

Leon Trotsky Analyzes the Hitler Regime

(Continued from Page 1)

already occupied important commanding posts, the question inevitably arises. Is it not too late to call for a regrouping of forces in order to repel the enemy? But first we must answer here another question, what does "too late" mean in the given instance? Must this be understood to mean that even the boldest turn about face on the road of revolutionary policy is no longer capable of radically changing the correlation of hope of achieving the necessary turn? These are two different questions.

Is It Too Late to Act?

We have in effect given an answer to the first already in what was said above. Even under the most favorable conditions for Hitler, he requires a long number of months—and what critical months!—in order to establish the hegemony of Fascism. If one takes into consideration the sharpness of the economic and political situation, the ominous character of the danger the proletariat is right up against, the frightful alarm of the workers, their numerousness, their exasperation, the presence of experienced fighting elements in their ranks, and the incomparable capacity of the German workers for organization and discipline, then the answer is clear: during those months which are needed by the Fascists in order to break down internal and external barriers and to trench their dictatorship, the proletariat under correct leadership can come to power two and three times over again.

Two and a half years ago the Left Opposition insistently proposed that all the institutions and organizations of the Communist Party from the Central Executive Committee to the smallest provincial nucleus should immediately turn to the parallel social democratic organizations with the concrete proposal for mutual action against the impending suppression of proletarian democracy. Had a struggle against the Nazis been built on this basis Hitler would not be Chancellor today and the Communist Party would be occupying the leading place within the working class. But there is no return to the past. The consequences of the mistakes that have been perpetrated have succeeded in becoming political facts and compose at present a part of the objective background. The situation must be taken as it has been composed. It never need have been as bad as it is. But it is not hopeless. A political turn about face—but a real one, a bold one, an open one, one that is thought out from all sides—can completely save the situation and open up the road to victory.

Turn Depends On Party

However, is the turn itself possible? That is what the task reduces itself to at the present moment. The vulgarizers of Marx, gravitating towards fatalism, observe as a rule nothing on the political arena save objective causes. But, in effect, the more acute the class struggle becomes, the closer it draws to a catastrophe, the more often the key to the entire situation is entrusted to a given party and its leadership. At this moment the question is posed in this manner: If in its time the Stalinist bureaucracy has kept hard fast on the road of dullwitted ultimatum, despite the pressure of, say, ten political atmospheres, will it be capable of withstanding a pressure ten times greater, of one hundred atmospheres?

But maybe the masses will go into action of themselves, overturning the barriers of the apparatus after the manner in which the transport strike broke out in Berlin in November 1932? There is no ground, of course, for considering the spontaneous movement of the masses as being excluded. In order to become effective it must on this occasion surpass the Berlin strike a hundred or two hundred-fold in scope. The German proletariat is sufficiently powerful in order to sweep into such a movement even if hindered from above. But spontaneous movements are precisely so called because they originate without leadership. Why, then, our question touches the problem of what the party should do in order to give impetus to the mass movement, in order to help it attain its sweep, in order to take its place at the head and guarantee it victory.

Today's telegrams have brought news of a general strike in Luebeck in answer to the arrest of a social democratic official. This fact, if true, does not in the least rehabilitate the social democratic bureaucracy. But it inevitably condemns the Stalinists along with their theory of social Fascism. Only the development and the sharpening of the antagonism between the National Socialists and the social democrats can bring the Communist Party, after all the mistakes that were made, from out of isolation and open the road to revolution. But one must not hinder but assist this process which is ingrained in the logic of the relations themselves. The road to this lies through the bold policy of a united front.

Elections Can Decide Nothing

The March elections, at which the social democracy will clutch in order to paralyze the energy of the workers will in themselves resolve nothing, of course. If no major events occur up to the elections, which will transfer the question to another plane, then the Communist Party should automatically receive an increase in votes. It will be incomparably greater if the Communist Party will this very day take upon itself the initiative for a defensive united front. Yes, today the matters deal with defense! But the Communist Party can ruin it-

System As A Whole, Has Decided To Settle The Issue By Civil War In The Hope Of Thereby Accomplishing The Destruction Of The Working Class Movement In Order To Maintain Itself In Power.

For that aim Fascism is the instrument. quick in its actions—one has followed the other in rapid succession in the attempt it is making to consolidate its position. The Reichstag was dissolved without even being permitted the opportunity to convene. The new elections will take place, not after the usual sixty days, but within one month, on March 5. The important positions under the ministry of the interior, particularly those of chiefs of police, are being filled by Fascists. Several issues of the *Rote Fahne* have been seized. A press censorship decree is issued giving the chief of police the authority to prohibit any paper which advocates a general strike, or strikes of any kind, or prints what is called "deliberate misinformation." All city councils (aldermanic bodies) throughout Prussia are dissolved and new elections set for March 12. The Prussian state government, the Braun cabinet, which had only a shadow existence, is unceremoniously and completely dissolved, prepare the road for dissolution of the Landtag despite its majority opposition. Even bourgeois democracy due to its flexibility, still has a certain usefulness.—Dissolve by decrees, get new elections with all the machinery of suppression in readiness so as to obtain a voting strength which can furnish a mask of authority. That is to be preparatory to the final coup d'Etat. These are parts of the immediate strategy of the Fascist government. (To be continued.)

—ARNE SWABECK.

CHICAGO COMPLAINS!

Rebecca Sachero of the Chicago branch writes: "Our German campaign is going over big here. The Militants are eagerly awaited by all of us here and all our sympathizers are offering to help distribute them where they will do the most good. Last night we had a general membership meeting of all our sympathetic organizations and everyone volunteered to do his share. One party member was present and he took a bundle of the papers for distribution within the party." "We were," adds Sachero, "short of our requirements; Chicago is complaining that it doesn't receive enough copies of the 'new Militant' to go around!!"

of Communism; to coordinate the blows organizationally, but not to mix the banners; to maintain absolute loyalty in our relations with our ally but to keep an eye on him, as our enemy of tomorrow."

Should the Stalinist faction really put in effect the turn that is dictated by every phase of the situation, the Left Opposition, of course, will take its place in the common ranks of battle. But the confidence of the masses in this turn will be all the greater the more democratically it is achieved. Thaelmann's speeches or manifestos of the Central Executive Committee are much too little for the present sweep of events. What is needed is the voice of the party. There is no other way of returning the confidence of the party in itself, and of deepening the confidence of the workers in the party! The Congress must take place within two or three weeks, not later than the opening of the Reichstag (if the Reichstag will be convened at all).

The program of action is clear and simple: Immediate proposal to all social democratic organizations from top to bottom of a united defensive front.

Immediate proposal to the General German Trade Union Federation to admit the Red Trade Union Organization into the trade unions. Immediate preparation for an emergency party congress.

What is at stake is the head of the working class, the head of the Communist International and—let us not forget it—the head of the Soviet Republic!

Party Democracy and the Turn

It goes without saying that the Left Opposition will take its stand with both feet on the ground of this belated acknowledgment and will try to squeeze from it everything that is possible for the victory of the proletariat. But while so doing, the Left Opposition will not for a moment forget that the turn of the Comintern is a purely empirical zigzag, performed in the course of panic. The individuals who equated social democracy with Fascism are capable, in the process of struggle with Fascism, of going over into idealization of the social democracy. We must vigilantly keep watch to preserve the complete political independence

Program of A. Keynes, a McKenna, a Morgan—these are the answer of social democracy to the question of the way out of the crisis.

Under the existing high tension of international economic relations, when every country is competing with all the others in putting up walls against the entry of foreign goods, in a world of import quotas, exchange restrictions, prohibitions on the export of capital—such a program is not only a betrayal of the interests of the working class, but a ridiculous blindness to the facts. The question of Russia as a distinct factor in the situation is ignored.

Answer of Communism

What must be the basic answer of Communism to the question of how Germany is to get out of the crisis? It must be one that recognizes the necessity of still further developing the productive forces of Germany, it must recognize the fact that German economy is an integral part of world economy, and it must be based on the closest possible intertwining of the direct, immediate economic interests of Germany with those of Russia.

German capitalism, recognizing the immense potentialities of Russia, looks on it as a field to be exploited after first crushing the working class in Germany as well as in Russia; the German proletariat, on the other hand, can take gigantic steps toward building up Socialism on the basis of the combination of Russian resources and German technology, but filling this same economic formula with an entirely different class content—the fraternal economic collaboration of great proletarian commonwealths under the dictatorship of the working class, in accordance with a jointly worked-out plan, and marching firmly on the road to the world revolution.

—B. J. FIELD

New York Courses Start

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS—THE MOVEMENTS AND THE MEN
On Sunday, February 26, comrade Cannon will give the first of his series of eight popular lectures for workers. The title of the first lecture is "The German October and the Fifth Congress of the Comintern." The following lectures will take place on successive Sundays. Lectures may be taken singly if comrades are unable to take the series. The course is \$1. Single lectures are \$15.

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

On Wednesday, March 1, comrade Shachtman will give the second lecture in the series on the History and Principles of the Left Opposition. The title of this lecture is "The German October and the Fifth Congress of the Comintern." These lectures also may be taken singly by those who missed the first lecture. Single lectures are 15 cents.

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of the Communist League of America (Opposition) to the Communist Party organization: Section Committee, Communist Party of the U. S. A., Youngstown Section.

The party press has recently come out with news of a turn toward a broader united front in the unemployed movement. The *Daily Worker* of January 11 writes: "The need for united action of all workers of all shades of opinion and of whatever organization is desperate."

Everyone of us will agree with this. The especially poor showing that we all made when the hospitalization question on the budget came up before the City Council shows that this turn is even more desperately needed in Youngstown.

We welcome this turn as a great step forward for the party and the whole working class movement and hope to see it carried through successfully here as well.

Since the Unemployed Councils in this city are in particularly poor shape, it becomes first of all necessary to rebuild these. We know that the party forces are small and as yet inadequate for the great amount of work at hand. We know that every available force is needed for the work. To this end we offer, every one of our small group, to carry out any task assigned to us in this desperately needed united action of the unemployed, in a disciplined manner. Of course, we reserve for ourselves the right of criticism, but we declare ourselves always ready to come to an agreement with you as to the time and place of criticism.

Every hand is needed. That is clear to all. We of the Left Opposition are only a small group in this town, to be sure. But we want to be and can be of aid to the party in this important turn. It is up to you to decide.

Hoping that you will give this letter the serious attention it requires,

With Communist greetings, Youngstown Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Secretary.

WHY IS THE COMINTERN STILL SILENT ABOUT THE ACUTE CRISIS IN GERMANY?

I tried to point out the general difference between a Stalinist C. P. member and a Left Oppositionist, and refused to be held responsible for the mistakes of the Party. As a worker interested in the building of a united unemployed council I asked to be permitted to remain. Some fool grabbed on to the word "council" and exclaimed, "You want to build a Council and we want to build a League! We can't agree!"

The discussion proceeded fruitlessly; they were determined to get me out at all costs. So I proposed that a vote be taken as to whether or not I could remain without voice or vote. I was told that I couldn't make a motion and some one moved that I be invited to attend an open meeting of the Youngstown League on Wednesday night. This was made and I voted upon. The members of the I. C. were bewildered, but two sturdy workers both voted and spoke in favor of my remaining even though I was a Communist. The League functionaries all voted against it and succeeded in getting a few rank-and-file inexperienced members of the I. C. to vote with them. Perkins and his clique wouldn't permit me to leave the house until I had given up a list of names which I had copied down during the roll call.

But we will get in contact with the workers in the Leagues and the I. C. in spite of such nonsensical intrigues and obstructions! We will help to build a united local unemployed organization that will function with workers' democracy and not according to the whims of bureaucrats. FOR A UNITED FRONT OF ALL UNEMPLOYED WORKERS!

ABERN SPEAKS AT WILKES-BARRE MEETING

Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will speak under the auspices of the League at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on Sunday, February 26, 1933, 2 P. M., on the crisis in Germany and the standpoint of the Left Opposition. Admission to the meeting is free and all miners and other workers are cordially invited to attend. The meeting will be held at the Workers' Circle Hall, 69 S. Hancock Street.

Oehler Tour:

- Davenport, Iowa—Feb. 27
- Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 27
- Kansas City, Mo.—March 1, 2, 3
- St. Louis, Mo.—March 4, 5
- Illinois Coal Fields—March 6, etc.

ABERN AT BOSTON MEET

A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M., at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the League, will be addressed by Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the organization, and by comrade Antoinette F. Koniak. All workers are urgently invited to attend the meeting and bear the standpoint of the Opposition.

Oppositionist Beaten In Cleveland

Cleveland.—The readers of the Militant will recall the activity of the Left Opposition in Cleveland on the German situation and the speech comrade Sam Gordon made at the party demonstration in that city on the danger of German Fascism to the American workers. This has struck fear into the hearts of the local bureaucrats who have replied in their well known educational manner—by slugging Gordon.

Since the Left Opposition German campaign began Gordon has been active in spreading its ideas, making contacts with party members and distributing Militants and recently leading advertising comrade Hugo Oehler's meeting in Cleveland. The bureaucrats began to take alarm. Gordon was spotted by the bureaucrats at the City Central Council of the Unemployed on Saturday. All regular procedure was broken off and a sudden attack was launched against the Left Opposition organizer. Misquotations from the Militant, personal attacks and all the rest of the Stalinist rignarole were bandied about in order to expel comrade Gordon from the meeting. He was not given the chance to defend himself on the pretext that he would be given the opportunity to do so, at the block committee, where he is a member. The motion for excluding Gordon from the meeting passed. About five comrades the only ones who knew Gordon, abstained from voting. Anna Juda, local bureaucrat, and Leonard Paterson, a Negro organizer from N. Y. led this railroading action.

On Monday, February 20, the block committee met. The meeting was crowded with strange faces—obviously called down by the Stalinists. A functionary, Berndt, started the meeting by attacking Gordon without any delay. First the usual hokum about the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" was thrust and announced, "You men know our attitude in regard to Communists. What shall we do?" And then followed one of the emptiest discussions I have ever heard of as to why I should be excluded from the meeting. I was a Communist, a disputer. The *Daily Worker* told lies; Communists vilified Muste. They couldn't work with Communists, and besides that was a "secret" meeting and they didn't want a word of it to get in the Communist press.

Musteites Exclude Oppositionists
Youngstown.—Recent Youngstown papers reported that efforts were being made to unite the Austin-town and Smith Township Unemployment Leagues with the local Independent Club as the first step in a movement to create a large city-county unemployed organization. A meeting to consider these plans was to be held at the Independent Club on Sunday afternoon. But newspaper publicity had apparently frightened some of the I. C. members, for whoever possessed the keys to the club headquarters did not appear.

The few members of the I. C. present were invited to attend a discussion meeting at the home of one of the League officers, Perkins. The latter had failed to answer an inquiry of mine dated November 21, so I knew that if possible he and other followers of Muste would endeavor to exclude me from this meeting as Musteites have done with other Communists in St. Louis and other cities. But I managed to go to Perkins' home with a militant worker from the I. C. Before entering, Perkins asked my name. I gave it to him and he immediately seemed perplexed and said, "A Communist?" Before I had more than answered him the militant worker asked, "good-naturally. What's wrong? Are you afraid of Communists? They're just like other workers." "No," Perkins replied, "BUT I don't like the dirty lies they tell in the *Daily Worker*!" So we followed him into his home.

While we were finding places Perkins must have put the leading League members wise to my identity. For the meeting had no more than started with a roll call of those present than the chairman asked me pointedly, "And whom do you represent?" "The Communist League of America and a group of sympathetic unemployed workers," I replied. He grunted, cleared his throat and announced, "You men know our attitude in regard to Communists. What shall we do?"

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Youngstown Proposes United Front

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