

## Alarm Signal! Danger Draws Closer in U.S.S.R.

By LEON TROTSKY

One would be a coward or purblind to minimize the extent of the danger—catastrophe looms over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the ruling party of the first proletarian state. It can be prevented only by the self-sacrificing struggle of the advanced workers.

The situation is so pregnant with danger that to confine oneself to phrases and hints would mean to participate in the activities of the ruling faction that is sapping the October Revolution. Under the Stalinist regime, the class enemies are better informed of all that takes place or is about to be undertaken, than the working class. The possible attempts on the part of counter-revolutionists to make use of our outspoken criticism do not present one one-hundredth part of that danger which is borne by the malicious misinformation spread by the bureaucracy and by the enforced silence of the proletariat in a broad historical sense, the situation of the Soviet Union cannot be so hopeless as is the situation of world Capitalism which finds itself up against an absolute impasse. This general historical perspective not only completely justifies the October Revolution, insofar as it requires justification, but it also dooms beforehand as utterly reactionary all programs of the petty bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks, Social-Revolutionists, etc., etc.), which inevitably reduce themselves to the restoration of "democratic" capitalism. Even in the event of the victory of the counter-revolution, the Soviet Union will grow a new head in place of each one that is chopped off. But this does not at all mean that one may with an easy conscience permit the Stalinist bureaucracy to bring ruin upon the present, living Soviet regime. In the given case, the historical reckoning is a reckoning in terms of decades. Ultimately, the downfall of the Soviet State would express itself only as an historical episode. But should this horrible episode be one of the most horrible episodes in universal history. Our sole task lies in preventing it. Meanwhile the danger approaches closer and closer. Sound the alarm! We must sound the alarm!

**BUREAUCRATIC SABOTAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION UNDER THE GUISE OF INFALLIBLE LEADERSHIP**

By dint of unbelievable exertions on the part of the toilers, at the cost of innumerable privations and sacrifices there have been created grandiose technical values, there have been gained extraordinary productive victories. The October revolution has demonstrated to mankind the potentialities inherent in steel, cement and kilowatts of electrical energy. But during this same period, the bureaucratic leadership, which is self-sufficient and irresponsible, which is incapable of foreseeing and intolerant of criticism, which has been blinded by the mirage of socialism in one country, has brought national economy to the brink of absolute chaos. Industrial conquests and technical achievements are deplored by its much as bothers to consult the opinion of workers and peasants upon the most fundamental question in the life of the nation—how much should be used, and how much put away for the future. The bureaucracy takes stock at a glance and proceeds to act, rejecting the objective criteria of achievements, recognizing no laws other than the laws it willfully wills, supplanting plans with commands and balance-sheets with coercion. The task that is most complex, the task that not only was never before solved but never even undertaken—to achieve by means of planned forecasting and regulation the mutual congruity between the branches of a growing economy of an enormous country; this task which by its very nature is insoluble without the daily experience of millions, without their critical checking over their own collective experience, without their openly expressing their needs and demands—this gigantic, all-embracing, nation-wide historical task is solved within official sanctuaries, in the secretariat of the CEC, all depending upon how the spirit moves it, and upon what this or the other spots buzzes. What could be more monstrous?

Even if the Politbureau consisted of seven universal geniuses, of seven Marxes, or seven Lenins, it would have still been incapable all

negligence, they threw themselves into the extremes of 100 percent collectivization. Twenty-five million of isolated peasant egos, who only the day before represented the motive power of rural economy—greedy, feeble as the moujik's nag, but prime movers nevertheless—these millions the bureaucracy attempted to supplant at a single blow by the administrative will of 200,000 Kolkhoz (collective farms) directorates which were without the necessary equipment, the necessary training, and which lacked the necessary support of the peasantry itself.

The excessive shift in the apportionment of national income—from the village to the city, from light industry to the heavy industry; the ominous disproportions within industry, light as well as heavy—has excessively lowered the efficient functioning of labor power and capital expenditures. The economic link (svyazka) between the state industry and the peasantry, turned out to have been broken prior to its having been achieved. The chervonetz in the pocket of a

(Continued on Page 2)

## HAS RAKOVSKY BEEN ASSASSINATED?

A March 16 Associated Press dispatch from Istanbul, Turkey, reports:

"Information from several sources has been received by Leon Trotsky, living in exile on Rikopis Island, that Christian Rakovsky, former Soviet Ambassador to Paris and former President of the Ukraine Republic, has been returned to Moscow from exile and put to death."

A feeling of the deepest horror will grip the heart of every working class militant at the mere reading of this report. We know that Stalin, rude and disloyal, personally vengeful, has not hesitated in the past to send to their deaths such sterling revolutionaries as Heinrich Blumkin, Zutov, Silov, Rabinovitch, Blumkin, Buzare and other Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union. We know that he has not hesitated to send to prison and to distant exile the flower of the old Bolshevik leadership, men and women with decades of revolutionary struggle behind them.

Has he now dared to assassinate Christian G. Rakovsky, the great champion of the revolutionary proletariat? Has he now dared to put to death, with a coward's blow in the dark of the

## Stalinists Discredited at Mooney United Front Conference in N.Y.

The New York United Front Mooney Conference was no ordinary demonstration of the strength and weakness of the Stalinist machine. As it turned out the conference got out of control of the Stalinist steering committee. Bedlam broke loose. A riot was avoided only by summarily adjourning.

The conference, overwhelming Stalin in its political complexion, was oriented on the party's help-turn on the united front. The contradiction between this political orientation and the attempt on the part of the party steering committee to run it in the well known Stalinist, closed-corporation manner of the tense political drama that was fought for eight hours on the floor of the conference.

The conference was opened by the reading of a message from Mooney. Following this Palmer of the Federated Press was elected temporary chairman. A motion to elect a credentials committee was carried and the following were elected: Sultan of the Freiheit; Nessim of the TUUC; Gubernick of the Huntington Branch of the S. P.; Mac Christian of the NWIU; Riner of the Brotherhood of Painters, Local 445; Penn of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; and Berman of the Left Opposition who was a regularly elected delegate from a Workers' Circle Branch. Berman's election caused the party members no end of confusion. Comrade Berman is well known to party members as a member of the L. O. When it came to voting on Berman the party steering committee raise their hands. Half the party members followed suit. But

the other half were confused by the sight of their leaders voting for a counter-revolutionary Trotskyite and did not vote. The 140 votes Berman got were enough.

From this point on the confusion grew apace until the conclusion of this eventful gathering. Louis Scott, Mooney's personal representative made the report. He summarized some of the outstanding points in the legal aspect of the case. His perspective for the future of the fight was essentially a legal one. He laid down the tasks of the movement as follows: united front mass meetings and demonstrations; a delegation to Roph to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Mooney; a delegation to Roosevelt to get him to intercede with Roph for Mooney; and if all these measures fail, a general strike. The emphasis he gave the legal fight gave the impression that he regarded the mass movement as a somewhat helpful auxiliary; an ace-in-the-hole to be sprung on the capitalists if all else fails.

(Continued on Page 4)

## A Notice To Our Readers

Just as the Militant was going to press, we received the highly important article of comrade Trotsky printed herewith. Coming at a time when events move with extraordinary speed and sharpness, the article bears all the greater significance. So much so that we have been forced at the last moment to eliminate a number of reports and comments on pressing local and national class struggle issues. These latter, as well as the rest of the article by comrade Trotsky will appear in the next issue of the Militant.

## Cafeteria Strike On in N. Y.

Never before have the working conditions in the food industry been so bad as at the present time. The bosses, having taken advantage of the unemployment situation and the absence of a powerful workers' organization, have reduced the already miserable conditions to a point of slavery. Wages have been reduced to a starvation level, the working time lengthened to 14 and 15 hours a day.

The Dotts Cafeteria Company after having reduced the wages of their employees to the lowest possible level, on top of it, forces them to buy shares in the company, with a threat of losing their jobs. Under these conditions and with the persistent propaganda of the FWIU the workers realized the necessity of an organization as the only weapon against the attacks of the bosses. As a first step they organized their shop committees. Through their stool-pigeons the bosses were able to find out who were in these committees, and with hypocritical excuses began firing them one at a time. The union immediately staged a demonstration in front of the company offices demanding the reinstatement of the discharged workers. Although the company promised to comply with the demands of the union, a few days later they fired more bakers who were members of the union. Under these conditions a strike on the part of the union was not only inevitable but a necessity. The strikers and the organization are

(Continued on Page 3)

## Two Framed Up by Peabody Coal Co.

Springfield, Ill.

Dewitt C. Webb, one of the outstanding leaders of the Bonus Army while in Washington, captain of the Bonus Army at Camp Neal in Springfield and honorary member of the Progressive Miners of America and his co-worker, John Wang, have been framed-up and railroaded to Vandalla State Prison for one year and eight months respectively and fined 300 dollars. The framed-up charges against them was that they carried concealed weapons while on the picket lines against the Peabody Coal Co. But the evidence in the case showed conclusively and without the shadow of a doubt that neither Webb nor Wang had any kind of weapon while on the picket lines. The evidence showed that Webb was beaten up by the State Highway police and then arrested and after that taken to jail and framed in the Sangamon County Jail. The evidence further showed that Chief Moody, of the State Highway Police and his Cossacks on the morning that Webb was beaten up had been told to "get" Webb and to "bring him in." Within a few minutes after a decision was rendered against Webb and Wang, they were rushed on to Vandalla State Prison.

Why all the haste? And what is the real reason for the framing-up and railroad of Webb and Wang to prison? Because the Progressive Miners of America is

(Continued on Page 2)

## Crisis in Germany Manifesto of the Left Opposition

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE C. P. U. S. A.  
TO ALL COMMUNIST WORKERS!

The onslaught of Fascism is sweeping over the German working class with breath-taking swiftness. The heavy blows already struck have served to raise the necessity of united front action as the immediate life-and-death question of the German proletariat. The cry for the united front is resounding from the ranks at a high pitch, spurred on by the whip of events.

Under this pressure from the proletarian mass, both the yellow social democracy as well as the Centrist Stalinist bureaucracy have been forced to give an immediate answer to the question of the practical formation of the united front. It is this above all which accounts for the reported united front negotiations between the Second and the Third Internationals. It is in this light that the Left Opposition greets the reported negotiations as the incident fulfillment of a demand that the Bolshevik-Leninists have been fighting for from the beginning of the Fascist danger—as a condemnation of the correctness of its revolutionary foresight. If the reports are true, a desperately necessary step has been taken, if they are not true, a criminal and unforgivable hoax has been perpetrated on the whole international working class!

The Left Opposition has been fighting for the application of the Leninist united front tactic, for the establishment of the proletarian united front as the gateway to the revolutionary struggle against Hitlerism, to the working class solution of the German crisis, to the extension of the World October.

The Left Opposition says to the Communist workers: If the necessary turn of the Communist International is really to be carried out, if it is to be carried out in the revolutionary sense, the negotiations between the revolutionary and the reformist Internationals must be brought out into the broad daylight! No compromises behind the scenes but united struggle agreements concluded before the eyes of the Communist and social democratic workers! No covering up of mistakes, no silence on the past, but candid and frank explanations are necessary: Why the new turn, what is to be carried out, on what basis?

To leave the confusion of "social Fascism", of the "united front from below" unexplained, to fail to bring clarity on these questions—that is the way to make the turn an empty, worthless maneuver, that is the way to undermine the progress which is essential. That

must not be. Clarity, above all else, is the need of the moment.

The Left Opposition, in America as well as elsewhere, has been in the forefront of the struggle against German Fascism because this struggle is the central task of proletarian internationalism, of the revolutionary working class in the present period. As the international vanguard of the working class, the Left Opposition has pointed out tirelessly that the fate of Germany—the weakest link in the chain of a decaying capitalism gripped by its deepest and most widespread crisis—concentrates within itself the fate of Europe, of the world. We have pointed out that there the solution will be given for years to come—on the road to the international extension of the October revolution or on the road to the triumph of world reaction and mortal danger to the existence of the Soviet Union.

A capitalist Germany—under Fascist rule—cannot exist without imperialist aggression against the USSR. A socialist Germany can only exist as a unit with the USSR in its extension to the Soviet United States of Europe. That is what the question of Fascism

or Communism means to the international working class.

Precious time has already been lost. Many unnecessary sacrifices have already been made. The Fascist consolidation in Germany has been going on apace. But the decisive battle has not yet been fought. The test of forces between the ranks of the united proletariat and the motley hordes of Hitler's Brown shirts has not yet come out into the open.

The united front of the proletariat is on the order of the day for practical arrangements. The treacherous half-way and half-hearted measures of the social democracy will stand exposed in their nakedness once the proletarian united front is established. The open struggle between Fascism and working class can only be a struggle to annihilation, to the bitter end. In such a struggle the masses of social democratic workers will surge far over the heads of their treacherous leaders. Their will to life, to power will merge with that of the proletarian vanguard, the ranks of Communism.

The Fascist camp and the camp

(Continued on Page 2)

## An Open Letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party

To the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of the U. S. A. Comrades:

Events in Germany are moving with break-neck speed. There is very little time left. The German proletariat, facing the body avalanche of Fascism, stands in desperate need of international aid. In the first place, it needs the aid of the Communist International in guiding it to a correct policy. A tremendous responsibility rests on the Comintern in this fateful hour. As a section of the Comintern, the American party bears a full share of this great historical responsibility. The Left Opposition, which is a faction of the party and the Comintern, turns to you now once more with concrete proposals for a line of action which in our opinion must be followed without delay.

Our proposals are the following:  
1. That the American party openly demand of the Comintern and the German C. P. that they adopt completely and unambiguously and carry out in practise the policy of the united front.

2. That the American Party demand the convening of the 7th

Congress of the Comintern immediately, with the participation of the International Left Opposition, and that Trotsky and Rakovsky be especially summoned to Moscow to take part in the Congress.

3. That the German question be put as the most important question before the party, that systematic discussion on it be organized in every unit of the party from top to bottom, and that it be the first point on the agenda of the forthcoming party convention.

4. That the Left Opposition be readmitted to the party on the basis of party democracy; that the American C. P. support in the Comintern the readmission of the Left Opposition on an international scale, and the release and return of the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union.

5. That the party call for a united front conference of all workers organizations, including the Communist Party and the A. F. of L., to formulate a concrete program for united front demonstrations in solidarity with the German workers. This action to begin on a national scale, and proceed from that to local actions along the same line.

For several years now, week in and week out, the Left Opposition has been warning of the very things that are happening now in Germany as the consequence of a false policy. It has predicted and its predictions are literally verified. The Left Opposition has pointed out the way and the events have confirmed its prognosis. It is time now to turn the helm. There is very little time left.

We hope you will realize it, and do your part to help the Comintern and the German party to realize it, before it is too late. The way to do this has been outlined above. The Left Opposition for its part stands ready, now as always, to help the party find its way on the path of international duty. Our agitation, our criticism, and our warnings are all directly loyal to this end. And in any actions which will be undertaken, to rouse the American working class and form a united front of international support the members of the Left Opposition with the German proletariat, all will put themselves at the disposal of the party for any service required of them.

With Communist Greetings,  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)  
J. P. CANNON, Secretary.

One thing is certain. American imperialism must liquidate the bulk to win in the international struggle for the dominating position and of its heavy internal debt if it is to make the Dollar the basic international medium of exchange. The capitalists had to find some form of juggling the contradiction between the gold standard internationally and the need of liquidation of the internal debt nationally. The present move of the bankers is a smaller group at the top.

(Continued on Page 2)

## THE PARIS COMMUNE March-May 1871

Speaker:  
Martin Abern

at the International Workers Hall, 126 East 16th St.  
FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1933, at 8 P. M. ADMISSION: 15c

MANHATTAN  
MASS MEETING

The ALBANY CONFERENCE  
And the Next Step in the Unemployment Movement  
Sponsors: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speaker:  
JAMES P. CANNON  
Delegate of the Left Opposition to  
the Albany Conference

IRVING PLAZA  
15th Street and Irving Place  
SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1933  
ADMISSION 15c