

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Hundreds at Toronto Meeting

Toronto.—The voice of international proletarian solidarity with the German toilers, again rang out in Toronto as Jewish and German workers jammed to capacity two halls, in a stirring protest demonstration against Fascism and Jewish pogroms in Germany; hundreds of other workers again had to be turned away for lack of accommodation. Such was the response to the leaflet issued just one day previous, calling for international proletarian action against Fascism.

The "United Front Conference" which called this mass demonstration is doubly significant; first because it is the first real united front organized by the workers in Canada against Fascism, and secondly because it marks the first united front of Communist and reformist organizations held in Toronto for a number of years. While as yet the conference has been limited to Jewish proletarian bodies it was announced at the sitting by the sponsor, the "Left Poale Zion", that the Labor Party (reformist) has made plans to call a similar conference of all the English trade unions and labor organizations shortly to which they would become a part.

The call of the Comintern for united front action of the Communist and the reformist organizations, even at this late date has already had its response. Significant is the fact that the Left Poale Zion and not the Stalinists sponsored this conference. The Stalinist press even at late as two weeks ago in an editorial reply to the Militant denied that a change of policy had taken place and that united front action of Communist and reformist organizations was permissible.

The Left Opposition was represented at the Conference by the Unser Kampf Club and Spartacus Youth organizations. Let us now refer back to the mass demonstration itself.

The first speaker was our comrade M. Spector. The response from the gathering at his appearance must have nettled the Stalinist leaders, as it showed that their campaign of slander against him was a flop.

Comrade Spector in a true internationalist speech pointed out that Fascism was not just a Jewish question but one of the international working class. That the Jewish problem would only be solved with the victory of the proletariat over capitalism. The success of Fascism meant war against the USSR which we must defend with our last drop of blood. Organized united front action of whole international proletariat would defeat Fascism. The L. O. welcomes a real united front action of Communist and reformist organizations against their common enemy. For two years we have fought for its realization.

I will pass over the speeches of the Left Poale Zion the German worker and the right wing representative and come to that of com. Ehrlich, the Stalinist spokesman. Comrade Ehrlich also made a very able speech on behalf of his group. Comrade Ehrlich did not lack the gall to stand up and say, "we always stood for united front action of Communist and reformist organizations, and that it was the reformist leadership who alone were against this." "The united front from below only," "social Fascism"—where, oh where, lie ye buried!

After writing the above, the latest issue of the Kamf, the Stalinist organ, in the Jewish language came off the press, with a report of the conference, in which they say, "...The struggle against Fascism cannot be widely developed if the Conference will base itself on representatives of organizations which don't exist and have no following amongst the masses" (i. e., the Spartacus Youth Club, Unser Kampf. If this is true then we ask the editors of the "Kamf", why the continual venomous attacks against us in your press. Is it logical for a paper to write editorials against people "who don't exist" and "have no following"? The editors of the Kamf are not so illogical; they are only trying to cover up the truth, which is the growth of the Left Opposition and the crisis inside their own ranks. Workers Unity also devotes more than a whole page of the last issue to refuting the ideas of the "handful of Trotskyists" who don't exist. Even the C. L. D. L. (I. L. D.) must also condemn the "half dozen Trotskyists who have no following".

Further on in this "report" we learn that "Spector voted against all the proposals of the Left wing and supported the Left Poale Zion." Do the editors of the "Kamf" believe this also? No! We know their reply, "What are a few lies more or less when it is all in the interests of the revolution?" Unfortunately for the political position of the Stalinist leaders, the number of lies seem to be growing more and not less, and the interests of the revolution have not obtained any gains by such methods.

GREEK L. O. IN ELECTIONS
In view of the opportunist election tactic of the official party which appeared on the ballot as the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc—the Greek Archio-Marxists (Left Opposition) participated independently in the recent election. It succeeded in bringing the full Communist program before the workers at rallies as well as in advancing the campaign for a united Communist party.

A Stalinist United Front in Frisco

San Francisco.—After an unbelievably long delay the Communist Party in San Francisco decided to have a united front mass meeting in protest against the Fascist terror in Germany. It seems that the protest mass meeting of the Jewish population against the persecutions of Jews reminded the Stalinist leadership that something is going on in far-away Germany. But at this point the great strategists of small maneuvers were immediately confronted with the problem of how to get up the meeting. It is all right for the Communist Party in New York to call a united front mass meeting in its own name. These hard boiled Easterners can stand the sudden change of temperature. But how will the sensitive Californians with their indelible imaginations stand the sudden change of the hot temperature of the "Third Period" to the cool realization of the bankruptcy of the theory of "Social Fascism"? The bureaucratic imagination put so severely to the test of its life, flares up in the racket of its previous experience and lands... on the Workers Cultural Federation. That small, till now obscure organization will start the great tempest which will sweep Hitler off his feet! The united front mass meeting will be called by this organization... with "the wholehearted support" of the Communist party!

When I came to that "united front" conference I found there some thirty people, mostly representing themselves and almost all familiar faces. The small room was so big and the anticipations of the strategists so modest that the representative of the I. L. D., told us that the next meeting will take place in a smaller room; it will be less expensive.

When the names of the delegates were being called I handed in the following note: "Being a member of the Communist League of America (Opposition), an organization which is fighting in the forefront against the danger of Fascism in Germany, I ask to be seated at this united front conference as a fraternal delegate." And as soon as his chance came a party bureaucrat jumped up and made a motion not to seat me. Another supported him by saying that there is no organization of the Opposition in the city. I reminded him to not avail that at the Tom Mooney united front conference the delegate from the Food Workers Industrial Union was seated as a full-fledged delegate though there is not even a single coffee stand which it controls in this city. The German Cultural Association was adamant in not listening to reason.

Anyway the delegate of the A. F. of L. Union of the Bakery Wagon Drivers, an old timer in the Left wing movement, asked for the floor and vigorously protested against bringing this kind of factional fight into the united front. He said that "if a corrupt A. F. of L. faker would come in he would get the floor right away, but when a militant worker who is willing to fight against Fascism is offering his cooperation, he is shouted down. These are the methods of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party just as well as the opportunist leaders of I. W. W." After that some of the delegates asked me again to explain what kind of an organization the Left Opposition is, which I willingly did. That closed the discussion... A motion was carried to send a telegram to the German ambassador in Washington with the request to deliver it to Hitler. Except that little incident with the "Trotskyist", everything went so smoothly that even the Moscow Art Theatre could not do better; the roles were very well distributed.

L. GREEN

When the names of the delegates were being called I handed in the following note: "Being a member of the Communist League of America (Opposition), an organization which is fighting in the forefront against the danger of Fascism in Germany, I ask to be seated at this united front conference as a fraternal delegate." And as soon as his chance came a party bureaucrat jumped up and made a motion not to seat me. Another supported him by saying that there is no organization of the Opposition in the city. I reminded him to not avail that at the Tom Mooney united front conference the delegate from the Food Workers Industrial Union was seated as a full-fledged delegate though there is not even a single coffee stand which it controls in this city. The German Cultural Association was adamant in not listening to reason.

Anyway the delegate of the A. F. of L. Union of the Bakery Wagon Drivers, an old timer in the Left wing movement, asked for the floor and vigorously protested against bringing this kind of factional fight into the united front. He said that "if a corrupt A. F. of L. faker would come in he would get the floor right away, but when a militant worker who is willing to fight against Fascism is offering his cooperation, he is shouted down. These are the methods of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party just as well as the opportunist leaders of I. W. W." After that some of the delegates asked me again to explain what kind of an organization the Left Opposition is, which I willingly did. That closed the discussion... A motion was carried to send a telegram to the German ambassador in Washington with the request to deliver it to Hitler. Except that little incident with the "Trotskyist", everything went so smoothly that even the Moscow Art Theatre could not do better; the roles were very well distributed.

L. GREEN

When the names of the delegates were being called I handed in the following note: "Being a member of the Communist League of America (Opposition), an organization which is fighting in the forefront against the danger of Fascism in Germany, I ask to be seated at this united front conference as a fraternal delegate." And as soon as his chance came a party bureaucrat jumped up and made a motion not to seat me. Another supported him by saying that there is no organization of the Opposition in the city. I reminded him to not avail that at the Tom Mooney united front conference the delegate from the Food Workers Industrial Union was seated as a full-fledged delegate though there is not even a single coffee stand which it controls in this city. The German Cultural Association was adamant in not listening to reason.

Anyway the delegate of the A. F. of L. Union of the Bakery Wagon Drivers, an old timer in the Left wing movement, asked for the floor and vigorously protested against bringing this kind of factional fight into the united front. He said that "if a corrupt A. F. of L. faker would come in he would get the floor right away, but when a militant worker who is willing to fight against Fascism is offering his cooperation, he is shouted down. These are the methods of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party just as well as the opportunist leaders of I. W. W." After that some of the delegates asked me again to explain what kind of an organization the Left Opposition is, which I willingly did. That closed the discussion... A motion was carried to send a telegram to the German ambassador in Washington with the request to deliver it to Hitler. Except that little incident with the "Trotskyist", everything went so smoothly that even the Moscow Art Theatre could not do better; the roles were very well distributed.

L. GREEN

For the Opposition!

Form American Section of International Commission

(Continued from Page 1)
shevik Party and of the world labor movement. That is just why they were struck down during the years of political ebbs in the U. S. R. and of successful counter-revolution in the whole world. The repression which has struck them becomes more difficult as the events confirm the correctness of the criticism and the warnings of the Left Opposition. The shortage of supplies in the U. S. S. R. now renders exceedingly difficult the existence of all strata of the population, even in the industrial and cultural centers of the country. It is not difficult to imagine the unbearable physical privations to which are subjected the thousands of opponents of the ruling faction, scattered throughout prisons and in the most distant choked-off points of Siberia and Central Asia. Never before have the deported suffered such privations as today. In the years of the revolutionary high tide, the liberal and radical bourgeoisie rendered substantial assistance to the deported and the imprisoned. In the years of world revolutionary ebb, of world crisis and of famine in the U. S. S. R., the vanguard of the October Revolution can expect support only from its most devoted and its surest friends.

How necessary and urgent this support is, is attested best of all by this extract from a letter from Moscow which I have just received: "I want to write to you especially with regard to the deportees, and their difficult situation. Difficult is the least one can call it. Their situation is horrible. The comrades are literally given up to their fate—hunger and the elements. They are not given work. They are deprived of rations, they have insufficient warm clothing, they are never through with sufferings, cold and hunger. Yesterday came—a rare event—a letter from V.: 'They want to get us by hunger. We will not do penance. We are right. We will die of hunger, but we will not do penance.' 'We make collections, but it is very risky here; to help the Oppositionists with a chevronetz means to fall into the lists of enemies, and to be deported. And money does not go good, since, in the place of deportation, it is impossible to buy anything and from here we can send practically nothing. We need Torgsin coupons, we need foreign exchange.

"Do whatever you can abroad. Undertake a campaign for the benefit of the deported Oppositionists. The question is one of the physical destruction of our comrades: sincere and devoted revolutionists. Many of them have proved for decades their fidelity to the revolution, to Bolshevism, to the Soviet State."

In appealing to you for help, I am fulfilling an elementary duty toward my friends, my companions in ideas and in arms. I hope that you will accomplish your duty toward the fighters of the October Revolution. Modest as the help of each one may be, we must make sure of it, for the need brooks no delay.

Subscriptions can be sent to the following address:
SIDNEY HOOK, Treasurer of the American Commission,
234 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

An accounting for the sums received and for their distribution will either be published in the press or sent periodically to all the subscribers.
Signed: L. TROTSKY,
Chairman of the Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition).

Illinois Hunger March Smashed
(Continued from Page 1)
among the miners. To portray the horrors of the unemployment among the Illinois miners needs someone with a Dantesque imagination. And now that the summer months are almost upon us, the economic situation throughout the state is growing worse, with factories and coal mines closing down. More and more workers are forced to organize in order to get their relief from the state. That is why the state officials mobilized the armed forces of the whole state to combat and crush the Hunger March. But despite the reign of terror that was let loose against the unemployed workers, the workers responded in great masses to the call of the Unemployed Workers' Committee for the March on Springfield. In many localities many hundreds gathered and waited to go to Springfield, but were unable to start because of the lack of transportation.

After the Hunger March was smashed and the various columns of the Marchers were forced to turn back to their home towns, the Governor issued a statement that he would allow an audience to a committee of twenty, picked by the Hunger Marchers. After the Governor had put on a reign of terror the like of which has never before been attempted in the state of Illinois, this gesture was nothing more nor less than a Cornish hug and a political snare.

The Left Opposition warned the state committee in advance that this maneuver on the part of the Governor was nothing more than political chicanery and that to go before the Governor with a committee of twenty would not only be capitulating to him, but also a betrayal in the eyes of the thousands of unemployed workers who took part in the Hunger March, and that the correct revolutionary policy under the circumstances would be to boycott the Governor. In line with this policy the Hunger March Fraction of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) and the Spartacus Youth Club issued a statement. The statement was then shown to several of the Hunger Marchers and the result was that they immediately saw correct and refused to go to see the Governor. But, of course, the Stalinist bureaucrats, had only one political tactic—handed down to them from above. When it was smashed by the enemy they were left in a quagmire and could not see through the trap laid for them by the Governor. So when the committee appeared before the Governor, he cuttingly chided the committee for organizing the whole demonstration. And so, again, if the Stalinists had accepted the correct policy of the Left Opposition the movement could have been ahead, at least, a few steps.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.
STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (Left Opposition) ON THE HUNGER MARCH TO SPRINGFIELD.
Governor Horner has invited a committee of twenty representatives of the Hunger March (State) to Springfield to consult with him at 4 P. M. on April 7, 1933. Bearing in mind the events which preceded this invitation, we have decided to emphatically boycott this "liberal" offer of the Governor and to issue this statement to the workers of the State of Illinois:
The Governor, after violating the rights of the workers by submitting them to terror and attack, has ironically requested a meeting with himself and the delegates of the Hunger March, which is, in essence, a request for the particip-

Voices from Germany

The Condition of the Party After the Fascist Victory

(We publish below extracts from leaflets or correspondence from Germany. Everyone will understand that we have had to change the names. But all the notes we publish below are taken either from illegal leaflets or journals published by the Opposition, or from letters. Every fact reported is strictly exact. From this is outlined a tragic, but true picture. What the proletariat needs above all in these trying days is the truth, and not bragadoccio of bankrupt bureaucrats. After having seen things as they are, every proletarian will be better able to know what is to be done: to fight tenaciously for the triumph of the ideas of the Left Opposition.—Ed.)

FROM THE BERLIN DISTRICT (March 10)

For several days we have been asking all the party comrades: "How do you estimate the situation and the perspectives of the struggle against Fascism?" I have seen dozens of answers. A categorical and unanimous opinion was the result. The conclusive victory of Hitler is generally estimated as assured and inevitable.

"As an organization, the party scarcely exists any longer. After the loss of the legal apparatus of propaganda and of the bureaucratic apparatus, it has scattered like ashes. Social democrats and trade unions are powerless. Mass resistance is impossible. Scattered and not very significant actions in the best case; in case of an attempt at battle: decapitation."

A number of every lamentable concrete examples are given of the state of the party organization. In the large centers of the Rhine, the party has not had any meetings of the nuclei since January 30. Meetings of 60 functionaries are called out of whom 5 came together at one time and 17 at another. No leaflet has been issued by the party, at Cologne for example.

Since the prohibition of the press, the apparatus has vanished in thin air, without leaving behind any instructions. In the Cologne district (3,000,000 inhabitants), the Communist party has had 14,000 members for years. Official figures show that in 1932 there were 13,808 new members and 33,174 dropping out, that is a fluctuation of about 100 percent. This is characteristic for a whole number of districts. One of the principal leaders of a member of the Nazi party for nine years and had participated in the Fascist putsch in Bavaria in 1923!

The Youth (400 members) could not even get together a general meeting; nobody came. All this is symptomatic and true to different degrees in all the districts, especially in Berlin.

Since the occupation of the Liebknecht House, isolated groups are thinking of self-defense, but, abandoned by the leadership, without plan, and only by individual methods.

FROM THE PALATINATE
Here, a large number of party members consider that there is nothing more to look forward to from the party, and that only the trade unions can save the situation by taking the initiative in the struggle. Complete passivity. A comrade from H. . . . reports that a nucleus (typical) has lost 41 out of 15 44 members in the last few months.

In S. . . . before the elections, there were many party members who had the point of view: "First Fascism and then we come." The pressure of Fascism will lead to the formation of a broad united front from below. Meanwhile, no general strike, no fighting cartels, but the formation of partisan troops to disarm and "liquidate" the storm troops. It should be said that the Fascist storm troops were weak in this district. Two days before the burning of the Reichstag, the International Red Aid organized a meeting where the speaker spoke for two hours against the "main enemy"—social Fascism—without mentioning a word about Hitler.

In M. . . . the initiative in the partisan struggles proceeds more from the members of the Communist banner than from the Communist party—which is waiting for instructions which do not come. It is in this state of the party which is making a deep impression upon the comrades and is making them draw the following conclusion: Stalinism has ideologically shattered the proletarian vanguard; it has thus delivered the proletariat to the Fascist executioners whose victory is assured in advance.

FROM THE BRANDENBURG DISTRICT (Berlin)
In the intellectual and leading centers of the social democracy is to be observed a spirit of fear-stricken capitulation. The prohibition of the Reichsbanner in Thuringia took place without the slightest protest. In Leipzig, the leaders claim that they are prepared to defend their own against the storm troops if they attack as Nazi bands and not as police!

Neumann Is New Leader

Unser Wort, the illegal paper of the German Left Opposition, reports in its second issue:

The Stalinists have already found a scapegoat for their latest political crime. Ernst Thaelmann has been deprived of his function on the grounds of "improper conduct" and... his successor bears the name of none other than Heinz Neumann!

Half a year ago Heinz Neumann was discarded for "big theoretical mistakes". Neumann's confusionism was only different in its shading from that of Thaelmann. In the factional struggle that ensued, Thaelmann came out on top. Neumann went to Moscow to repent, recognized all his mistakes and conceded Thaelmann's correctness on all questions. "An important chapter of struggle had been concluded on the ideological front."

Now Thaelmann has suffered shipwreck and—holcus polcus—the "disrupter" of yesterday has become the "historical leader" of today. But the patron of the "theoretician Sauerland", the irresponsible careerist of the Canton in Thaelmann.

Fortunately, the Stalinists have lost every shred of authority among the advanced workers in Germany. The workers are turning toward revolutionary Marxism, which the Left Opposition alone embodies and represents.

—SOL LANKIN.

Communist and Syndicalism

by LEON TROTSKY

Some fundamental considerations on the relation of the party to the trade union movement with particular reference to the experiences of the French labor movement. . . . 15 cents
Pioneer Publishers
84 East 10th Street, New York.

Hitler is Chancellor. We are before the general attack against the working class. Soon the Communist party itself will be dissolved and with it all the workers' organizations. More than ever, the immediate creation of an Opposition Left wing inside the trade unions, the re-entry of the Red Trade Union Organization into the free trade unions, presents itself as a question of prime importance. . . .

Before the 12th Plenum, the party demanded the presentation at all costs of Red lists for the elections to the factory councils. The most active comrades, forced to present Red lists in the factories and to carry out this policy of the R. T. U. O. in the reformist federations, were kicked out by the hundreds, and lost the leadership of the opposition in the trade union federations, and in part, lost even the slightest contact with the members of the reformist trade unions. This line has led to the isolation of our party from the organized masses and has delivered them, bound hand and foot, to the reformist bureaucracy. . . . The party must dissolve the independent federations and lead the R. T. U. O. towards an opposition within the trade unions.

(The following letter was sent to us by a sympathizer. It points, in living terms, the heroic struggle of the German proletariat against the Fascist bands and Hitler's police.)

Hamburg—We had just finished our dinner when young X who had gone to his room, came back running: "Listen to the machine guns, there is some shooting at Rotenburg! That's it, it's the revolution!" We ran to the window. There is a frightful massacre. We witness a horrifying battle. Some neighbors are all aroused against the Communists. "They are going to seize something", etc.

"The shots grow rarer. I go out. I run. Soon I detect searchlights in the sky. I march in that direction. There are workers hastening there too. After about a quarter of an hour's walk I reached the Communist district, Rotenburg. Cops everywhere in squads. In one corner is a crowd of workers and cops. I keep on walking. All of a sudden: "Hands up!" I kept right on. At the next corner: "Clear the streets! Stop or we shoot!"

"The people crowd into the doorways, I along with them. After about five minutes, we go out again. This is the place of the tragedy. The searchlights scrutinize every window, every door, the roofs, the sidewalks. The moment we stop, a ray of light blinds our eyes. The cops in helmets keep the crowds moving with nightsticks and revolvers in hand. Some among them are carrying a kind of sub-machine gun.

I circulate among the workers, discuss with them, observe everything that is going on. A troop of 150 Nazis is marching into the Red quarter (as they have been doing for more than a week), the workers shoot at them from the windows and from the roof-tops; the Nazis return the shots, the police with them. This morning, the same thing in Barnebeck.

To come back to the original subject. First of all, the social democratic leaders do not want any alliances. The Communists, beaten down and pursued, adopted the tactic of mixing with every socialist demonstration. Sunday, the socialist leaders, finding that Communists were participating in a great number in their march, had them driven out by the police. Many socialist workers protested. That same night the social democratic papers published a circular of the Communist CEC recommending to the functionaries to mix with the socialist masses for the purpose of causing disorder and to force the socialist leaders to call the police against the Communist workers.

Wels is basing himself upon this document in his rejection of the united front.

Finally, the next day at 9:30 P. M., the dramatic moment: The Reichstag is burning. The press denounces the Communists and published so-called documents that were supposed to be found in the Karl Liebknecht House. There are arrests. . . .
March 1, 1933