left wing groups in March, 1931. All these mistatements pale into insignific ance beside the major charge, the idea of a secret deal. Does comrade Cannon know taht a leaslet was distributed publicly by the Right wing group endorsing the Left wing candidate. Was this also part of the deal? The cloakmakers knew all along that the "Rights" had endorsed the "Left" slate. There was no mystery about this such as Cannon's article attempts to create. Does Cannon believe the discredited Right wing endorsement through a leaslet would re-Certainly not, one would have to be dull Opposition under the leadership of comand stupid to believe this! Manifestly, rade Trotsky will all the ills—all the instructed to assemble in the different this was an attempt on the part of the splits and groupings—vanish and the sections and join the marches to Bridge bloc and infamous Schlesinger group to Communist forces once more united Square, to take an active part in the swing votes to the fake progressives. This is borne out by the bloc of the

on the "Company Union and slogan of "Unity" are absolutely correct and valid. I can only conclude that comrade Cannon was misinformed by a few overzealous Left Oppositionists. I hope to see this letter appear in the columns of He is local grievance man for his Lodge The Militant as a sign of good faith on the part of the Editorial Board of The Militant.

Yours for Unity in the Class Struggle, -A. BOJARSKY. (Reply to comrade Bojarsky's criticism appears on page 4.--Ed.)

The Bureaucrats Act against 8—, 1— and other progressive mind. the literature from them and trampled Oppositionist on Waterfront country with the view of building up ensued, reinforcements were called by

When that old fogy, Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union. back in 1921, threw out members of the workers more responsible to practical This display was the most violent act Union from the hall, after they had fought militantly on the picket line for over three months, because they exposed by Communists. the sell-out policy of his leadership, I thought that American seamen would never allow such a bureaucracy to grow again in their unions. But history seems

to repeat itself. When I stepped into the Marine Workers Industrial Union hall last Monday morning, as I have done almost daily up a local machinery for the holding for the past eight months, I was immediately accosted by half a dozen huskies road workers to break down craft isolaand ushered into the office for the purpose of identification concerning the together in big meetings and there to author of an article that appeared in take up some of the most burning ques-The Militant of February 2, which dealt tions for discussion and treatment. This with general conditions on the water-

After some fruitless efforts at questioning and record searching. I went hack into the hall and was there immediately surrounded by Hudson, secretary do-nothing policy. of the union, and his Chinovniks, some of The Militant!'

ing, replied by shouting: "See this-here is your hearing".

would have been damaged in the scuffle the bureaucracy.

this same Hudson that American sea- 24th. men are "relatively better off than the other workers", that they have not felt May Day in Minneapolis the effects of the crisis and that their wages have not been cut generally. The ism-self and otherwise-from the memthe apparatus.

a ruse of the official leadership, the will easily reach 10,000. average rank and filer will object: that is the correct line of the party and the union—the line laid down by Lenin. But let a member from the floor arise and attempt genuine discussion. Instantly he finds himself jeered and made uncomfortable. The bureaucrats appear to want only yes-men.

The sincere worker and honest critic and expressed their disagreement with correct and has in some respects already been effective in the activities of the union. The delegates to the Soviet Union are no longer selected as formerly, but under pressure from the rank and file, are now being elected from among the membership. The article of Hudson we quoted has been condemned and likewise the splitting tactics of the functionaries.

It is a common truth that everything that is good and healthy in the Soviet Union can be traced back to the program of the Left Opposition. This is also true on every smaller battlefront. The Opposition has to show the way, in spite of the attempts of the bureaucrats to discredit it.

The bureaucracy of the M. W. I. U. has its roots not only in the National from the party leadership and were there-Office or in the party. They can be fore prepared. After being rudely extracked down through the R. I. L. U. to cluded from the meetings of the committhe very doorsteps of Stalin. The mani- tee on agreements, our comrades and festations of new life in the Marine friends proceeded, under instructions Union are certainly heartening. But from the League, collectively and as inthey are only temporary and we cannot dividuals, to work for the success of hope for any real change of policies un- the demonstration. The League issued til the Left Opposition is readmitted into a special leaflet calling upon the workers the Comintern and the Russian party. to turn out for May Day and support Only with the readmission of the Left the central demonstration. Our comagainst the capitalist class and it

-PAUL SCHWALBE.

Right and Center in Local 1 and a separate Right wing slate in Local 22. The arate Right wing state in Local 22. The bloc between these two "opposing" camps | From a Railroad Worker

in the recent Dress Strike betrayal is additional evidence, if more is needed. Dear Comrade:

Otherwise comrade Cannon's remarks I wrote to the railroad worker L- at Kansas City. I also wrote a similar our conduct in the meeting further exletter to a railroad fireman at Everett, pose them and decided to provoke trou-Wash. L- is a locomotive engineer ble at any cost. This took the form, in on the Kansam City Terminal Ry., and the march up Nicollet Ave., of an ata member of Division No. 824, B. of L. E. The brother at Everett is, Sat that point on the Great Northern Rail way, Cascade Division. I ran a locomotive on that Division in the summer of 1907. I was a visiting member of called upon the workers to join the debrother S-'s Lodge several times that monstration. Several of the party worksummer. The Lodge is No. 501. I sent er guards, acting no doubt, under the brother S- a Six months sub. for mistaken idea that they were doing their The Militant. I am working on both duty, grappled with these comrades, tore ed railroad workers throughout the it under foot. During the scuffle that a minority Left wing, on a National one of the lesser burocrats, who jeered scale, inside of the Railroad Unions upon as our comrades were overpowered and a program of definite proposals. Economic development has already made the receiving a bad cut over the right eye. proposals and slogans, even if they in of the day, by the Party workers but stinctively know that they are proposed

> On Sunday, April 24th, C. R. Hedlund attended a Union meeting of all Twin City Lodges of Locomotive Firemen. This meeting was the culmination of several impressive numbers. The task that had months efforts on the part of the Left been assigned them was, to prevent the wing locally under Communist guidance. We are working on the idea of setting grounds with literature of any kind on ist League (Opposition) understand this of periodical Union meetings of all railtion and permit the R. R. wokers to get will give the Left wing the opportunity same demands upon the very worker to furnish the rank and file with program guards who carried out this task. The and leadership, and it will also give us an opportunity to expose the bankruptcy with threats and with slugging. of the Brotherhood bureaucrats and their

Although all Firemens' official meetwhom smelled strongly of bootleg liquor ings are supposed to be strictly secret means, but we know that it is our duty All of them crowded around me with in. and admission is only gained by sub to bring to the attention of the worker sulting remarks. When a certain Gal mission of secret password and grip, Communists, the false attitude forced laghan pointed me out as the writer of C. R. Hedlund was not only admitted to upon them by the doubly false and badly the article, Hudson thundered, shaking address themeeting but was invited to frightened leadership. Only terrified his fist under my nose: "Get the hell out remain until its close and was also per- burocrats could issue this kind of inof this hall or we'll throw you out. You mitted to participate in the discussion. structions or condone such actions in . . . dare write articles about me in He spoke to the meeting on the role the ranks of the party of Lenin. the two administrations of the B. of L. | Communism made gains in Minnea-

E. and the B. of L. F. & E. were playing in trying to keep him and other militants from joining the ranks of our organized brothers. I also stressed the vital necessity of amalgamating these small and helpless 21 railroad crafts; on I protested that I am still a member paying labor officials union wages and of the union, and that if I have done not a thousand dollars per month when anything wrong, I have a right to get one half of the union membership was an open hearing before the membership. out of work of any kind; and for us Hudson, again swinging his fist, threaten- full-time workers to divide the work with those brothers who have been laid off until such time that we can mobilize a In due respect to the property and the movement to secure a six hour day: He office equipment of the union, which also urged the necessity of providing for Union meetings of all R. R. workers. had the provocateurs succeeded in start All of it was enthusiastically received. ing it, I left the hall, calling to the at | He was then successful in getting the tention of the comrades the actions of B. of L. E. members invited also to their next Union meeting which will question criticized the point of view of of the Firemen on the evening of May

(Continued from page 1) official party has often encouraged critic. thought out. The sections in the various parts of the city and along the line of meetings, the secretary reporting exceland limitations are established by the Grounds, were adequately and effectively few bureaucrats who are in control of directed. If those workers who followed the marchers along the sidewalks are If anyone were to say that all this taken into consideration, the numbers 'encouragement" of criticism is merely participating in the meeting and march joys a good circulation in Cleveland. The

Literally hundreds of placards and banners of revolutionary significance were carried by the marchers. Communist party banners almost without exception. Communist literature was the only kind on sale, Communist buttons and tags calling for a struggle against imperialist war, were everywhere in evidence. It was, beyond the slightest poshas to fight his way. He is almost cer-sibility of a doubt the official party's demonstration.

Merely to say that the Party led the demonstration would be to ignore the real attitude of the party leadership. The party really dominated this May Day, from the first propaganda letter to the last word from the platform on the Parade Grounds. This was done by the simple expedient of mechanical exclusion of all workers and organizations who were even suspected of harboring any difference on any political question. During the weeks just before May Day, after the call had been issued. The Communist League (Left Opposition) on several occasions sent representatives and delegates to the meettings which were called "united front" meetings. In each case, our comrades were denied admittance to the hall and refused all opportunity for work within the "united front".

Now it must be clearly understood by the workers who read this article, that the Communist League and most of its friends, knew beforehand what to expect meeting and to assist in every way possible in making the main march, a militant and impressive event.

Our loyal and effective work for the success of the May Day meeting most effectively branded as lies, the vicious tales circulated by the party leadership. They were, of course, not content to let tack upon three of our comrades, who were in their places in the column.

These comrades, M. and G. Dunne and Louis Roseland were conducting themselves as Communists should, they were carrying Communist literature which Roseland was slugged about the head. by no means the most alarming manifestation of non-Communist attitude towards workers.

At the entrance to the Parade Grounds, worker guards had been stationed in manded that our comrades keep silent, part in these achievements. not to discuss with the workers. The dmeand was "No Communist leaflets, no talking at this "united front" meeting".

Only a few short weeks ago, right here in Minneapolis, the police made the bosses' cops backed up the demands also

It is not our purpose to intimate, in any way, that the worker guards are in league with the police. Not by any

:-: ORGANIZATION NOTES :-:

yet to the point of taking advantage of good contacts.

the opportunities available.

With but one exception every branch increased its membership during the York, Minneapolis and St. Louis. Jewish Gleisser and others. This branch underits inception. It held weekly open forum tive American workers in the main. But the branch has taken up work also in other fields. It has organized a Jewish workers club and Unser Kamf now ennew branch in Youngstown is numerically smaller and therefore has had to contend itself with more modest activities In the main the comrades there have conducted individual propaganda, making some very valuable contacts and extended the Militant circulation. From our new branch in Newark, N. J. we have already carried several reports which give testimony to its substantial activities.

Regular open forums have been conducted during the winter months by the branches of New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis and for a while in Kan- yet succeeded in setting up barriers to of one of the volumes of pamphlets. sas City. The St. Louis branch, despite our participation in "United Front" ac- "Strategy of the World Revolution is the its small numbers, made particular en- tivities. But in regard to this we can second part of this criticism. excellent meetings were held and a gen- are being broken through. eral good attendance came to the forum As a result new members have now been taken into the ranks. In St. Louis the

Spartacus Youth Clubs have been or- yours before they are all gone. ganized so far by the branches of New term in prison for their revolutionary at 50c. activities. Both comrades will, however, be released by May 17th and can thus soon be welcomed back into the active our list of publications, printed elseranks, agair. strengthening the Philadel- where in The Militant, will be bound into phia branch and the Left Opposition as one volume and sell for \$2 a copy. We

their place in the ranks of the general order at once, enclosing payment. working class struggle and given an account with credit to themselves. It is But the obstacles in the way are mainly in many instances the party bureaucrats you with the price toward the purchase ergetic efforts in this respect. Some very also affirm that these walls of isolation

futable proof of this. At the onslaught shipment within two weeks. Paper cover, by the reactionary authorities upon the \$1. Cloth bound, \$1.50. Send your official Communist Party, our branch order now as we need funds to rush out took its position, after some hesitation the book on Germany immediately after as to how to proceed, squarely for the this book. party defense. It made valuable contributions for effective united front organization of the defense. So much so that its co-operation became quite generally accepted-at least without any open bureaucratic hostility. Our members were from their purchases of our publications in the thick of the defense work and thus able to demonstrate in actual practice our readiness for a united fight for the ford to have a certificate now are strongly Communist principles. That practical example helped to further the prestige to extend our publishing work, to include and strengthen the sympathetic contacts all the Marxian classics. If you have for the Left Opposition. It is to be ex- already purchased one of these certipected that the Toronto branch will now go forward to new growth.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

The Spanish Revolution

The Spanish Revolution which began a year ago is not yet completed. Things From time to time we have in these Communist movement has never been are happening in Spain, and the reformcolumns emphasized the activities of in- numerically strong, which first of all ac- ists of all description are retarding the dividual branches. Naturally in this re- counts for the smallness of the Left Op- forward movement of the proletariat. spect the bigger and better established position. Yet our members from the be- Only a correct Communist policy can lead ones can show a better record, but that ginning led in important activities in the Spanish workers and exploited farmis only a quantitative difference. A review the city, particularly in unemployment ers to full emancipation from the capiof the work accomplished during the win- demonstrations. After that it suffered talist yoke. Read what Trotsky has to ter months, which are now about coming a relapse and disappeared for a while say in his two pamphlets "The Spanish to a close, would affirm our contention but became reorganized again and is now Revolution", 10c; and "The Spanish Revof steady but slow growth, though not going forward. It has now many new olution In Danger", 15c. We have only 60 copies left of the first pamphlet. Get

Germany

To fully understand the events as they Readers will recall that the article in take place in the Lodge Hall of No. 814 winter. Three new branches were added. workers clubs have been organized in are shaping themselves in Germany at They have so far shown up well. In New York and Cleveland. Study classes present, every militant worker should Cleveland we have as members among have been conducted this winter by the read "Germany, the Key to the Internaothers the very early Left Oppositionists branches of New York, Chicago, Minnea- tional Situation" a small Ten Cent pamsuch as John Brahtin, Joe Keller, Leo polis, Philadelphia and for a while in phlet. Trotsky has written a new book Boston. While the Philadelphia branch on the subject, supplementing thistook extensive propaganda activities from has gained new members it has lately "What Next?-Vital Questions for the suffered under the handicap of two of German Proletariat." We expect to go its most active and leading comrades to press with this book in a month. It bership. But it seems that standards march up Nicollet Ave. to the Parade lent audiences usually composed of na- Morgenstern and Goodman serving a will consist of about 200 pages and sell

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comrades of Trotsky from entering the polis on May Day. We of the Communtheir persons. Further, the guards de- The League comrades are proud of their

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Martin Abern

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Make Our Press Drive a Success!

We go to press in the middle of the second week of the final month of the press drive. We are therefore temporarily unable to comment on the results of the collections. This we will do next

wherever we distributed free.

Rockford, Ill., "Although the times are will. very hard and I have been unemployed Sixteen subs were reported last week for a whole year now, I would not miss bringing the total for the entire drive up one single copy of The Militant. So I to 203. Eight of these were brought in went out and loaned a dollar from a by the New York branch tightening its close friend of mine in order to put up hold on first place. Minneapolis will my sub. I will try to take advantage of have to step on it if they want to regain the sub drive and see if I can't earn me their lost honors. The standing of the a copy of Trotsky's WHAT NEXT? and branches now is: New York—79; Minneaat the same time stabilize the circulation polis—65; Chicago—12; Newark—4; of The Militant here in Rockford." Go Boston-4; Youngstown-4; Kansas City to it, comrade!

The quotas and results to date are as

	Quotas	Results
New York	\$ 325	\$ 63.00
Minneapolis	200	29.50
hicago	100	3.00
oronto	70	
Philadelphia	40	
leveland	40	
Boston	40	
Vewark	35	2.50
Kansas City	30	2.00
St. Louis	25	
los Angeles	20	4.00
oungstown	10	
Vew Haven	10.	
Montreal	10	
Ouluth	10	
Springfield, Ill	10	

W. Frankfort, Ill.. Trenton 10 Miscellaneous 8.50 Total \$1,000 112.50

We are still a long way from the The results of distribution week are goal but with our heavy hitting branches full of interest. For example, comrade girding their loins for another assault Milton of the New York branch went outlion the quotas we should be well on our to Union Square with a bundle of three way to success by this time next week. hundred copies of recent back numbers If past performances mean anything then of The Militant. By announcing "Com- comrade Coover's report is an augury of munism or Fascism in Germany by Leon success. He says: "The comrades have Trotsky" in a loud voice, he disposed of decided on a tag day with distribution all he had in about fifteen minutes. An and sale of papers for next Sunday hour later he repeated. It was the same (May 14) in Minneapolis and, tentatively, on a tag day for St. Paul a week Because of the free distributions the from Sunday to introduce Unser Kamf results fell off a little. We are confid- and Young Spartacus. In the meantime ent that next week we will more than the comrades are to solicit supporters make up for this slight lull. Our sym- and sympathizers for contributions as pathizers are still responding with ex- well as subs, renewals, etc., and we are cellent spirit. A comrade writes from out to get results." We believe they

> -2; Miscellaneous-30; St. Louis, Montreal and Philadelphia remain where they were at one each. We call attention to the appearance in the standing, for the first time, of Kansas City. Keep it up. K. C.!

For the remaining weeks of the drive all emphasis must be placed on the financial end of it. Remember that the life of the weekly Militant depends directly upon the success of the drive. No effort must be spared. Money must be raised. Wherever there is a dollar it must be pried loose from its owner. All sympathizers should be canvassed for donations. Sympathizers should not wait to be canvassed. They should respond at once. No amount is too large, no amount is too small. Everybody do what he can! Let us insure the regular appearance of the weekly MILITANT.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Int. Right Wing on Verge of Disruption

Leader of Czech Group Protest Brandler-Thalheimer Slanders Against Trotsky

We are bringing below a letter sent by Alois Neurath, one of the chiefs of the Brandler Right wing in Czechoslovakia, to his Berlin friends. The whole spirit of this document is indicative of the ferment that is taking place in the Right wing International. Faced with serious tests of Communist struggle, the fungus growth of Brandlerism is rapidly disintegrating. The splitting away of the Walcher-Froelich group in Germany, the decomposition of the Right wing in Czechoslovakia and Austria have caused a panic among the summits of the Brandler organization. Brandler has sent out a heart-rending appeal for an international meet of the stress on the extraordinary importance of the American Lovestone group participating in it. What will Brandler do when he discovers that his American bulwark is also breaking up and capitulating to the Stalinists? That is not very hard to guess . . . The internal situation in the camp of world Communism is clearing up. The collapse of the Right wing will only permit the voice of the Left Opposition to be heard all the more strongly by all the worker Commun-

Prague, March 28, 1932

To comrades Brandler and

Thalhelmer: Dear Comrades:

In the last number of the Arpo (Arbeiterpolitik-the Berlin organ of the Brandlerites) you publish, under the heading "Trotsky as the guardian saint of the S. A. P." a calumniation of Trotsky. That is nothing new. Trotsky has closer by artificial slogans, such as the of national reformism. been slandered and calumniated by the slogan of Self Determination. We must Arpo for months. You have never even minimize the desires of the Negro Pettyattempted to take an objective position moveover, avoided taking such a position proletarian interest of the Negro who is, as long as the opposition which has been grouped about you internationally, ex- geois ideology. National minorities must ists. More than two years ago, at the be won as allies to the proletariat, if international conference in Berlin, we decided at that time to carry on this dis- winning them as allies we do not apcussion in the Inkopp (international dis- proach the workers of this nationality cussion bulletin of the Right wing). group, no other section of the internation in the Trotsky question.

These facts and the results of your necessary the convocation of an internecessary the convocation of an inter-national conference. The question of We want allies, but not on the basis of has been the case in the past. Blood the decision with regard to the minority concessions and compromises on prin-(Walcher-Froelich) was, as I said in my ciples. But the Negro proletarian is no brief salutatory address, not simply a Negro ally—he is a worker. The crop-German affair, but a concern of the in-ternational opposition. After your na-Negro industrial and concerns affair, but a concern of the in-be won as such. But in this relation the Negro industrial and concerns no such and suc ternational opposition. After your national conference, there still remained the hope that you will make up for lost the hope that you will make up for lost time by putting this question up for A compromise on principle means that discussion before an international confer- the "allies" have captured the proletarence. The convocation of an internation liat. The program of the Communists ence. The convocation of an internation lat. The program of the open opinion that Hitler should be all conference, in so far as I know, has (Marxists) is the only one possible for bourgeois revolution take its course debeen demanded by all groups of the op- the American Negro for social, political velop its industries (nationalism), and position. It has become urgently neces- and economic equality and freedom. The then we will win it over. Stalinism sary not only on account of the position road is the road of class struggle, not toward Trotsky and the German minor- that of "preparation stages"-self deterity, but also and particularly on account mination, democratic dictatorship of the of your evaluation of the C. I. policy Proletariat and Peasantry, four class as well as that of the Russian section party, workers and peasant parties, in the C. I. Your thesis, that the C. I. peoples revolution, etc.—which give the But we will answer: The slogan of Self against reactionary ideological carrypolicy in the entire world is false, but petty-bourgeois Negroes organizational inside of the U. S. S R, correct, would and political control. Preparation stages most certainly not be approved at an in- in struggles are necessary, but not comternational conference. In this sense promises on principle, passed off as pre-I spoke at our National Conference in paration stages. Asch. We were prepared to wait for We must consider slogans and tacthe international conference, to clear up tics for the race form of the class strugall the disputed, fundamental questions gle. This is essential in order to dethere. You are not thinking of calling feat the bosses' policy of divide and an international conference. Without rule. Slogans and tactics against the any regard for the views of the comrades legal and extra-legal discrimination and in the other countries, you hold firmly lynch laws are the order of the day. A to the thesis that whatever is being done will to fight the battles of the Negro by the C. I. in the S. U. is correct,t hat masses, as the party has already de-

is false—in the Arpo and in Gegen den this question.' Strom. Naturally, you have the right of the various foreign groups has resulted given up their organizational independin an international opposition, the impression must not be given, as long as no discussion has taken place, that your position is in accord with that of the other groups. That is by no means the

How unsufferable this condition has become, may be seen, among other things, from the position you take toward Trotsky. In the article cited above, you re-

dependent and active policy necessary, we interpret the position of Walcher- entirety contradict the Leninist funda- tion. . . . Froelich correctly, on the basis of the mentals. When you returned from the as yet inadequate material we have at Soviet Union, you yourselves took that

. whatever it does in the rest of the world | hand, then it means a step forward in

This is what Trotsky writes, and at ence and gone over directly to the S. A. deceive the readers of the Arpo so manito the S. A. P.? These are just the in his great work, What Next? methods of the present C. I. and of the print part of Trotsky's work What Next papers of their sections. When, on the taken, he says that it means a step of the S A. P. an auxiliary troop for tation of the present tasks of the C. P. Russian factional struggle.

position. Only gradually you left this position. Since you could not and did not want to attain a firm position against Stalin's policies, disintegration has become the fate of the C. P. G. O. The international opposition cannot avoid this fate, if it will not decide to take the whole policy of the Comintern, the fortress confinement by the Reich's Court August 1931 are doubly appropriate: propagating this view in the name of that, at a time when he could not have mistakes of which have their roots in for so-called Literary High Treason.

it the duty of all oppositionists to draw P. Trotsky therefore emphasizes the in- the line, clearly and distinctly, before dependent policy of this group and ealls the criminally erroneous policy of the that a step forward. Why, then, do you C. I. Personally, I am completely in accord with the views Trotsky has exfestly? Why the manifest calumniation? pressed on Fascism, on the tasks of the Does Trotsky welcome their going over C. P. G. and particularly those contained

In my opinion, they contain the most astute analysis of the present situation You add there the remark "And with basis of such slanders, you come to the in Germany from the point of view of regard to the step Walcher-Froelich have conclusion that Walcher is creating out Marxism-Leninism, the clearest presen-Trotsky's Russian factional struggle, G. and the opposition, respectively. To You have, of course, read Trotsky's you overlook entirely and completely be honest, it is impossible to vacillate pamphlet quite thoroughly. You are that another conclusion must follow from between the fundamental views which therefore consciously calumniating, for this: Namely, that you want to make Trotsky develops and the present C. I. you know well that Trotsky did not only out of the C. P. G. O. (Brandler policy. Either the one or the other. write that, but the contrary, Trotsky group), but of the other opposition You have decided—that is perfectly clear writes: "The minority considers an in- groups, auxiliary troops for Stalin in the today—for Stalin, only you do not want to say so openly. The revolutionary that is directed not only against Rem- The opposition arose and could only working class will decide—the longer it mele, but against the course and the exist in the struggle against Stalin's na- takes, the more certain will be their deregime of the Stalin bureaucracy in the tional and international policies, since cision—for the fundamental views devel-U. S. S. R. and in the Comintern. If and in so far as these policies, in their oped by Trotsky. This my firm convic-

With Communist greetings, (Signed) NEURATH.

GERMAN SKETCHES

Lieutenant Scheringer

for Communists, the question cannot end

at a moment when at least 200,000 fol- letariat." lowers of the C. P. G. voted Fascist in the second ballot of the presidential elections. But Scheringer, whose pam- 10, anyone outside of East Reinickendorf, him in August 1931:

other recent national-Bolshevik proselyte in a membership meeting, to reject the -Ed.) regard the task of the Commun-blabber about the guilt of the members ist party very graciously as that of a for the defeats of the party and to bedirect conintuation of the Hohenzoliern gin to discuss the political mistakes of war. They are prepared-temporarily in the party leadership, particularly in the words-to accept the "people's revolu- question of the united front. That is tion", if it can serve them as a means why this unfortunate comrade Pruegel of mobilizing the workers for their 'rev- serves the bureaucrat Ulbricht, the olutionary' war."

-said on April 8, 1932 before court:

his white brother requires special con- tion was the point of departure that led lished documents on this affair). The sideration from the revolutionary party, to my development toward Communism. bureaucracy is pouncing on these nameeven though, economically, he is a work- As long as the working class is oppressed less functionaries with a mixed feeling by the capitalists of Germany itself, a of hatred and fear. They want to up-

laboring people a fatherland and this finds leaders with names. These decisions remained paper decisions remained paper decisions, although, aside from the Austrian ers as workers. We know the bourgeois of ours. The problem is complicated form in the political sense. Stalinism social liberation can be attained only by the revolutionary working class under doubly exploited racial minority, and re- the leadership of the Communist party. less appearance. Internally, the disingardless of the argument on nationalism, That is also the way by which we shall tegration has reached an extraordinary come to national liberation."

> enemy is in our own country" are given this variation by Scheringer: "Our enemy taken the form of numbers in the 200,000 Let us consider it in this light for a is not in Russia, but in the capitalist voters who went over from Thaelmann

> > Scheringer who came to the party, but

includes within it the solution of the geois elements on the basis of national cision"—all these are enough alarm double exploitation of the Negro masses. reformism. But we don't want the Negro signals. As for the Negro bourgeoisie, the Negro petty-bourgeoisie as allies on that basis. tells us that we must move the American and white workers will take care of them The Negro worker, industrial and agri- gels, if we take Pruegel as an example, just as they will take care of the white cultural, is not even in this problem, be- to throw off their reservedness. Already cause we do not use a slogan of self five units in Berlin-Charlottenburg have Determination. Of course Stalinism will will solve this problem, even though determination for workers. We win them adopted a resolution against social Fascas workers, even though different racial ism with a crushing majority. The and sectional (youth and women, etc.) workers' Opposition is beginning to bear tactics are necessary.

> -HUGO OEHLER. The above is a discussion article. The views expressed are those of the author. Others will follow on the same subject.-Ed.

the party who came to Scheringer. To-These days, the former Reichswehr day, when the fruits of this fatal devela critical position toward the internal lieutenant, Scheringer, was sentenced to opment are already becoming visible, policy of the C. P. S. U. as well as to an additional two and a half years of the warning words of L. D. Trotsky in

"The party may, of course, utilize even your group. But since the unification of known that Walcher and Froelich had the erroneous policy of the C. P. S. U. This is a purely arbitary act, an act of such individual metamorphoses as a Precisely the events in Germany make revenge on the part of the bourgeoisie means of disintegrating the camp of the against an outsider who is striving to- Fascists. The crime of the Stalinist ward Communism. It is an act that de-bureaucracy-yes, the direct crimemands the sharpest protest from all pro- consists in this: that it declares its letarians, one that casts ample light on solidarity with these elements, that it brutal class justice in Germany. But identifies the voice of the party with their voices, that it renounces the exthere. For, it is also a question of posures of their nationalist and milliideological struggle against all those who tarist tendencies, that it transforms the wipe out the boundaries between Fasc- thoroughly petty bourgeois, reactionaryism and Communism and it has become utopian and chauvinist pamphlet of a vital question for the Communist party | Scheringer into a new bible of the pro-

Comrade Pruegel. It is hard to assume that before April

phlets have been far more spread as a working class district of Berlin, ever texts for the younger generation of the heard of comrade Pruegel, and it is C. P. G. than the Communist Manifesto, hard to assume that he will play a is the ideological pioneer of this devel- very great role in the future. He is one opment. Scheringer is not even today of those hundreds of small functionaries, a Communist, but a National-Bolshevik who, after five years of graveyard sil-L. Trotsky wrote very correctly about ence in the party, has dared in an unclear, timid but nevertheless distinct "Scheringer and Stenbeck-Fermor (an- voice to get up against the bureaucrats "leader of the Berlin proletariat", as Three months ago, at a public meet- scapegoat to the extent of a whole page ing in Berlin, in which the present in the Rote Fahne of April 10. The burwriter was the speaker, Count Stenbock- eaucracy is beginning to feel the ground Fermor raised a hue and cry about tremble under their feet. They are Negro worker will take his place as an Trotsky's "calumniation" of Scheringer, faced with an elementary unrest which equal with the white worker. Where the But for a clarification of the actual led to such outbreaks at the Berlin party ed from a State or Nation in Africa with Negroes are the majoriy (parts of South, state of affairs, it is sufficient to quote workers conference after the first ballot etc.), this majority will dominate the what Scheringer—whom we cannot deny in the recent presidential elections, that a clear, firm and incorruptible character the conference had to be adjourned and the next one packed with especially pick-"For me the desire of national libera- ed people. (Permanente Revolution pubroot the germs, they want to crush these "Only social liberation will give the nameless objectors before the Opposition

Externally, the party shows, despite the heavy defeats, as yet a firm and feardegree. The spirit of ideological and The words of Karl Liebknecht: "Our actual capitulation, raised on the garbage heap of the "national program", has to Hitler in the run-off elections. In the ocratic workers, the anxious and almost sympathetic reading of the Nazi press, the open opinion that Hitler should be

All this will, however, force the Pruefruit. We greet those nameless fighters who no longer fear the filthy attacks of the bureaucracy. Only in their struggle lies the guarantee for the salvation of the party and for victory.

-E. BAUER.

The Negro and the Class Struggle

(Continued from last issue) But the solution cannot be brought us not step backward into the swamp Bourgeoisie and enlarge the form of the opportunism. We approach these workelement of the national minorities untional opposition approved of your posi- der Czarism were no better and often worse than the dominating bourgeoisie against the workers. Likewise the Negro latest national conference have made bourgeois elements have already proven

monstrated, is a big step forward. Let | ward sections.

The Negro of America was not snatchnational aspirations and ideologies. Neither has America given the Negro as a Soviets. Negro the material base for nationalism as such. The class struggle of the Negro is not cloaked in a national form (complicated with the national bourgeois influence) that calls for the slogan of self determination at special stages and under Negro bourgeoisie elements are no ally enough without adding the national complex to it, which in this case can only result in national reformism.

The racial form of social conflicts has development from primitive Communism

The Socialist tells us in substance, that Negro into the feeling of national consciousness through the slogan of Self say, "No, not national consciousness". does not have a material base for such has even less logic than the socialist of the Negroes, but of the whites. position. At least, these non-Marxists speak of a material base for bourgeois of winning the Negro masses today for

When the proletariat takes power, the The Negro worker and farmer, being

even more suppressed and exploited than er or dirt farmer. This double exploitaspecial conditions in the struggle. It is tion and class suppression is carried out national liberation is impossible. or race as such. This would be national cloaked in the race form. The American through the race form of the class struggle, which does not include the national says, because the Negro constitutes a it is proper to present the slogan of taken the national form where the racial Self Determination for oppressed racial group obtained an economic unit. This minorities as well as national minor-

> moment, in spite of the arguments al- West". italism in the South, which means the overthrow of American imperialism as the workers must not seize power in such. Is this transition step needed exploiters. The Soviets of the South special efforts will have to be leveled Determination for a racial group that overs. But the main struggle against the reactionary ideology is not a problem

But how about the slogan as a means power, in one form or the other, in back- the proletarian revolution? Yes, the

Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

The German Revolution of 1923 and the «Lessons of October»

(Continued from last issue) In 1917, the main leaders of the Bolthe bourgeois republic "from the Left", and for the continuation of a "revolutionional government. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Nogin, Lunatcharsky, Losovsky, them-like Zinoviev and Kamenev-ad-Bolshevik seizure of power, that Lenin, to; those that refused, were systematithem as "strike-breakers and deserters". Trotsky's recollection of these facts and effects, opened up a new campaign beaten and blackjacked into a condemnaagainst "Trotskyism", in which, as had tion of "The Lessons of October" withalready become customary, the real issues out ever having read it! The obscure treacherously converted by Zinoviev-Stal-

against the Opposition and its leader.

sheviks, before and after Lenin's ar- campaign was conducted on an interna- a routine system. . . . rival from Switzerland, had adopted any-tional scale. Letters and telegraphic of the Russian Central Committee en-Yaroslavsky, Molotov, Tomsky-all of dorsed. Everywhere the wheels were set insurrection or in favor of a Menshevik- resolutions without discussion or underin every party who were ready to conopted such a position, even after the demn or endorse whatever they were told who had worked together with them for cally undermined, attacked and harrassed decades, did not hesitate to deounce until their places were taken by obedient apparatus servants.

In the United States, more characterhis explanation of them, their causes and istically, the party membership was browobjectively raised by Trotsky were de- "Inprecorr" containing the document was liberately concealed or smothered under never sent here. The work was publishby the bureaucracy. What might have ed only long afterwards in England, by been a brightly illuminated campaign of a non-Communist, and although perhaps instruction and enlightenment for the one or two people out of a million in international Communist movements on this country have ever read it, the Amthe art and problems of insurrection was erican party was nevertheless one of the first to rush to the assistance of the in-and-Co. into a lynching campaign Comintern bureaucracy with a sharp condemnation of the "Trotskyist attack upon in 1923 they played the same role in the 2nd Ave., and 9th St.

the characteristic manner in which the cedure has been raised to the level of as they sought to play in the Russian

thing but a revolutionary position. Kam- commands were dispatched by Zinoviev we mentioned, to make Brandler the of Lenin and Trotsky. enev and Stalin had been for supporting through the Comintern apparatus to scapegoat for the whole defeat. This atthe Central Committees of all the na- tempt was resisted by Trotsky, who knew plus the crushing of the September 1923 tional Communist parties with the de- the real source of the catastrophic pol- insurrection in Bulgaria and the Esthonary war" in defense . . . of the Provis- mand that Trotsky's "Lessons of Octo- icy pursued. Because he opposed the ian putsch of 1924, marked a sharp turn ber" be repudiated and the "Old Guard" policy of finding scapegoats, the legend in the history of the Communist Interwas thereupon circulated that Trotsky national. It not only opened up the was a defender of the German party epoch of "bourgeois stabilization" in them were either opposed to the October into motion for the routine of adopting leaders. There is not and never was the Europe and the ebbing of the revolutionfaintest sign of truth in the legend. Not ary high-tide, but inaugurated a period Bolshevik coalition government. Some of standing. Petty bureaucrats were found only did Brandler and Thalheimer of reaction in the Soviet republic and the promptly join Zinoviev and Co. with a unternational. Above all, it was the obcondemnation of "The Lessons of Octo- jective cause for the introduction and ber" (they were among the first, as a the triumph of the reactionary theory of matter of fact!), but it was later proved "socialism in one country". It is with by documentary evidence that it was this question, and with the Fifth Con-Stalin and Zinoviev who not merely de- gress—the first non-Leninist gathering—

> In 1926, after Zinoviev had broken with Stalin, he made public a letter which Stalin had written to him and Bucharin SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB NOTICE on the eve of the German defeat. The letter gives us the measure of the man, trous political course, his ineradicable meet Friday evenings, 8:00 P. M. at his limited, myopic outlook, his disasco-responsibility for the calamity in Ger-Stuyvesant Casino. This will enable

It is interesting to note, in passing, the Old Guard". Since then such a pro- German revolution, with fatal results, revolution of 1917 but were prevented The attempt was subsequently made, as from playing by the sharp intervention

> The defeat of the German revolution, fended Brandler but have been the ones of the International, that we shall deal mainly responsible for the German policy in the next article.

-MAX SHACHTMAN.

The Spartacus Youth Club has changed the night of its meeting. It will now many and its subsequent consequences: | many comrades to attend who could not The confidential archives of most of do so when the club met on Sunday. The the other leaders would undoubtedly re- next meeting will take place Friday, veal similar documents to indicate that May 13, 8:00 P. M. at Stuyvesant Casino,

Now on the Press! Problems of the Chinese

Revolution by LEON TROTSKY

THE 1925-27 CHINESE REVOLUTION WAS ONE OF THE FIRST WORLD-IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENTS IN WHICH-TROTSKY'S OP-POSITION TO THE POLICY OF STALIN MANIFESTED ITSELF IN THE CONCRETE. IN THIS BOOK, QUOTATIONS FROM STALIN'S OWN WRITTEN WORDS AND SPEECHES ARE GIVEN AS WELL AS THOSE OF TROTSKY'S AND HIS SUPPORTERS.

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BRING THE UNITY NEGOTIA-

TIONS INTO THE OPEN!

(Continued from page 1) Since the position of the Left Opposition on the subject of Party unity, as on all other important issues, is founded on principle, a consistency in its expressions on the matter from time to time can be noted. From our first statement in regard to unity at the Plenum which confirmed our expulsion three and onehalf years ago, through the various occasions on which we again raised the question in timely communications to the Party until the present day, we have been guided by the example and teaching of our incomparable leaders, the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists. Just as they, in their platform and in all subsequent declarations, affirmed their desire to remain in the Party, and their willingness to defend their views by the normal processes of Party democracy and Party discipline, so we have always protested against our enforced separation from the Party. We never made any special demands that were not taken for granted and enjoyed by every party member in Lenin's time, and we do not take

first within the Party and afterward as ist and adventprist zig-zags of official of practical proposals for its realization. Centrism. These views, the correctness of which has been confirmed in every be transmitted to the Party within the case by the events of the class struggle, we still maintain. We have nothing Left Opposition without any conditions to repent and nothing to retract.

Unity for us cannot be the formula for a reconciliation with the treacherous duties or responsibilities whatever which policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy, but | are assigned to us by the Party. a condition for the more advantageous struggle against it. The rectification of immediately while the matter of formal the truly enormous errors and crimes not the least of which are the ruinous splits that have been imposed upon the Left Opposition in the class struggle acworkers' vanguard, will take place only tions, in the trade unions and other orin the course of the most relentless Bol- ganization and on every front where the shevik fight against the bureaucrats of shevik fight against the bureaucrats of pressure of the class enemy is heaviest. Stalinism, and will be finally assured. The Left Opposition will take its place only with their downfall. In order that in the front ranks of every struggle withthe workers who sincerely desire the unification of the Party may have no revolutionary qualities there now as it illusions as to its actual meaning, this has in the past. The Oppositionists are

workers who, abusing their good will, preach "unity" and capitulate the gen- the Party. eral sentiment for it without speaking of the principle causes of the demoralizing and splits. No better are those worthless intriguants who dicker over "unity" in a dark corner without even informing the workers what is going on, like commission merchants with so many head of livestock at their disposal. No, the first step toward a genuine unification of the Communist forces must be | tion, the Bolshevik-Leninists of Soviet a frank statement of the different positions and the present attitude towards them. All the wishes in the world will embraces the world. We do not seek a be transformed into an organ of the not bring unity for struggle in any other solution of the problem of unity on a class struggle. This insane policy could be for supremore the solution of the problem of unity on a class struggle. This insane policy could be for supremore the solution of the problem of unity on a class struggle.

differences must be settled beforehand to the American Party our first demand or that the platform of the Left Opposi- in free discussion will be: tion must be accepted as a condition for Reinstate the expelled oppositionists the theory which motivated it. As a reunity. We have never demanded that in Russia and all other sections of the sult there was a period during which the The demand of the Left Opposition is Comintern! Recall Trotsky from Confor Party democracy, as Lenin's party stantinople and Rakovsky from Siberia! group within the "company union" for defined and practiced it. A free and Release the thousands and tens of thoution whose delegates are fairly and hon- restore them to their rightful place in estly selected on the basis of the discus- the Party. That and only that will give you announce in advance your intention sion. A leadership freely elected by the a revolutionary, international substance membership and subject to its control. to the slogan of Communist Unity. The right of the minority to work in

the party and to advance its viewpoint a second, a third or a tenth time on proper occasion, within the limits of the party constitution. This is the way Lenin's party clarified its policies, corrected its errors, chose its leaders and

safeguarded its unity. Nobody has invented any other method and nobody can. The Stalinist substitute only succeeded in derailing the Party from the Marxist track, crushing the initiative of the membership and celebrating its "monolithic unity" with split after split. It is the horrible bank- est information is the prerequisite for ruptcy of this Stalinist substitute that compels the Party membership to think of unity again in terms of Leninism, and to seek a way for the inclusion of the Left Opposition.

There is no doubt that the present objective circumstances accentuate the harmful results of the splits and the consequent weakening of the Party before its class enemies. The sharpening of the class struggle at home, the increasingly heavy blows dealt to the militant workers by the entrenched reaction, the rumbling of impending revolutionary struggles abroad—all this gives a nowerful impulse to the sentiments for unity within the Party ranks. The Left Our chief concern, that transcends all Opposition, which has no special interother considerations, is the return of the ests separate from those of the class Party and the Comintern to the founda- and the vanguard, will do all in its power tion principles of Marxism. Since 1928, to strengthen this current and help it to realize its aims. From this point of an expelled group, we have advocated, view the last meeting of the National on all the important questions of the Committee of the Communist League deday, the Marxist line of the Internation- cided to approach the Party once again al Left Opposition against the opportun- with an appeal for unity and a series

> The first of these proposals, which will week, will ask the reinstatement of the except the rights of Party democracy, and with an undertaking to assume any

The second proposal, to be applied reinstatement remains pending, is that the Party accept the cooperation of the out exception and will demonstrate its must be said directly, openly and plainly. ready to prove by deeds their right to They are deceivers of the Communist work with the Party militants. They will prove by deeds their right to be in

> In the Party or temporarily outside of it, cooperating with the Party in united front struggles or denied the right to participate in them-whatever the circumstances of the moment, the Left Opposition will retain its principle positions, and above all its internationalism. We are united for life and death with the true inheritors of the October revolucause from theirs. If we are readmitted development

REPLY TO COMRADE BOJARSKY

A worker who apparently agrees in part with the trade union policy of the Communist League has criticized the article on the elections in Local 9 of the I. L. G. W. U. which appeared in the issue of April 16th. In order that his differences may be fairly presented, his letter is printed in full on the correswould have no hesitancy in acknowledging and correcting the error, since honintelligent and enlightening discussion. But a closer nvestigation of the matter, including the consultation of a number of informed workers in the needle trades. to whom comrade Bojarsky's letter was article was correct, in fact as well as in

inference. As a proof of the strength of the Left group in Local 9 comrade Bojarsky says it "was the first to defeat the \$3.75 tax tration." If the Left alone had fought this tax, and the other two groups-the Right as well as the "Progressive Bloc" -had defended it, then the defeat of the tax would indeed have been an indication of the strength of the Left. But this is not exactly so. The "Progressive Bloc" was also against the tax. and since this group controls the administration of the local, which in itself is a demonstration of its strength, it is manifestly wrong to conclude that the defeat of the tax showed the supremacy of the Left. We sympathize with the

"patriotic" loyalty to the Left which our correspondent shows. But we do not in the least help the cause of the Left by closing our eyes to realities and making exaggerated and easily refuted claims regarding its accomplishments.

Comrade Bojarsky also disputes our statement that the "Left wing group in the local came to life only recently and has played very little part in the life of the Local." Against that he says the group "has been in existence since 1930 and was incorporated into the officially tariat; this dictatorship is but the transi organized Left wing groups in March, tion to the abolition of all classes and 1931". Here again, in our opinion, the to the creation of a society of free and criticism is not a refutation. We did not equal." speak of the "existence" of the group, but of its "coming to life" and "playing expressions were used deliberately. After the practical elimination of the Industrial Union from this field the Left lowing from it, traced to its logical conwing workers in shops under control of clusion. Yet it skips none of its stages, the Schlesinger union were obliged to but clearly and decisively specifies the register again. Their eventual formation form of class rule of the proletariat durinto a group within the old union was ing the transition period, the period beinevitable. But they could not play a really effective part in the struggles within the union. And why? Because the policy of the Party and the official Left wing made it impossible.

First the Party and the Industrial Union declared the I. L. G. W. U. a 'company union" and forbade an organized struggle within it. (See the resolutions of the Industrial Union Convention.) Russia and the international organization It denounced as a "reformist illusion" of of the Bolshevik-Leninists which now the Trotskyites, the idea that it could without saying so, and without changing Left members were organized into a of breaking it up?

Party, while still muttering the "com- will be welcomed.

On the Anniversary of Marx's Birth

(Continued from last issue)

a disciple of Hegel. It is not our purpose here to attempt to take up the pondence page. The doubts we expressed Hegelian concept more than to say that about the genuineness of the victory of it represented one of the first serious and charlatans who claim adherence to scienthe Left wing in the Local 9 elections thorough endeavors to break with the tific Socialism but reject the Proletarare attributed by the writer of the let- philosophy of the past—particularly that ian Dictatorship—that is, under the guise ter, comrade Bojarsky, to misinformation of the middle ages—which conceived of the common phrase, "it might be alabout the conditions in this local and the of all things as fixed, constant and eterrelation of forces between the contending nal, and to formulate in its place a new groups. If that were really the case we logic in accordance with the universal process of evolution. The essence of this was the dialectic.

To Marx, the dialectic became the method of investigation of social and the Proletarian Dictatorship. There is economic phenomena. Through it he not a shred of the revolutionary in them. formulated his materialist conception of history, which belongs entirely to Marx, and Engels. But with that discovery he shown, has convinced us that our first also separated the dialectic method from the Hegelian mysticism and idealism. It became dialectic materialism. It revolutionized the science of history.

By the means of the materialist conception Marx was able really to explain proposed by the International Adminis- the course of history, not only in so far as it relates to the past, but also its future stages. That became possible because this conception proceeds from the basis of the economic conditions of each society. It holds that the relations of foundation for its social order, the superstructure, as well as for its division discover the existence of classes or the quered for itself, in the modern repre before him. But he added the contribution that its existence is bound up with, and is the result of certain phases of the essential contribution that the oppressed class today, the modern proletariat, in achieving its own emancipation must thereby liberate society as a whole from class divisions. Now this will be accomplished through its various stages Marx stated in precise formulation in his letter to Weidemeyer, written in 1852, in part it reads as follows:

. . the class struggle leads neces sarily to the Dictatorship of the Prole

There could be no clearer exposition of the materialist conception of history a part in the life of the Local". These than this statement. It pictures the results of the relations of production, and the social organization necessarily foltween capitalism and Communism and

...........

pany union" idiocy, gave directives for a dists and then by the Jacobins. Each more sensible participation of the Left advancing force needing the indispensgroup in the internal affairs of the Local. The fight against the tax was one sign "When each party, in turn, had conduct- duction . . . the productive forces develof this turn. The participation in the ed the revolution as far as it could or oping in the womb of bourgeois society recent elections was another. But there dared, and wanted to cry halt, it was create the material conditions for the is yet a long way to go. The correction pushed aside by the bolder spirits who solution of that antagonism. This soof the Left policy has only begun. A had hitherto supported it, and cleared cial formation constitutes, therefore, the radical change must yet take place, both away by the giullotine." But the prole closing chapter of the prehistoric stage in theory and practice, before the Left tariat, as Marx observed, had not yet of human society." national basis; we do not separate our not stand up under the test of the actual supremacy. To content that are national basis; we do not separate our not stand up under the test of the actual supremacy has already been demonstrated

Industrial Union are received we will

the economic transformation of the one Karl Marx in his early youth became into the other. Truly, with the discovery of the materialist conception of history Socialism became elevated to a science right for Russia, but not in America.' The truth about them is that they do not at all accept the essence of Marxism -the forceful overthrow of the capitalist system. They do not accept this sum and substance of all Marx's teachings-

Engels says of the Communist Manifesto, that, "the fundamental proposition, which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx." Here is traced, distinctly in the light of the materialist conception, the historical development which established the capitalist system, from the serfs of the middle ages to the burghers of the earliest towns; and next, to the first elements of the bourgeoisie. Shattering the feudal guild monopoly emerged the manufacturing system. steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry . . . Each step in the developproduction, of each given stage are the ment of the bourgeois was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of foundation for its legal and political that class . . . the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern into contending classes. Marx did not Industry and of the world market, conclass struggle. That was known long sentative State, exclusive political sway." the postulate that the class struggle is the material production. He added also the proletariat must elevate itself to beessentially a political struggle and that come the ruling class led to this goal by its revolutionary vanguard.

To this we shall here add further only by quoting the proposition: "In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new the products of distant lands and climes, In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations", Apparently forgotten, within leading circles of the Communist parties today, are these words. Apparently forgotten is also the conclusion which Marx drew of the social, the international character of the proletarian revolution. In its place has been substituted the theory of Socialism in One Country with disastrous consequences to the world Communist move ment.

Viewing the developments in the great French revolution in historical retro- statement of his materialist conception spect Marx noted its continuous upward progress. The rule of the Constitutionalists was followed by that of the Gironable support of the next succeeding one.

In the fateful evevts of 1848-50, and preceeding them, in the July days, 1830, in France as well as the large scale After the reports of the convention of strikes in England in 1842 and in Sile | night, May 21st, 8 P. M. at the home of the International and the Plenum of the sian weavers' insurrection in 1844, the the Ulrichson's 4627 Colfax Ave., No., proletariat had emerged as a distinct for the benefit of the Left Opposition return to this subject again. Meantime class but still remained an appendage of Press and as a send off for the N. E. C. both the Militant and the Unser Kamf the middle class parties. Marx noted comrades leaving for the Plenum. All the purpose of splitting away little sec- will be glad to print the opinions of the that these movements, inspired by Comopen discussion of the disputes within sands of Bolshevik-Leninists from the tions. This muddle-headed strategy also needle trades workers as to the facts munism on the continent and by Charthe framework of the Party. A onven- Stalinist prisons and exile camps and suffered a collapse. How can you build and the inferences to be drawn from tism in England could no longer be look- Spartacus are urgently invited to attend, a real fighting force within a union if them. How does the Left wing stand ed upon as chance pheomena, but were now and how can it regain its lost posi- an expression of the aspirations of an mised. Johnson, Curran and Miles Dunne tions? Letters on this theme, whether oppressed class. And, after the June have their heads together. Nuff said. Thus it was only recently, that the they coincide with our views or not, defeat in France of 1848, Marx could Bring your friends! -J. P. C. draw the conclusion for the proletariat

which groups itself "more and more around revolutionary Socialism, around Communism." . . . "This Socialism", he said, "is the declaration of permanent revolution, the establishment of the Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat as a necessary step towards the abolition of class distinctions in general, towards the abolition of all the conditions of production on which class distinctions depend, towards the abolition of all the social relations which depend on these conditions of production, towards the revolutionizing of all ideas which emanate from these social relations."

Once again we can add, that here we

have, on the basis of the concrete proletarian experiences, the materialist conception of history applied and set down with an indelible imprint for the future. The revolutionary events during Marx's life time closed with the Paris Commune. The proletariat had then reached a distinct independnt class position, though not yet, as Marx observed, a position of revolutionary maturity and preparation. It had not yet created its revolutionary party. Its heroic attempt to maintain a proletarian regime was circumvented essentially because of these weaknesses. And it was on this experience that Marx, in his address to the General Council of the International. made his masterful analysis, culminating in the terse statement: "But the working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready made state machinery and wield it for its own purpose." In these words are again forcefully reiterated the conclusions from the realistics of the material world. Today they serve as the proletarian revolutionary strategy.

Our task is today, clearer than ever, to proceed on the foundation of Marxism and to fully comprehend what Marx embodied in his thesis to Feuerbach: "Up to the present the philosophers have but interpreted the world; it is, however, necessary to change it."

We witness today the completion of the process of a dialectic cycle in human society. We have reached the last and final period of the capitalist epoch. The blood and tears in which the pages of the history of its birth were written is wants, requiring for their satisfaction again being shed at this stage of its violent decay and collapse. It is giving birth to a new and higher stage. The world is being changed. A glorious beginning was made by the proletarian revolution in Russia. In that we saw the theoretical system of Marx applied and brought to its first victorious conclusion. But in that we found also the closest approximation to the life long revolutionary friendship of Marx and Engels in the unshakable friendship and harmony of views, during 'he decisive revolutionary events, of Lenin and Trotsky.

The gigantic vision, the enormous and all embracing perspective unfolded in the closing paragraph of the concise of history which Marx embodied in his introduction to the "Critique of Political Economy", is about to be realized. It reads as follows: "The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of pro-

-ARNE SWABECK.

MINNEAPOLIS, ATTENTION!

ranged a JAMBOREE for Saturday comrades and sympathizers of The Mili-An unusually interesting program is pro-

THE COMMITTEE.

Stalinist Zig-zags on the Question of the «United Front»

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

is in reference to just such situations as the present leadership of monarchist officers. letarian class consciousness, of the revolutionary would be an act of gross stupidity. spirit, and of the capacity to fight and to win."

Day in and day out, it reiterates in its newspapers TILE DISEASE OF LEFTISM, "and to refuse beforehand So long as capital rules, Fascism and social democracy that the only United Front it will accept, "is the one to tack and veer in one's course and to make good use will exist in divers combinations. All the questions, directed against Bruening, Severing, Leipart, Hitler of the antagonism (no matter how temporary) in in- therefore, are reduced to the same denominator: the and their ilk." In the face of a proletarian uprising, terests between the enemies; to eschew agreements and proletariat must overthrow the bourgeois régime. there is no gainsaying it, there will be no difference compromises with possible (no matter how temporary, between Bruening, Severing, Leipart, and Hitler. vacillating and adventitious) allies—isn't that too many, Fascism steps forward in its support. To lay Against the October Bolshevik uprising, the S. R.'s funny for words?" Again we quote verbatim: the this supporter by the heels, we are told, it is first necand the mensheviks united with the Cadets and Korn-word we italicize in parentheses are Lenin's.

sacks of General Krasnov against Petrograd; the Everyone should read THE INFANTILE DISEASE OF mensheviks supported Kerensky and Krasnov; the S. LEFTISM; today it is the timeliest of timely books. It R.'s engineered the uprising of the junkers under the

batim—"the absolute necessity for the vanguard of Leipart and Hitler always and under all conditions your ears, prophets of the new Stalinist school: it be lulled; it must be convinced that the task of fighting the proletariat, for its class conscious section, for the belong to the same camp. Just now their interests Communist party to resort to tacking and veering in diverge. At the given moment the question that is derstand an iota of Marxism. It's you Lenin spoke solve itself; that Fascism in reality rules already; that posed before the social democracy is not so much one of. R. S. V. P. ferent proletarian groups, with different parties of of defending the foundations of capitalist society workers and of small proprietors. . . . The whole mat- against proletarian revolution as of defending the ter lies in being able to apply this tactic for the sake semi-parliamentarian bourgeois system against Fasc-sible. Is this true? In a certain sense it is. Yet the of raising and not lowering the common level of pro- ism. The refusal to make use of this antagonism

But what steps does the Communist party take? international bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote in THE INFAN- democracy are tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

more powerful enemy only by straining one's forces to as a herring. The only conceivable way out is in the tiny." But what are Thaelmann and Remmele under forces. Manuilsky's guidance doing? With might and main they are striving to cement—with the theory of so-shall 'first' liquidate the social democracy. How? cial Fascism and with the practice of sabotage against | Very simply, we shall order our party organizations the United Front, the rift—and what a rift—between to recruit 100,000 new members within such and such the social democracy and Fascism.

Lenin enjoined that use be made of "every opportunity to gain a mass ally, no matter how temporary, vacillating, unreliable, and adventitious Whoever hasn't been able to get that into his head-he saiddoesn't understand an iota of Marxism, and of con- and death question? Then the working class must one in Germany that Lenin speaks of—we quote ver—But this doesn't at all mean that Bruening, Severing, temporary scientific socialism, in general." Prick up be wheeled about with its back to the question; it must is written here in black and white that you don't un- against Fascism is a minor task; that it will wait and

But, the Stalinists refute, without a victory over the social democracy, victory over Fascism is imposconverse theorem is also true: without victory over Italian Fascism, victory over the Italian social dem-"To wage war for the purpose of overthrowing the ocracy is impossible. Both Fascism and the social it to its ultimate conclusion. On coming in contact

But just now, when this régime is tottering in Geressary to finish off the social democracy . . . Thus ilov; Kerensky led the Black Hundreds and the Cos- We quote further: "It is possible to vanquish a we are led into a vicious circle by schematism dead man Proletariat)

their utmost; and it is imperative that one make use, domain of action. And the character of this action most painstakingly, carefully, cautiously and expert- is determined not by juggling abstract categories but ly, of any "rift" between the enemies, no matter how by the real interrelations between the living historic

> "On, no!" the functionaries keep drumming, "we a period. Instead of political struggle-merely propaganda; instead of dialectic strategy-departmental plans. And what if the real development of the class struggle, at this very moment, has posed the question of Fascism before the working class, as a life Hitler will add nothing new; that there is no cause to fear Hitler; that Hitler will only clear the road for the Communists.

> Is that exaggerating, perhaps? No, this is the exact and indubitable idea that motivates the leaders of the Communist party. They do not always follow with the masses they recoil often from the ultimate conclusions; they make a hodge-podge of divers policies, confusing themselves and the workers; but on all those occasions when they try to make both ends meet, they proceed from the inevitability of the victory of Fascism.

-L. TROTSKY.

(To be Continued)

(From What Next?-Vital Questions for the Ger-