

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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C.I. Turn to the United Front in Germany

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has made a distinct turn in the policy of the united front. Now that its Manifesto of March 6 has finally been made public in the United States, it is possible to give a more detailed and thorough evaluation of its significance.

Three days before the publication of the Manifesto in the Daily Worker, its new editor Sam Don declared in the leading editorial of March 15, 1933 that no turn at all had been made by the Communist International, that the categorical refusal to make a united front with the social democratic leaders remained the policy of Stalinism. The copy of the Manifesto came the following day—not through the regular channels to the Central Executive of the party, but in the form of a copy of the London Daily Worker which had, in turn, translated it from the Paris L'Humanite.

Can there be any doubt about the sharpness of the turn after reading this passage, and more, which we quote below? At the New York party membership meeting, reported elsewhere in this issue, Hathaway had the effrontery to deny that any change in policy has been made by the Comintern. The bureaucrats of the party and the International, concerned primarily with their own tattered reputations, with their prestige which events have so cruelly undermined, with their posts, which are endangered, are making a mis-

able attempt to preserve the theory of infallibility by shouting to the membership whom they have bewildered and demoralized: We were right yesterday and we are right today. Our policy yesterday was correct, so is our policy of today. The situation may have changed, but our line has not changed. In this way, the Stalinists continue to confuse and disorient the party workers, who are consequently rendered incapable of ridding the working class in general of its confusion and disorientation.

Is it really necessary to prove at this date that the frightened Stalinist center has been forced to make a turn? The theories and practices which it dined into the minds of the Communist workers in the last three years—is it conceivable that they have already been forgotten? To refresh the memory, we quote only from some of the most recent contributions to revolutionary tactics made by the Stalinists in this question:

Just a week before the Manifesto appeared, the "Educational Department, National Committee, Young Communist League U. S. A." issued its "Pamphlet Outline No. 1" entitled "What is Happening in Germany?" So recent is its publication that it has not yet even been discussed in all the New York units of the youth League. On page 9 of this authoritative document, we read: "4. From the above it will readily be seen why

the Communist Party of Germany cannot propose a united front with the leadership of the Socialist Party of Germany. To do so would amount to making peace with these leaders and, therefore, with those whom they represent (capitalists) and would amount to betraying the proletarian revolution. The Communist policy of united front is a weapon for struggle against the S. P. leaders, based on the immediate needs of the workers for which the S. P. leaders will not fight. For this reason, all the traitors from Communism (Trotsky, Lovestone) to bring about the unity of the C. P. and the leaders of the S. P. is in the final analysis, a betrayal of the German working class and the proletarian revolution." (Our emphasis.)

What was nothing short of a betrayal of the proletarian revolution a week ago, what was nothing else but "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism"—is now taught to the Communist workers as good, sound Bolshevism!

On February 20, Bedacht wrote in the Daily Worker (just two weeks before the Manifesto appeared in L'Humanite): "Renegades of Communism, Trotsky, Lovestone and others... come with proposals of united fronts between the Communist and Social Democratic Parties and accuse the Communist party of splitting the workers because it insists on addressing its call for a united front not to the Noskes, the Scheidemanns and the

Wells, but to the masses of the social democratic workers." (Our emphasis.)

Could the difference between good Bolshevism and Trotskyist renegade be put more bluntly and unmistakably?

The January 15, 1933 issue of the Communist International reprinted Thaelmann's speech at the 12th Plenum in which he specifically condemns the Berlin district of the party for proposing to the social democracy a joint demonstration against Fascism—a thoroughly correct proposal—and unlike the Manifesto of the Comintern, a timely proposal, less timely than when it was made by the Left Opposition, but still more timely than the present Manifesto.

"Trotsky," declared Thaelmann, "said as follows to quote his word for word: 'One must actually declare complete readiness to form a bloc with the social democratic against Fascism... One must compel social democracy to for a bloc against the Fascists.' This policy would mean, 'that we would abandon our correct Bolshevik policy.'"

How bitterly one must reflect upon the fact that this obstinate failure by Thaelmann and the Comintern leaders to "abandon our correct Bolshevik policy" (i. e., the thoroughly wrong Stalinist policy) in good time, is being paid for at the present moment by Thaelmann himself and thousands of other courageous proletarian revolution-

weakeness, its readiness to betray at the crucial moment, its vacillations at all times. In a word, the social democrats have been demanding that the Communist party dissolve itself into a socialist-dominated fusion, thus assuming equal responsibility for social democratic betrayal.

With indignation and contempt, the Communists have repeatedly spurned this "clever" proposal, and the Left Opposition, while polemicalizing against the Stalinist conception of the united front, has nevertheless supported the party wholeheartedly in its rejection of "non-aggression pacts" with the social democracy. Non-aggression pacts of a similar nature with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuo Min Tang, with Purcell and the Trade Union Congress leaders, brought about the destruction of the Chinese revolution and the British militant movement respectively.

Now, however, we read towards the end of the Comintern Manifesto: "In the adoption and practical carrying out of these two conditions, the ECCI considers it possible to recommend the Communist parties during the time of common fight against capital and Fascism to refrain from making attacks on social democratic organizations... The most ruthless fight must be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strikebreakers

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LEON TROTSKY

Alarm Signal

The Second Five Year Plan

The Seventeenth party Conference, in February 1932, approved the directives of the second five year plan. Its annual coefficient of growth of industry was set at 25 percent, whereas Stalin explained that this coefficient would even be surpassed in the process of configuration and fulfillment. The Left Oppositionists cautioned against record-breaking leaps in industrialization. They were accused of counter-revolution, and placed in solitary confinement.

Eleven months later, in January 1933, Stalin proclaimed unexpectedly that the coefficient of growth during the second five year plan would be, in all probability, around 13 percent. None so much as dared to contradict him or to refer to the decision of the year before. Thus, the actual results of the first five year plan buried the fantastic project of the second five year plan, before the latter could have been supplanted by a new one. At present, there is no second five year plan at all. Nor is there any possibility of one in view of the chaotic condition of economy at the close of the first five year plan. The January plenum sketched out only hazy directives. Considerable time will yet be spent upon a formulation of the second five year plan and it will undergo more than one change.

The current year 1933 turned out to be separated factually from the second five year plan. The control figures for it have been designated apart from the general perspective. Obviously, the concocters of the plan for 1933 sought only to mitigate those disproportions, and to plug up those yawning gaps which were inherited from the first five year plan.

In their reports, Molotov and Ordonikidze tried to mock at our proposal that 1933 be set apart as the year of "capital reconstruction of Soviet economy". The reporters cited as a fact that during 1933 new enterprises would also be undertaken. As if we had excluded this, as if we had made a point of putting patches on old rubbers, and not of the "reconstruction" of economy as a whole. The struggle to restore the disrupted balance presupposes, necessarily, also new constructions, but under the head of correcting mistakes made in the past, and not under the chapter of piling up new mistakes.

Thus, under the blows of the crisis, which it did not foresee, and which it does not openly admit even now after it has broken out, the leadership has been forced to retreat in the sphere of industrialization even as it had begun to retreat still earlier in the sphere of collectivization. However, it is executing its maneuvers of retreat stealthily, partially, without a plan, hiding the significance of its own actions from others as well as from itself, and preserving completely thereby, even redoubling its methods of barefaced bureaucratic commandeering. The new zigzag of Stalinist policies is an unmistak-

Bonapartist Tendencies in the Party

Against the background of enforced silence and irresponsibility, the economic crisis becomes a double, triple danger. The more bankrupt and despotic the leadership is, the more widespread becomes the resistance of beings as well as things. The ruling clique takes for granted that only activities of the class enemy are manifest in all types of disharmony, opposition, resistance, dissatisfaction, passivity and friction which are engendered by objective obstacle, and be caused by miscalculations and privations. The bureaucracy, which up to 1928 announced the kulak danger was a canard originated by the Left Opposition uncovers at present after "the liquidation of the kulak as a class", the kulak danger there and everywhere, within the Soviet

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Hathaway Seeks to Explain Away C.I. Turn at Membership Meet

At a closed meeting of the Communist party membership on Monday, March 20, the district organizer Hathaway explained the united front to the party. His speech deserves the fullest analysis as a typical example of theoretical confusion, misstatement of the German situation and misunderstanding of the factors involved.

Hathaway began his speech by a consideration of the capitalist crisis in America, but we pass over his false position on this score to an examination of the main question before the meeting.

The Hathaway Apologies

After dealing with the economic situation in America, Hathaway turned to Germany. He stated that there was a growing feeling among our party members that the German situation was due to the blunders of the German Communist Party. In answer, he attacked the Left Opposition for its defeatism. He

characterized its members as "yellow curs", said of the Militant that it was enough "to make any decent Communist vomit", and that the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the Left Opposition "should arouse a bench attitude in all Communists". After this subtle refutation of sound Marxist-Leninist theory, Hathaway attempted an elaborate rationalization of the German situation by means of the theory of social Fascism. His argument in effect was this: As the forces of counter-revolution grow correspondingly. There cannot be a revolution without a counter-revolution. From this Marxist truth, Hathaway, and all other Stalinists, draw the false inference that this growth of counter-revolution is uniform and continuous. Thus it follows that Hitler's coming to power means no radical change in the correlation of forces, but only some intensification in the counter-revolutionary camp. Hence, at most, the German proletariat has suffered a slight setback. Hathaway entirely forgot in stating his argument, that Fascism means, among other things, an attack upon all workers' organizations, complete suppression of the workers' press and propaganda, the loss to workers of all their weapons—guns, press and organizations. This fact, which refutes the whole social Fascism theory, which makes the German situation so desperate, Hathaway omitted. He said optimistically: "The German proletariat

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First Daily of Opposition

We have just received the news that the paper of our Greek comrades, Pail ton Takson (Class Struggle) which has been appearing twice a week for a long time, is now a daily.

Through their ardent devotion to the proletarian cause, our Greek comrades have raised themselves to the highest level of the international struggle for the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. They have extensive influence over the working class. The proletarian vanguard helps and supports them. Today they have attained this splendid result: in spite of the double repression of the capitalist bourgeoisie, which has thrown hundreds of them into prison, and Stalinist slanders and provocations, they are at last publishing the first daily paper of the International Left Opposition.

We send them our most fraternal greetings. We will give them all the assistance at our disposal in the march towards victory, by making their struggles known to the American proletariat.

Kincaid Miners Up For Trial

Chicago.—The famous Kincaid battle between Peabody's company thugs, scab miners, all armed for battle and the pickets of the Progressive Miners' Union has been shifted to the court struggle for the moment. The result of this fight in which fifty pickets were attacked by two hundred thugs and scabs, has been the indictment of 51 members of the PMA and the Women's Auxiliary charged with law violations of various kinds.

Twenty-two of the indicted miners are under charges of murder or double murder.

The first trial scheduled for March 13, has been continued to March 25. It becomes increasingly clear that the Peabody Coal Company in alliance with the UMWA and the state forces are intent upon gaining convictions in this case. For this reason a mere court struggle would be playing into the hands of the forces of reaction. In the interest of the indicted miners and the PMA it is of paramount importance to prevent this struggle from being sealed within the four walls of a capitalist court that is bound up hand and foot with the Peabody Coal Company, the Lewis machine and similar interests. What additional examples are needed to prove this, than the refusal of the Sheriff in Christian County to accept the warrant sworn out for the arrest of one of the thugs who shot and killed the wife of the striking miner, Cumerlato? It is also significant that in the arrests following the fight at Kincaid only members of the PMA and the Women's Auxiliary were rounded up. So, it becomes obvious, that this affair is another attempt to railroad a group of militant workers engaged in struggle.

That briefly is the background to the meeting called by the Civil Liberties Union of Chicago on March 14, and participated in by some of the leading organizations in the city. The aim of this meeting to build a broad united front defense movement in the interests of the Taylorville miners. Present on that night were representatives of the Chicago Workers' Committee on Unemployment, the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Socialist Party the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) represented by Joe Giganti and Albert Grotzer, and the Chicago Civil Liberties Union. Although not presented in person, the General Defense Committee, signified its intention to participate in the provisional committee of the above-mentioned organizations.

The meeting opened with reports on the case by Tom MacKenna of the Civil Liberties Union and Grotzer of the Communist League. An interesting discussion followed, where agreement was reached upon the calling of another meeting of the provisional committee which

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Workers: Out On Saturday!

A demonstration of the militant working class of New York City is to be held at 10 A. M. Saturday morning, March 25, 1933 to protest against the murder regime of Hitler-Hugenberg. The demonstration organized at the call of the Communist party, is to be held at the corner of Whitehall and South Streets, hard by South Ferry, in front of the German Consulate. It is the elementary duty of every class-conscious worker in the city to join in this first important public demonstration to be organized in New York since the assumption of power by the Hitlerites. By our serried ranks and united deeds, by crying out in a single loud voice our vows of international solidarity, we will help to make the Brown Shirts assassins feel the pressure of the working class of the world, and give encouragement to the oppressed proletariat of Germany.

The Left Opposition wholeheartedly endorses the demonstration and plans to participate in it with all its forces. The New York branch of the Communist League (Opposition) has issued a mobilization call to all its members and sympathizers to participate in the demonstration. All friends and supporters are therefore urged to assemble first at the International Workers School Hall, 126 East 16 Street, at or before 10 o'clock in the morning, so that our contingent may march in a body in the demonstration before the Consulate. Attendance at the hall IN TIME is urgently needed.

I.L.D. Allows Reactionary Lawyer To Injure Scottsboro Struggle

One of the bright spots in the recent record of the International Labor Defense has been the struggle for the nine Scottsboro boys. The I.L.D. had the original good sense and courage to take this difficult case. It provided a good legal defense, built a fair mass movement and a good publicity campaign, won a series of impressive partial victories which saved the lives of the boys four times, and raised the issue of a rape frame-up to the level of a significant and clear political struggle. It would be unforgettable if, after all this, so that our contingent may march in a body in the demonstration before the Consulate. Attendance at the hall IN TIME is urgently needed.

The Times reporter states that Mr. Samuel Liebowitz, of I.L.D. counsel in the new Scottsboro trial, has divorced himself "from the Communist activities which have helped crystallize sentiment in the South against the accused Negro since the I.L.D. interested itself in the case". After declaring himself

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First Underground Leaflet of Left Opposition Issued in Germany

The Militant has just received the first underground leaflet to be issued in Germany by the Left Opposition since the assumption of power by the Hitler gang. Together with the whole Communist movement, our brother section in Germany has been suppressed; so also has its weekly organ, Die Permanente Revolution. True to its revolutionary duty, however, our comrades are continuing with their work under the most difficult circumstances. The leaflet, issued in Hamburg, is mimeographed both in German and English and is addressed to all marine and railroad transport workers. We present it here in full!

TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT

To the Seaman, Transport Workers and Railroad Men! Under the insignia of the bloody terror of the Swastika, the Fascist dictatorship is being established in Germany. The streets have been cleared for the brown terror troops of the Hitler army. Thousands of proletarian corpses already litter the path of Fascism. Many thousands more will follow. The terror of the Bismarck socialist laws are being surpassed a thousand fold. The extermination of proletarian class consciousness—The smashing of all workers' organizations—The robbing of all the democratic rights conquered by the working class—Back to barbarism—These are the aims of Fascism. A defeat of the German working class and a final victory of Hitler will be the signal for the world bourgeoisie: To establish the blackest reaction

in every country of the world. To war against the Soviet Union, To unleash a new world war. The victory of the German proletariat, however, would signify a tremendous impulse to the forces of the world proletariat in its struggle for emancipation.

The struggle of the German proletariat is not only a struggle for its own rights, for its own life. Victory or defeat for the German workers decides the fate of the first workers' state, the fate of the proletariat of the whole world. Hitler will and must be beaten in the international arena. Proletarians of the world, support actively the struggle of the German proletariat!

NOT A SHIP, NOT A TRAIN, NOT A CHEST, NOT A BAG INTO HITLERITE GERMANY!

Boycott the Germany of the Brown Terror!

International solidarity, a common will to struggle—that is the demand of the hour. Demand of all workers' organizations the convocation of A WORLD WORKERS' CONGRESS to adopt a position on the following fighting measures: Against international Fascism, Against the war in the Far East, Against the attacks on the Soviet Union, Against wage-cuts and political oppression of the proletariat and the colonial peoples. The initiative for this Congress must come from the Communist International, which must invite all the international labor organization to join it in organizing this Congress. The international idea of the proletariat must become an internationalism of deeds. Force the international labor organizations to common action.

—Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Germany (Bolshevik-Leninists).

New York Entertainment

The Fiftieth Anniversary of Karl Marx will be Celebrated at the Headquarters of the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL 126 East 16th Street on Saturday, March 25, 8 P. M. Admission: 15 Cents

Aspices: New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

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The Crisis In the Soviet Union

SPEAKERS: JAMES P. CANNON, MAX SHACHTMAN, MARTIN ABERN

Stuyvesant Casino 2nd Avenue and 9th Street ADMISSION 15 CENTS

FRIDAY MARCH 31, 1933 at 8 P. M. Aspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)