LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

campaign began Gordon has been

meeting passed. About five com-

rades the only ones who knew Gor-

ard Patterson, a Negro organizer

obviously called down by the Stal-

Youngstown.—The following self-

unemployed movement. The Daily

Worker of January 11 writes: "The

need for united action of all work-

desperately needed in Youngstown

We welcome this turn as a great

whole working class movement and

criticism, but we declare ourselves

always ready to come to an agree-

ment with you as to the time and

Every hand is needed. That is clear to all We of the Left Op-

letter the serious attention it re-

With Communist greetings,

Youngstown Branch, Communist

League of America

(Opposition)

Secretary.

place of criticism.

up to you to decide.

cessfully here as well.

Dear comrades:

al consciousness.

Leon Trotsky Analyzes the Hitler Regime 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 boldest turn about face on the road of revolutionary policy is no longer capable of radically changing the correlation or hope of achieving different questions.

Is It Too Late to Act?

We have in effect given an answer to the first already in what need for peace in the factories, and problem of what the party should question is posed at present was said above. Even under the most favorable conditions for Hit- lation of forces in favor of the mass movement, in order to help ler, he requires a long number of workers. In order that the econmonths—and what critical months! omic struggle should from the very take its place at the head and guar-papers, that Moscow at last has -in order to establish the hege- first steps merge with the political antee it victory.... mony of Fascism. If one takes struggle, it is urgent that the Cominto consideration the sharpness of munists be at their posts, i. e., in the economic and political situa- the factories and within the trade tion, the ominous character of the unions. The social democratic leaddanger the proletariat is right up ers have announced that they deagainst, the frightful alarm of the sire an accord with Communist exasperation, the presence of ex- 300,000 workers who belong to the perienced fighting elements in their Red Trade Union Organization ity of the German workers for or- own words and turn to the General ganization and discipline, then German Trade Union Federation internal and external barriers and a change into the self-esteem of to intrench their dictatorship, the the workers, and therefore into the proletariat under correct leadership entire political background. can come to power two and three times over again.

Two and a half years ago the

(Continued from Page 1)

ocrats, Reichsbanner people and

Numerous are the accounts brought

where asking: "Why do we not

build the united front?" Liberal

from workers posing this question.

But-and that is the crucial ques-

tion-the leaders, Stalinists, Social-

ists and trade union bureaucrats re-

fuse to realize the united front from

protracted black picture. Unem-

official figures of January 15, 1933

gives the numbers of 5,965,000.

This accounts only for those of-

fically registered who receive un-

employment insurance, but not of

those not registered or the part

time workers. In reality the total

gency decrees had already helped

to reduce further the working class

level and increase its discontent.

the Bonapartist regime. Its pro-

spects of maintaining capitalist

rule and avoid civil war diminish-

hordes.

last reserve—the Fascists

ployment was on the increase. The front from below.

The Communists had gained in the defend Germany against Bolshev-

last elections. The Schleicher gov- ism, against anarchy and against ernment, evidently despite its good the scourge of the class struggle."

intentions, could not consolidate That the C. P. is the vanguard of

rganization to organization.

ing political facts and compose at | dred atmospheres? present a part of the objective

ture, capital, which has been famthis will at once shift the correworkers, their numerousness, their workers. Very well. Let the ranks, and the incomparable capac- catch up the reformists on their the answer is clear: during those with the proposal to enter immedimonths which are needed by the ately into the free trade unions, as Fascists in order to break down a fraction. One such step will bring

Turn Depends On Party

However, is the turn itself possi-Left Opposition insistently pro- ble? That is what the task reposed that all the institutions and duces itself to at the present moorganizations of the Communist ment. The vulgarizers of Marx, Nothing party from the Central Executive gravitating towards fatalism, ob-Committee to the smallest provinc- serve as a rule nothing on the polital nucleus should immediately tical arena save objective causes. the social democracy will clutch in will try to squeeze from it every- speare's tragedies. These gentlemen turn to the parallel social dem- But, in effect, the more acute the order to paralyze the energy of the thing that is possible for the vic- announced yesterday that (a) the ocratic organizations with the con- class struggle becomes, the closer crete proposal for mutual action it draws to a catastrophe, the more nothing, of course. If no major so doing, the Left Opposition will thanks to the correct policy of the against the impending suppression often the key to the entire situal events occur up to the elections, not for a moment forget that the party; (b) the policy of the united of proletarian democracy. Had a tion is entrusted to a given party which will transfer the question to turn of the Comintern is a purely front, permissible in the past, from struggle against the Nazis been and its leadership. At this moment another plane, then the Communist empirical zigzag, performed in the now on is become counter-revolubuilt on this basis Hitler would the question is posed in this man- party should automatically receive due course of panic. The individ- tionary. On the day after these not be Chancellor today and the ner: If in its time the Stalinist an increase in votes. It will be in- uals who equated social democracy confessions Hitler assumed power Communist party would be occupy- bureaucracy has kept hard fast on commensurably greater if the Com- with Fascism are capable, in the and Stalin announced that the poling the leading place within the leading place within the the road of dullwitted ultimatism, munist party will this very day process of struggle with Fascism, icy of the united front, countering the road of dullwitted ultimatism, munist party will this very day process of struggle with Fascism, icy of the united front, countering the rut of Stalinist opportunism vilified Muste. They couldn't work working class. But there is no redespite the pressure of, say, ten take upon itself the initative for a of going over into idealization of turn to the past. The consequences political atmospheres, will it be defensive united front. Yes, today the social democracy. We must on becomes necessary.

this occasion surpass the Berlin dampaign as well. strike a hundred or two hundredoriginate do in order to give impetus to the

tate the social democratic bureaucracy. But it inevitably condemns this process which is ingrained in ropes. the logic of the relations themselves. The road to this lies through Party Democracy and the bold policy of a united front.

Elections Can Decide

petrated have succeeded in becom- sure ten times greater, of one hun- the Communist party can ruin it- the complete political independence

the system as a whole, has de-

background. The situation must into action of themselves, overturn- terms, it turns its electioneering mix the banners; to maintain abbe taken as it has been composed, ing the barriers of the apparatus agitation into a purely parliament- solute loyalty in our relations with It never need have been as bad as after the manner in which the ary hullabaloo, into a means of our ally but to keep an eye on it is. But it is not hopeless. A transport strike broke out in Ber- distracting the attention of the him, as our enemy of tomorrow.* political turn about face-but a lin in November 1932? There is no masses from their present impotreal one, a bold one, an open one, ground, of course, for considering ence and from their preparing for one that is thought out from all the spontaneous movement of the the defense. The bold policy of the sides-can completely save the masses as being excluded. In or- united front is at this moment the understood to mean that even the situation and open up the road to der to become effective it must on only correct basis for the election uation, the Left Opposition, of ism to the American workers. This city-county unemployed organiza-

Again, are there enough forces in Hitler needs time. A revival of fold in scope. The German prole- the Communist party for the turn? confidence of the masses in this replied in their well known educa- pendent Club on Sunday afternoon. trade and industry, should such be- tariat is sufficiently powerful in Will the Communist workers have the necessary turn? These are two come a fact, would not at all sig- order to sweep into such a move- enough energy and resolution to nify the strengthening of Fascism ment even if hindered from above. help the pressure of one hundred against the proletariat. Under the But spontaneous movements are atmospheres beat its way into bu- of the Central Executive Comittee active in spreading its ideas, makleast betterment of the conjunc- precisely so called because they eaucratic skulls? No matter how are much too little for the present ing contacts with party members quarters did not appear. without leadership, offensive such an acknowledgment ished for profits, will feel the acute Whereas, our question touches the may be, that is precisely how the

> The above lines were written given the signal for alarm to the Today's telegrams have brought C. E. C. of the German Communist news of a general strike in Luebeck Party: the time has come for an in answer to the arrest of a social accord with the social democracy. democratic official. This fact, if No confirmation of this news is at true, does not in the least rehabili- hand but it smacks of the truth; ever, the Stalinist bureaucracy commands a turn about face only the Stalinists along with their after the events deal the working theory of social Fascism. Only the class (in the U. S. S. R. in China, development and the sharpening of in England, in Germany) a blow the antagonism between the Na- on the head. When the Fascist tional Socialists and the social Chancellor trains his machine guns democrats can bring the Commun- at the temples of the proletariat ists, after all the mistakes that bound hand and foot, then and only were made, from out of isolation then is the presidium of the Comand open the road to revolution, intern struck with an inspiration: But one must not hinder but assist the time has come to untie the

the Turn

Left Opposition will take its stand the anecdote of the capitulation of with both feet on the ground of Well and others is comparable to The March elections, at which this belated acknowledgment and the appearance of clowns in Shakeworkers will in themselves resolve tory of the proletariat. But while danger of Fascism is liquidated, of the mistakes that have been per- capable of withstanding a pres- the matters deal with defense! But vigilantly keep watch to preserve Prinkipo, February 5, 1933.

Oppositionist Beaten dred atmospheres?

But maybe the masses will go democracy, even though in different blows organizationally, but not to

> Should the Stalinist faction really put in effect the turn that is at the party demonstration in that Independent Club as the first step dictated by every phase of the sit- city on the danger of German Fasc- in a movement to create a large course, will take its place in the common ranks of battle. But the the local bureaucrats who have plans was to be held at the Indeturn will be all the greater the tional manner-by slugging Gordon. But newspaper publicity had apmore democratically it is achieved. Thaelmann's speeches or manifestos sweep of events. What is needed and distributing Militants and reis the voice of the party. There cently leaslets advertizing com- present were invited to attend a is no other way of returning the rade Hugo Oehler's meeting in discussion meeting at the home of confidence of the party in itself, Cleveland. The bureaucrats began one of the League officers, Perkins. and of deepening the confidence of to take alarm. Gordon was spot. The latter had failed to answer an the workers in the party! The ted by the bureaucrats at the City inquiry of mine dated November 21, Congress must take place within Central Council of the Unemployed so I knew that if possible he and two or three weeks, not later than on Saturday. All regular proced- other followers of Muste would enthe opening of the Reichstag (if ure was broken off and a sudden deaver to exclude me from this the Reichstag will be convened at attack was launched against the meeting as Musteites have done

> The program of action is clear democratic organizations from top jed about in order to expel comrade entering. Perkins asked my name.

eral German Trade Union Federa-

emergency party congress. What is at stake is the head of the working class, the head of the don, abstained from voting. Anna they tell in the Dally Worker!" So Communist International and-let Onda, local bureaucrat, and Leonus not forget it-the head of the Soviet Republic!

—L. TROTSKY.

program of a Keynes, a McKenna, the way out of the crisis. Under every country is competing with all the other's in putting up walls against the entry of foreign goods, the proletariat. in a world of import quotas, exchange restrictions, prohibitions on gram is not only a betravial of the interests of the working class, but 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 the big bourgeoisie since the of Communism to the question of

German capitalism, recognizing Reich continued to present their place. It repeats the slogans of ously and completely dissolved to than its exports. In other words, the imense potentialities of Rusdowning Fascism and of the united prepare the road for dissolution of German capitalism has looked for sia, looks on it as a field to be the Landtag despite its majority op. the way out of the crisis abroad, exploited after first crushing the position. Even bourgeois democracy while decoying the petty bourgeois working class in Germany as well due to its flexibility, still has a masses with the Fascist slogan of as in Russia; the German prolecertain usefulness:-Dissolve by self-sufficiency. Foreign markets tariat, on the other hand, can take decrees, get new elections with all are being closed tighter by tariff gigantic steps toward building up the machinery of suppression in walls and other restrictions. The Socialism on the basis of the comreadiness so as to obtain a voting last unspoken plank in its platform bination of Russian resources and strength which can furnish a mask is the imperialist subjugation and German technology, but filling this same economic formula with an The social democracy attempts to entirely different class content- that we all made when the hospit-These are parts of the immediate hold on the bourgeois "internation- the fraternal economic collaborastrategy of the Fascist government. alism" of the manufacturer and tion of great proletarian commonbanker-liberals. The removal of wealths under the dictatorship of shows that this turn is even more WORKERS! restrictions on foreign trade, de- the working class, in accordance velopment of markets abroad with a jointly worked-out plan, without political interference, un- and marching firmly on the road to step forward for the party and the

Militant Correspondent Reports On cided to settle the issue by civil Pose Problem of a Morgan—these are the answer of social democracy to the question of working class movement in order to maintain itself in power. For that

(Continued from Page 1)

Line of Big Bourgeoisie

But this policy can be carried through only in a limited way; the broad policy runs in the exactly opposite direction. The whole line while during the period of stabili- Germany with those of Russia.

national boundaries—the typical

In Cleveland

Immediate proposal to the Gention to admit the Red Trade Union do so, at the block committee, asked Organization into the trade unions, where he is a member. The motion wrong? Are you afraid of Comun-Immediate preparation for an

· In the light of recent events and against the background of the It goes without saying that the tragic mistakes of the Stalinists.

was absolutely alone in the affray.

Youngstown Proposes crisis has been to stimulate foreign how Germany is to get out of the United Front explanatory letter has been sent by the local branch of the Communside of the barricae were not taken ter helplessness, its paralysis councils (aldermanic bodies) in the last analysis by the taxing gral part of world economy, and ist League of America (Opposition) by surprise. They decided quickly Choked by the false concepts of throughout Prussia are dissolved power of the government-these it must be based on the closest to the Communist party organizafor the Fascists precisely out of Stalinism it cannot show the way. and new elections set for March 12. have resulted in a surplus of ex- possible intertwining of the direct, tion: of Section Committee, Communist Party of the U. S. A. Youngstown Section.

-B. J. FIELD

hampered movement of capital over the world revolution.

New York Courses Start AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS- is \$1. Single lectures are \$.15. THE MOVEMENTS AND THE MEN

On Sunday, February 26, comrade

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

And so also in this case, the change Germany." Such are the threats and everyone volunteered to do his series of eight popular lectures for the series on the series of th and so also in this case, the change Germany. Such are the threateness of the more than the carry on any task assigned to held at the Workers' the more than the carry on any task assigned to held at the Workers' the more than the carry on any task assigned to held at the Workers' the History and Principles of the La cation of t France. The "Paris Soir" of Jan. of every vestige of the working sent and he took a bundle of the ture is Terence V. Powderly, the History and Principles of the L. action of the unemployed, in a dis-31 commented: "Hitler in power! class movement, for in their usage papers for distribution within the "Grand Master Workman" of the O.? The title of this lecture is This news would a few months ago of the term Marxism the Fascists party." "We were", adds Sacherow, Knights of Labor. The following "The German October and the Fifth serve for ourselves the right of have produced the effects of a include the Social Democrats and short of our requirements; Chicago lectures will take place on sucbombshell. Today it reverberates even the reformist trade unions. is complaining that it doesn't re- cessive Sundays. Lectures may be lectures also may be taken singly taken singly if comrades are un- by those who missed the first lecable to take the series. The course ture. Single lectures are 15 cents.

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Whither England?

WHY IS THE COMINTERN

Musteites Exclude Oppositionists

Cleveland .- The readers of the Youngstown .- Recent Youngstown Militant will recall the activity of papers reported that efforts were the Left Opposition in Cleveland being made to unite the Austinon the German situation and the town and Smith Township Unemspeech comrade Sam Gordon made ployment Leagues with the local has struck fear into the hearts of tion. A meeting to consider these Since the Left Opposition German parently frightened some of the I. C. members, for whoever pos-

The few members of the I. C. Left Opposition organizer. Mis- with other Communists in St. Louis quotations from the Militant, per- and other cities. But I managed sonal attacks, and all the rest of to go to Perkins' home with a mili-Immediate proposal to all social the Stalinist rigmarole were band. tant worker from the I. C. Before to bottom of a united defensive Gordon from the meeting. He was I have it to him and he immediately not given the chance to defend seemed perplexed and said, "A Comhimself on the pretext that he munist?" Before I had more than would be given the opportunity to answered him the militant worker good-naturally, for excluding Gordon from the ists? They are just like other workers." "No," Perkins replied, "BUT I don't like the dirty lies we followed him into his home.

While we were finding places Perkins must have put the leading from N. Y. led this railroading ac-League members wise to my identity. For the meeting had no more On Monday, February 20, the than started with a roll call of block committee met. The meeting those present than the chairman was crowded with strange faces— asked me pointedly, "And whom do inists. A functionary, Berndt, League of America and a group of you represent?" "The Communist started the meeting by attacking sympathetic unemployed workers," Gordon without any delay. First I replied. He grunted, cleared his the usual hokum about the "coun-throat and announced, "You men ter-revolutionary Trotskyists" then, know our attitude in regard to Gordon is not "just a rank and Communists. What shall we do?" file Trotskyist". Finally the real And then followed one of the emreason for the bureaucrats' venom priest discussions I have ever heard -Gordon had raised the German is as to why I should be excluded sue and had spoiled (how?) their from the meeting. I was a Compure and simple charity demon- munist, a disrupter. The Daily was a "secret" meeting and they Gordon was given no chance to didn't want a word of it to get in defend himself. Upon a signal from the Communist press,

the party bureaucrat (Berndt), a I tried to point out the general young careerist by the name of difference between a Stalinist C. Fred Dell pounced upon him, un- P. member and a Left Oppositionleashing a premeditated attack ist, and refused to be held responfrom all sides. Comrade Gordon sible for the mistakes of the Party. His nose was battered and his eye ing of a united unemployed council blackened. In this manner are the I asked to be permitted to remain. Cleveland bureaucrats educating Some fool grabbed on to the word 'council" and exclaimed, "You want This great apprehension on the to build a Council and we want to part of the party bureaucrats in- build a League! We can't agree!" dicates the great interest of the The discussion proceeded fruitparty members in Germany and the lessly; they were determined to platform of the Left Opposition on get me out at all costs. So I prothis question. A good crowd is posed that a vote be taken as to expected for comrade Ochler's 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 Austintown League on Wednesday night. This passed, and a motion to evict me was made and 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 The party press has recently I had given up a list of names come out with news of a turn to- which I had copied down during ward a broader united front in the the roll call.

But we will get in contact with the workers in the Leagues and the ers of all shades of opinion and of intrigues and obstructions! We Everyone of us will agree with unemployed organization that will function with workers' democracy and not according to the whims of alization question on the budget bureaucrats. FOR A UNITED came up before the City Council FRONT OF ALL UNEMPLOYED

ABERN SPEAKS AT WILKES-BARRE MEETING

hope to see it carried through suc-Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the Communist Since the Unemployed Councils in League of America (Opposition) this city are in particularly poor will speak under the auspices of shape, it becomes first of all neces- the League at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsary to rebuild these. We know sylvania, on Sunday, February 26, that the party forces are small and 1933, 2 P. M. on the crisis in Geras yet inadequate for the great many and the standpoint of the amount of work at hand. We know Left Opposition. Admission to the that every available force is needed meeting is free and all miners and for the work. To this end we other workers are cordially invited

ciplined manner. Of course, we re- 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

position are only a small group in A mass meeting at which the this town, to be sure. But we want German situation today will be anto be and can be of aid to the alyzed and the reasons given for party in this important turn. It is the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to Hoping that you will give this 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. Konikow. All workers are urgently invited to attend the meeting and STILL SILENT ABOUT THE hear the standpoint of the Opposi-ACUTE CRISIS IN GERMANY? tion.

OFF THE PRESS!

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scious that the imperialist road the weakest link in the imperialist

now leads through the Fascist re- clain, in the throes of the decay of

Soviet Economy In Danger

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The Issue is Now to be Settled

by the Means of Civil War

but to the entire world. The na-

tional government is determined to

the working class the Fascist lead-

ers fully understand. But the full

scope of their objectives became

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plishing the destruction of the Events After Hitler Took Power aim Fascism is the instrument. gime toward a united front against quick in its actions-one has folthe growing threat of the German revolutionary workers. True, there trade unionists instinctively unite is the Versailles Treaty standing and fight shoulder to shoulder, a little in the way. But such matters can be adjusted to enable the ing permitted the opportunity to subordinated to its interest in proby our comrades of workers every- German and the French bourgeoisie convene. The new elections will tecting the productivity of domestic

lowed the other in rapid succession -in the attempt it is making to United States. The foreign trade consolidate its position. The Reich- interests of the agrarian-capitalist stag was dissolved without even be- bloc are, in a limited way, being the export of capital—such a proto work hand in hand. In this mantake place, not after the usual sixty capitalist agriculture. er the first steps toward forging days, but within one month, on bourgeois papers reprint letters the spearhead of the army of in- March 5. The important positions tervention against the U.S.S.R. under the ministry of the interior, are being taken. That is the very particularly those of chiefs of heart of the question of a possible police, are being filled by Fascists. final conquest of power in Germany Several issues of the Rote Fahne by the Fascist bandits. Finally have been seized. A press censorthat much at least seems to have ship decree is issued giving the The workers are still sadly be- dawned upon l'Humanite (the chief of police the authority to pro- trade at the expense of the internal crisis? It must be one that recogwildered. But it is not so in the French party daily). It did men- hibit any paper which advocates a market. The methods of high nizes the necessity of still further ranks of the bourgeoisie. The pre- tion that danger in one of its re- general strike, or strikes of any prices and low wages, of dumping developing the productive forces of sent situation found them quite cent issues. But in face of that kind, or prints what is called "de- in export market, of liberal credits Germany, it must recognize the fact well prepared. The forces on that recognition it demonstrates its ut- liberate misinformation". All city backed up by the Reichsbank and that German economy is an intefear of the growing misery and It can only repeat what in view of The Prussian state government, the ports over imports since the crisis, immediate economic interests discontent of the working masses. the concrete needs of the situation Braun cabinet, which had only a Economic developments within the becomes a mere abstract common- shadow existence, is unceremoni- zation German mports were higher The Fascist government does not at all hide its objectives. Hitler's very first ministerial address to the public declared: "The greatest actual danger is the danger of figure is much higher. The emerof authority. That is to be pre- exploitation of Russia. paratory to the final coup d'Etat. spell disaster not only to Germany

> (To be continued) -ARNE SWABECK.

CHICAGO COMPLAINS!

Rebecca Sacherow of the Chicago ed. The bourgeoisie called upon further clarified by Hitler's election branch writes: "Our German campaign is going over big here. The He declared in his usual bravado Militants are eagerly awaited by Against the dangers of a grow- style, but now with a more sinister all of us here and all our syming working class threat the capi- sureness: "I shall not resign my pathizers are offering to help distalist solidarity extends beyond function until I am fully convinced tribute them where they will do the national boundaries, not even that my mission is accomplished, the most good. Last night we had taking cognizance of such distinc. That within less than ten years a general membership meeting of tions as former "mortal enemies". Marxism shall no longer exist in all our sympathetic organizations Cannon will give the first of his but there is not much detonation." Yes, precisely that is the mission ceive enough copies of the "new This bourgeois paper is fully con- of Fascism. German capitalism, Militant" to go around!!

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