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No Retreat! Struggle or Annihilation!

eredence in the Fascist charge that date of the Social Democracy, pro- State there can exist only an ir- to the Soviet Union" bourgeois press has, almost unani- tant working class activity. London Times to the Laborite Her- released; and a raid upon the quar-

charge seriously, it has sufficed the troopers. munists held, 120 in raids for the apprehension of Communist militants and officials are now the order of the day. The Communist part of the day of the day of the day of the day of the day. The Communist part of the day of the d

Every day brings the report of suppressed and the Fascist swas-ssignificance. The world movement greater practical interest is the re-sauthoritative backstairs spokesmen, that what was counter-revolution-, well-and the newspaper reports

a new blow dealt the German work- tika still waves from the Karl of the proletariat is at stake in cent agreement concluded by the of the upper stratum of the ap- ary on Tuesday is good Bolshevism to the humilitation of the Coming class movement by the Hitler Liebknecht House. New decrees Germany; the fate of the Soviet Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Ges- paratus. regime No half-sane person above signed by "comrade" von Hinden- Union is involved. Between Fasc- elischaft and the Dresdner Bank to While this unbelievable indiffer- situation is not as clear as it should the Austrian and Scandinavian borthe age of six has put the slightest burg, erstwhile presidential candi- ism in Germany and the workers' provide \$50,000,000 in new credits ence is being manifested by the be. The "Once More" in the Frei- ders are being passed by an in-

the Communists set fire to the continuation of "normal busi- reaucracy, matters do not improve ist stratagem. The appeal for a ficials and leaders from Germany, reconcilable antagonism which, in the long run, will be settled only ness relations" with Germany under in the Germany under in the Germany under in the Germany under in the social demby force of arms This antagon- Hitler, right at the moment when The Daily Worker (3-2-1933) prints ocratic party and the trade un- ing their hides, a revolutionist can mously openly expressed its skept- In addition, the Hitler regime has ism must not only not be conceal- the decisive battle is imminent—a the Inprecer cable from Berlin re- ions" in the past has meant an ap- have nothing but contempt and icism. "France" the Paris corre- struck the first overt blow at the ed-it must be openly proclaimed battle on whose outcome depends porting that the German party peal by the Statinists to the "party" hatred. Of them, Trotsky wrote spondent of the New York Times Soviet Union. The man who aims to the workers of the world so the next decade or more of the (3-2-1933) informs his paper, judg- to be the "super-Wrangel" of that they may know how the situa- world's development—as if nothing ist Party, the A. D. G. B. (reform- the Communists in a common strug- a victory over the social democracy, ing by today's press, even seems world imperialism ordered an in- tion stands and what the attitude unusual was happening, as if the ist trade unions), the Reichsban- gle...against their leaders! In we cannot battle against Fascism distinctly inclined to blame the solent raid upon the suburban Ber- of the Soviet Union were not concerned ner, etc., with a proposal for joint other words, it has been the old say such terrible revolutionists, and Nazis themselves for the fire that lin school for the children of So- stead of such a clear proclama- with what government was estabwrecked the Reichstag building, viet citizens, where literature was tion, we see disquieting signs of lished in Germany-means little ist terror". The headline given to sound better At bottom, there has passports ready. Worker-Communand sees in it simply a crude excuse on Herr Hitler's part to crush
the Opposition just before the electhe Opposition just before the elec-From the conservative delegation were arrested and later his paper as follows (3-2-1933): moral—and when necessary—the More to the Social Democratic and up to now still demoralized passive passports for you. Should Fascism "While it doubtless would be an material assistance of the workers' Trade Union Leaders". If the and divided, unite their forces, come to power, it will ride over ald, the British press is similarly ters of the Berlin correspondent of exaggeration to say as some of state. When Duranty points out headline is correct, it would unbeating the central Soviet organ, Izvestia, Chancellor Hitler's close associates further that "only recently the doubtedly mark a turn in the right the broad of the proletariat. fraud of the Austrian adventurer. | which was carried out not by the do, that 'the Soviet Union wants official Soviet Government organ, direction by the Stalinists. But To this moment, the world re- merciless struggle. And only Nazis to launch their reign of ter- But the protest, immediately de- a strong Germany, which the Soviet Commissar Litvinov to assure Ger- in advance. ror and to extend it more widely posited with the foreign minister Union wants, it is beyond question many that the Soviet Union would with the passage of every day. The by the official Soviet representatives that Moscow would welcome even not intervene in the affairs of other Times reports that "Communist ar- far from exhausts the question of a 100 percent Hitler regime on the countries, even in the event of a manns, Bedachts and Olgins in- resistance of the proletariat to counts! The socialist leaders, the rests included the entire executive the relationships between the So- grounds that it would conjure away Communist revolution"—it smacks veighed abusively against the Left Fascism, or does it intend to capicommittee of the party in Berlin viet Union and the Fascist regime the nightmare that has harassed not merely of "national-Bolshevik" Opposition precisely because we tulate without a struggle, on the act of their own accord. The and Reichstag deputies and party in Germany. There is an unillu- the sleep of Soviet statesmen for degeneration in general, but of the proposed that the united front be half-formed or fully conscious Communist leaders must be forced executives elsewhere". In Berlin minated side to this question upon the past five years—namely, an preparation for treacherous nation- set into motion by an open propos- theory that it is hopeless to fight, out of their criminal pussivity. alone there are more than 300 Comwhich considerable light needs to
munists held, 120 in raids for the

alone there are more than 300 Communists held, 120 in raids for the

be shed.

In Berlin minated side to this question upon the past nee years—namely, an preparation to the social democracy and its or that Fascism will soon collapse or a the fate of the al to the social democracy and its or that Fascism will soon collapse or a the fate of the shed.

They must be forced to put an end or a the fate of the shed.

action against the murderous Fasc- ultimatism dressed up to make it for this reason....they get their doubtedly mark a turn in the right the bood of the proletariat.

upper layers of the Stalinist bu- heit headline gives away the Stalin- creasing number of Communist of-"has again approached the Social- and the "trade unions" to join with more than a year ago: "'Without

We put the question again: Does Make haste, worker-Communists,

on Wednesday? Unfortunately, the munist movement, confirm it-that

Very little time left! Every hour

LEON TROTSKY

"Soviet Economy in Danger"

The following letter was addressed to the editorial board of also for a deeper reason. To shift "Sozialistische Arbeiterzeitung" (central organ of the Ger-Socialist Workers Party. After the press of the S. W. P. reprinted the deliberate falsification of the Stalinist bureaucracy about the "liquidation of the Trotskyists", comrade Trotsky was obliged to refrain from sending the letter. As the letter arise out of: (a) the economic and nevertheless retains its importance, we publish it here.—Ed.)

Dear comrades: In the two numbers of your paper, January 11 and 12, there appeared an article on my brochure "Soviet Economy in Danger". As it deals with an extremely important question, about which every revolutionary worker must form a clear opinion, if not today then tomorrow, I request you to afford me the possibility to elucidate to your readers by the present letter, in the shortest possible terms, those sides of the question which in my opinion were submitted to a false

interpretation in your paper.

1. In the article it says a number of times that you are "not in agreement with everything" and 'far from agreeing with everything" in Trotsky's conceptions on Soviet economy. Differences of opinion between us are all the more natural as we belong to different organizations. Nevertheless I cannot suppress my regret that-with one single exception, dealt with below-you did not indicate which conceptions you are not in agreement with. Let us recall how Marx, urgent warning to the proletarians envisage and surrender. Engels and Lenin censured and con- of all countries, to the Communist demned evasiveness in fundamental International, to the Communist questions, which finds expression Party of the Soviet Union, on the mostly in the empty formula "far danger of Hitler, of the Fascist has been enormously weakened by counter-revolution in Central Eur- the multifold treacheries of the sofrom agreeing with everything". What every revolutionary worker ope, this writing took on the sig- cial democratic leaders and the can demand of his organization and nificance for the most conscious of his paper is a definite and clear proletarians as that of Lenin on attitude towards the questions of October 7, 1917: "The Impending socialist construction in the U. S. Crisis". Two undoubtedly different S. R.

situations; two palpably different still susceptible to barring the road 2. In only one point does your epochs. In 1917 it was the eve of to triumph of the Hitler regime and article endeavor to delimit itself the proletarian revolution; in 1931, of rendering it finally impossible. more concretely from my concepthe eve of the Fascist counter-revtions. "We believe", you write, olution in Germany. But in the the policy of the Communist Party "that Trotsky considers matters first warning as in the second, in of Germany and the Communist Insomewhat onesidedly when he Lenin's of 1917 as in Trotsky's of ternational. ascribes the main blame for these 1931, in spite of the difference beconditions to the Stalinist bureau- tween the two epochs, one encountcracy" (!) Further on the ar- ers the same revolutionary and inticle sets out that the main blame ternationalist spirit, the same clairdoes not lie in the bureaucracy but voyance, the same strength. in the circumstance that tasks of too great dimensions are put be- tion of foreseeing; now it is a quesfore economy, for the fulfillment of tion of seeing. Hitler is in power. which the necessary qualified forces And how the task of leading his out of fear of being forced to draw italism, spelling the twilight of are lacking. But who was it that open struggle for the crushing of the terrible balance of this last imperialism. set up these exaggerated tasks if the organizations, of all the organi- decade. But in its stlence, in not the bureaucracy? And who zations of the working class has stubbornly sealing its lips, in "pa- of the Stimson note to the League was it that warned in proper time been facilitated for him! The against their exaggerated dimen- battle which the social democrats march of the Hitlerist troops, it is on accord in view. For Stimson resions if not the Left Opposition? and the Stalinists thought could only marching to ruin, drawing in fuses to be solidly linked with Thus it results that precisely your be evaded by submission and docilits train the ruin of the German Geneva and while agreeing blandly article "ascribes" the whole blame ity is at the present time inevitable. Otherwise, it will be annito the bureaucracy.

Your reproach to me is wrong the responsibility for all the difficulties and for all the phenomena of crisis upon the ruling faction, could be done only by one who believes in the possibility of a planned development of the socialist society within national boundaries. But this is not my standpoint. The main difficulties for the U.S.S.R. cultural backwardness which forces

important postulate of the national productive forces. Bureaucratic Centrism 3. We do not charge the Stalinist faction with the blame for the obective difficities, but for its lack of understanding of the nature of these difficulties, of inability to foresee the dialectic of their de-

the Soviet state to solve many of

the tasks which capitalism has

solved in advanced countries; (b)

the isolation of the workers' state

in an epoch in which the division

of labor between the states of the

whole world has become the most

velopment and unintermitent mistakes of leadership springing there-(Continued on Page 2)

Now, it can no longer be a ques-

Comintern and World Revolution at

Decisive Historical Turning Point

When comrade Trotsky, in his hilation without the struggle-an

We are reliably informed from the U. S. S. R.:

In the course of the month of January, a large number of arrests were made in Moscow and Leningrad. In addition to Preobrazhensky, L. N. Smirnow, Ufimtsey, more than one hundred former Left Oppositionists were apprehended. They were accused of carring on illegal "Trotskyist" factional work. It will be remembered that almost four years ago. some of those named above renounced the Opposition and capi tulated to the Stalinist regime, claiming that it had adopted most if not all of the essential planks in the Opposition platform. The arrest of those who previously capitulated, following as it does right on the heels of the arrest and exile of Zinoviev, Kamenev and many others, is a fact of the greatest symptomatic signific-

In the huge Moscow automobile plant "Amo", approximately one hundred workers were arrested, because an Opposition leaflet had been distributed there. The same occured in other plants and factories. Similar reports emanate from Leningrad.

The German proletariat is far

from having exhausted its revolu-

constantly increasing blunders of

the Stalinist leaderships, the Ger-

man proletariat preserves a capac-

ity and a possibility of struggle

A Turning Point

(Continued on Page 2)

tionary energy. Even though

LEAGUE PRICE FOR SUPPORT OF JAPAN IS ASSAULT ON FATHERLAND OF WORKERS

With laudable thoughtfulness, the Japanese imperialists lay their plans in advance and then follow their schedule carefully. Many moons ago, a Japanese "surveyor", engaged in political surveying in Iner Mongolia for the followers of Baron Tanaka, discovered an obscure prince, the "direct descendant of the great Genghis Klan". This Mongolian prince could never have dreamed how fortunate was his fateful meeting with the awe-struck Jap. For lo and behold, the press already hints at the Japanese desire to restore this scion to his rightful place at the head of a new Mongolian state to be called Tayu ankuo.

Thus the Japanese militarists continue to build a foundation for the ultimate struggle with the Soviet Union. Inner Mongolia will follow the road of Manchuria and Jehol, possibly after the conquest of North China. If the powers continue to jockey for position in the present situation, each hoping to reap the benefits while the other her march into China, it is because course America and England are careful to establish the record that will be relied upon in the more writing "Germany: The Key to the eventuality which only traitors to distant future to solve their inter-International Situation", issued the the cause of the proletariat can nal conflicts. But as yet, that is

merely a record. Russia and Japan

What is the order in which capitalist powers place their enemies? Read the careful, restrained press accounts of the Japanese advance into Asia, note the gentlemanly manner ir which reference is made to .their astute campaigning. Then recall the violent, almost insane, attacks made periodically in the decade after the October revolution on the Soviets and their leaders. The vituperation carried on by But this possibility depends upon Hitler against the German Communists is tame compared to the vicious campaign of slander recorded in the capitalist press of the entire world against the Rus- OPEN FORUN We have undeniable arrived at a sian Bolsheviks. In the light of turning point of the international that experience, one can easily revolution. This truth should not pigeon-hole the present quarrel with BONAPARTISM & THERMIDOR be concealed from oneself nor from Japan as a family affair. Despite the proletariat of all countries. The all the failures and blunders of Communist International, on the the Stalin bureaucracy, the Soviets DORS THE DANGER THREATEN? Left wing and Communist movecontrary, is silent; it remains mute still remain the nightmare of cap-

At bottom that is the explanation tiently" supporting the forward accepting its invitation to express (Continued on Page 2)

The Unemployed Councils of Greater N. Y. have issued a call for a demonstration on Saturday. March 4 at 11 A. M. on Union Square. This demonstration is timed with the inauguration of Roosevelt which take's place in Washington on the same day.

The Left Opposition endorses the demonstration on Union Square and will be there in full force. The demands of the demonstration, however, can and must be broadened to include the demand for long-term credits to the Soviets and to draw attention to the German crisis. The demonstration meets at a

crucial moment for the working class of the entire world. While the unemployed are dying of starvation in this country the bloody Fascist regime of Hitler in Germany is murdering the flower of the revolutionary proletariat and destroying their organization. All out on Union Square on March 4th!

For Unemployment Insurance and Relief!

For Recognition and Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union! For the United Front to crush the Hitler Gangs!

Arrest Soviet | Jap Advance | To Union Sq. on | Roosevelt Regime Reopens "Trotskyists" | Hits U.S.S.R. | Saturday | Question of Russ Soviets

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

that of previous administrations- ists. it is even rumored that preliminary conversations between Soviet and American representatives have already begun.

If the attitude of the new administration is more friendly, it is not primarily because of the cent brochure, "Soviet Economy in "liberalism" of the party of Jefnomic crisis in the United States in a backward country going on other.

Socialist "United Fronts"

whose militancy and boldness in

embraces of the petty bourgeois

with the choice between the "uni-

ted front" with Wm. Green and his

the Communists are able to arouse

the socialist rank and file to force

ship to a reluctant choice of the

latter. Confronted with a choice

(Continued on Page 2)

liberal politicians. Confronted

Tomorrow, Roosevelt will be in- | basis of the interests of the Soviet augurated as president of the Uni- state and those of the bourgeois ted States. One of the first ques- American state. The voice of the tions which he will have to decide proletariat of America, whose class will be whether or not to recognize interests are indissolubly connect-Soviet Russia. Bourgeois and lib ed with those of the Soviet workeral papers have been hinting for ers' state, has not made itself some time that the attitude of the heard so far, with its own distincnew administration will be much tive slogans and demands which are more favorable to recognition than not those of the American capital-

Soviet Economy in Critical State Yet Soviet economy is in a crit-

ical state, which have been fully analyzed by comrade Rakovsky in his famous letter from Barnaul and by comrade Trotsky in his re-Danger". The utopian theory of ferson and Wilson; it is rather Socialism in one country, of an unbecause of the pressure of the eco- interruptedly developing socialism on the one hand, and of the posi- from triumph to triumph in an tical crisis in Manchuria on the ever faster tempo, has been refuted by the facts. Increasingly In other words, the question of sharp internal contradictions and recognition is being treated on the disproportions, the failure of such important branches of industry as all, the serious food shortage-Soviet Union today. The weakening of the bond between workers The conference on unemployment, brothers of the Lewises, Schlesing. and peasants, the concessions to held under the auspices of the ers, Kaufmans and their ilk in the "private initiative", and the growing danger of Thermidorian reacist party of New York last week, conference how seriously are to be tion, have their basis in this eco-

protestations against violence and The basis of the crisis in the The brutal attacks of the social- their preachments of the pacific Soviet Union is the necessity of laying a socialist basis in one land and a backward one at that. This The fervid claims that they are necessity is falsely idealized in the against the splitting of the labor revisionist theory of "socialism in session, are a natural accompani- movement and for the "united one country". In the second place, ment of Socialist bureaucratism- front", did not stand up so well the Stalinist bureaucracy, through weapons borrowed from the class in the conference. The united front its adventuristic as well as its openemy and first introduced by the of the socialist bureaucracy is portunistic methods, has aggrav-Right wing into the labor movement directed against the Left wing, ated the disproportions and contrain the days when the Left wing which they fear and hate, from dictions of Soviet economy, including those carried over from Czarputting all questons from the class ist days such as the contradiction standpoint, they recoil right into between a highly concentrated inthe arms of the worst reactionaries dustry and a primitive agriculture. in the labor movement or into the In the third place, the world crisis, which according to the Stalinist bureaucrats could be kept out of Soviet Russia through the State monopoly of foreign trade and forkin and the united front with the eigr. banking, has swept over the ment, the socialist bureaucrats will proved that, whether it likes it or always choose the former-unless not, the Soviet Union is indissolubly bound up with the world situstion economically as well as politheir party and their party leader- tically.

Soviet Trade "Strictly Business" The methods of Stalinist bureaubetween relying upon treacherous cracy operating on the basis of and servile atempts to ingratiate reduced the role of Communist (Continued on Page 2)

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Friday, March 3, 1933 126 East 16th Street,

ADMISSION: 15c

pays the piper; if there is no real pressure applied to Japan to halt Anti-United Front Policy Plays Into digures, and, most dangerous of all, the serious food shortage they expect Japan to pay the price, military intervention in Siberia. Of Hands of Socialist Party Bureaucrats these and a host of similar facts characterize the situation in the

"Labor Committee" of the Social- labor movement, revealed at this offers a number of aspects deserv- taken their piously hypocritical nomic situation. ing of examination.

ist gangsters upon the Left wing methods of "democracy". delegates who came to present their credentials, the atmosphere of terrorism which pervaded the whole first raised the banner of internationalism during and after the war. The socialist patrons, allies and

IN THE SOVIET UNION

N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of The Militant

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BROWNSVILLE MASS MEETING «The CRISIS **GERMANY»**

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)