

# Heckert 'Explains' the Debacle

"Hypocrites will be found to say the Opposition is criticizing the party which has fallen into the hands of the executioner. Blackguards will add: the Opposition is helping the executioner. By combining a specious sentimentalism with venomous falsehood the Stalinists will endeavor to hide the Central Committee behind the apparatus, the apparatus behind the party, to eliminate the question of responsibility for the false strategy, for the disastrous regime, for the criminal leadership: that means helping the executioners of today and tomorrow."—Trotsky: "The Tragedy of the German Proletariat." (The Militant, April 8, 1933.)

"But the S. P. G. has nevertheless found an ally. This ally is Trotsky. Being a political zero in the workers' movement he has nothing to lose; he goes licking the Fascists' boots, hoping to have himself talked about and to come out at any cost, even if only for one small hour, from political oblivion. Marauding scoundrel that he is, he drags about everywhere where workers' blood has flown in search of some political racket. The working class of Germany is suffering bloody sacrifices. Hundreds of Communists have been massacred in Germany, thousands of Communist and the best leader of the German working class, comrade Thaelmann, are imprisoned. But the ally of the Weissen and Lepfarts, Trotsky exerts his utmost in throwing the responsibility for the Fascist seizure of power from the shoulders of the social democracy on to those of the C. P. G. But what is the real meaning of the Hitler-Trotskyist platform of the "united front," conceived in order to justify the social democracy..."

"It is in this cruel fashion that the facts have exposed the counter-revolutionary meaning of the platform of the social Hitler-Trotsky, who has strained himself to prove that the social democracy and Fascism are not twins but antipodes. Under the appearance of a united front, Trotsky, Hitler's auxiliary, is straining himself to impose on the German working class the social Fascist tactic of the 'lesser evil,' that is to say, the reactionary united front which brought Hitler into power."—Fritz Heckert: "What is Happening in Germany?"—Rundschau, No. 10, Basle.)

Fritz Heckert, member of the C.C. of the C. P. G. has made his report on the situation in Germany to the E. C. C. I. His report has appeared in its entirety in the *International Correspondence*. It has been unanimously approved by the E. C. C. I. This only characterizes the "internal democracy" of the Stalinist regime. This demonstrates to what lengths the callousness of the Stalinist grave diggers of the world revolution has gone. Consequently it is not a discussion with Heckert that we have here but rather with Stalinism.

Heckert poses the question: Why has Fascism succeeded in taking power in Germany? After setting forth the fundamental realignment of class forces brought about through Fascism, he goes on to prove, with wearisome scholasticism, the permanent betrayal of the social democracy. The policy of the social democracy leads the proletariat to ruin—that is self-evident. The vanguard of the world proletariat, saw that in Aug. 4, 1914. Today the question is not whether or not the social democracy has betrayed, but how it was possible for the social democracy to conduct such a policy for 20 years and yet succeed in rallying the working masses behind its banner. Heckert refuses to answer these questions. How did it happen that the masses who were deceived and betrayed by the bourgeois republic, should find their way to the Fascist counter-revolution instead of the proletarian revolution? The Fascist party is not older than the Communist party, it did not have more time to win over the masses. Evidently, Fascism disposes of the material support of capitalism, but its ranks are recruited out of human dust. Its ideas spring from the barbaric middle ages. It is not capable of solving social questions.

Communism, on the contrary, bases itself on the force of the first workers' state on the earth. It groups around it the flower of the nation, the proletarian vanguard. Its ideas are the most progressive of the 20th century. It alone is capable of solving all the questions of social life. How then was Fascism able to triumph over the petrified Weimar democracy, how was Communism defeated?

### "Fascism Victorious... and the C. I. Correct"

Heckert maintains that while Fascism was victorious, the policy of the Communist party was, nevertheless altogether correct. The policy of the C. P. G. which led to the seizure of power by Fascism was correct. The C. P. G. had foreseen the inevitability of this Fascist development. Heckert says literally:

"Have the C. P. G. and the Comintern foreseen the inevitability of this, Fascist development of the social democracy? Did they warn the workers in advance against it? Yes, they foresaw and they forewarned. As far back as 1924, comrade Stalin had already given a steady definition of the development of social democracy toward Fascism which has been unexcelled in its exactness and in its incisiveness, a definition which became the basis of the program of the

### The Stalinist Hypocrites Answer the Roll Call

Comintern and the policy of the C. P. G.

"Fascism," said comrade Stalin, "is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization which supports itself upon the active support of the social democracy. The social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of Fascism. There is no ground for assuming that the fighting organization of the bourgeoisie can achieve decisive success in the struggle or in the conduct of the country without the active support of the fighting organizations of the bourgeoisie. These organizations do not negate one another, but rather supplement each other. They are not antipodes, but twins..." (The fighting organizations of the bourgeoisie today lend their active support to the social democracy by killing social democrats, destroying trade union headquarters and suppressing the entire S.P.G. press. That is how this whole business of supplementing really looks—H. E.)

This development was, then, inevitable? Then the C. P. G. lied when it signaled the proletarian revolution as standing before the gates? Why did the C. P. G. exist at all between 1924 and 1933, if this development was inevitable? To be consistent in "building up its policy upon this inevitability," it should have been dissolved in 1924.

There was one voice which did not consider this development inevitable. That was the voice of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Heckert knows it. He knows that its pronouncement and its authority are powerfully on the upgrade in Germany. Cognizant of this, he unloads his bad conscience in outbursts of wrath of unprecedented shamelessness.

### Heckert and His Straw-Man

Heckert begins this section of his speech with a dastardly misquotation. Revolutionary Marxists rest upon truth, Stalinism upon lies. Since the Stalinists are powerless in fighting against genuine

## Build National Jobless Union

(Continued from Page 1)

that it is in the local units and not in the national committee that we have the struggle for immediate needs and that there the need for united action is the greatest. National or state unemployed organizations joining the federation should see that their locals take part in the city federations.

The Stalinist, who at first did not want a centralized federation, decided to support the amendment and one of their speakers, Lamson, had already supported the amendment. However, Stalinist delegates were open to reason and after some discussion with us changed their position and threw their support to the report of an organization which advocated a national federation. The vote was 56 for the majority and 32 for the minority report. The final vote to adopt the disputed section received a vote of 73 for and 17 opposed, and then it was adopted as a whole unanimously.

The constitution lays down the following additional important decisions: There shall be no discrimination against race, color, creed or political opinions. The Federation is to establish the closest relationship with the EMPLOYED workers through the trade unions, industrial unions, and all other workers organizations. The Federation has the perspective of establishing one national unemployed organization.

### The Committee on Program and Policies

The third struggle of importance in the conference revolved around the report of the committee on program and policy and tried to tear the committee to pieces and dismiss them. They especially took exception to the program's position on the united front. They did not succeed in dismissing the committee. They did succeed in causing two of the committee, who supported the majority report of the committee, to resign. The rest of the committee agreed to stay and fight it out with them as well as Guss of the Unemployed Councils who was to bring in a minority report on the question of work relief, a social insurance Bill and the soldiers' bonus.

The program and policy committee came in the second time with a unanimous report, cutting down the original program but actually only condensing its form, and stating so in their second report. Guss, of the Unemployed Council, in compromising on the minority report did so for the sake of unity, in order to be able to better fight the right wing tendencies fighting the report as a whole which the Unemployed Councils, in the main, supported.

When the committee made its second report, the struggle revolved around the formula of the united front. The struggle revolved around the following formula, presented by delegate Oehler: "In this united front each organization retains its organizational independence; refrains from slander and personal attacks against each other; but maintains the right of minority expression and freedom of criticism. Under no circumstances can the united front exclude an unemployed organization from participa-

"Trotskyism," they falsify the views of the Leninists and then fight against their own falsifications. Heckert lies when he says that Trotsky demanded in his article in the Manchester Guardian of March 22 (see the Militant of April 29) that the basis of the united front with the social democrats be the "defense of the parliamentary form of government and the mass trade unions." What did Trotsky's article really say?

"Social democracy is unthinkable without parliamentary government and mass organizations of the workers in the trade unions. The mission of Fascism, however, is to destroy both. A defensive alliance between Communists and social democrats should have been based on this antagonism."

What consequences did the Left Opposition draw from the existence of this antagonism?

"It is necessary to force the social democrats into a bloc against Fascism... No common platform with the social democracy, or form with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards. March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only how to strike! Such an agreement can be concluded even with the devil himself, with his grandmother and even with Noske and Grzeslowski. On one condition, not to bind one's own hands." (Trotsky: Letter to a German Worker-Communist, Member of the C. P. G., December 1931.)

"We must therefore openly tell the social democratic, the Christian and non-party workers that the Fascists want to bring the downfall of the present (Bruening) government in order to seize power themselves; we, the Communists, consider the present government as an enemy of the proletariat, but this government supports itself upon your confidence and your votes; we want to tell this government in alliance with the Fascists (Referendum) against you. If the Fascists should attempt an insurrection, we Communists will fight against them to the last drop of blood—not in order to support the Braun-Brunel government, but in order to

## Ohio Jobless Unite

(Continued from page 1)

Most of these are subs coming in on the Club Plan Prepaid Cards. This is very good. We want to take this opportunity to explain to our new readers what this Club Plan is. A half year sub of \$6 weekly issues to the Militant is \$1. But with our Club Plan Prepaid Cards, it is only 50 cents.

### A Big Step Forward

The whole Left wing was united on this formula, including the Stalinists who had voted down the same proposition presented by the delegates at the Mooney Congress just a few weeks before. When the vote was taken only 17 voted against the formula of the united front. Then the report was adopted unanimously.

The National committee elected consists of the following with representation reserved for other important organizations not sufficiently represented:

- Chairman, Tom Dixon—Workers Leagues.
- Vice-Chairman, Guss, Unemployed Councils.
- Secretary, Leach—Workers Comm.
- Treasurer, Statman—Industrial Workers Unemployed Unions.
- Connors—Allen County Indiana Unemployed Union.
- D. Harrington—United Producers of Washington.
- V. Didwell—Peoples Council of Bellingham.
- Lamson—Unemployed Councils.
- Hugo Oehler—Unemployed Union of Gillespie.
- Truxa—East Ohio Unemployed Union.
- Zimmerman—Workers Leagues.
- Lowe—S.E. Mo. Unemployed Leagues.
- Mattcock—Workers Leagues.
- Welsh—Association of Unemployed, N. Y.

The Conference marks a real advance! —HUGO OEHLER

## L.O. Meetings in K.C.

Kansas City, Mo.—In the second of a series of two lectures held in Kansas City, Mo., May 12, and 14, comrade James P. Cannon described the role of Fascism in the present epoch and proved that its rise to power in Germany was primarily a result of the "united front from below." He showed that Hitler's German working class for some time to come but also paved the way for a capitalist attack on the Workers' Fatherland. The revisionist theory of National Socialism was held responsible and Stalin was characterized as the "organizer of working class defeats."

During the discussion that followed members of the official Communist party, of which there were several present, were repeatedly urged to take the floor, but they remained silent and thereby lent weight to the speaker's contention that Stalinism cannot stand the test of public criticism.

The first of comrade Cannon's lectures, May 12th, was devoted to "America's Road to Revolution." In a clear, Marxian analysis of the world's economic situation he foretold the coming of a cyclical recovery taking place within the re-

guard the flower of the proletariat against suffocation and extermination, in order to protect the workers' organizations, the workers' press, not only our own, the Communist, but also yours, the social democratic organizations and press. We are prepared to defend any workers' home, any printshop of workers' newspapers against the attacks of the Fascists. And we demand of you to come to our aid in case danger threatens our organizations. We propose to you the united front of the working class against the Fascists."—(Trotsky: "Against National Communism," August 1931.)

At the XI. Plenum, we recall, Manuilsky declared that only a bourgeois liberal can detect any contradiction between Fascism and bourgeois democracy. Is Heckert not "fundamentally," something of a "bourgeois liberal?" (From "Unser Wort")

Continued in the next issue

## SUB DRIVE

The sub drive is catching on. Subs are rolling in. The seeds sown in the German campaign are yielding a crop of subs. The proof of this is to be seen by three facts:

1. The subs are from new contacts in the main;
2. They are widely distributed geographically;
3. The list of Militant Builders includes the names of comrades and friends which never appeared in this list before.

### The list speaks for itself:

- H. Capelis, N. Y.....6
- A. Caplan, Kansas City.....6
- J. Ruby, Chicago.....5
- V. Dunne, Minneapolis.....4
- H. Oehler, Chicago.....3
- W. Konkow, Boston.....3
- K. Czapko, Bethlehem.....3
- D. Marcus, N. Y.....2
- A. Friend, Lynn, Mass.....2
- M. Morris, N. Y.....2
- E. Thorworth, N. Y.....1
- M. Koehler, Youngstown.....1
- J. Angelo, Springfield, Ill.....1
- A. Konkow, Boston.....1
- G. Kotz, Newark.....1
- G. Latinec, Chicago.....2
- A. G., Chicago.....2
- J. Swetow, N. Y.....1
- S. Jourard, Toronto.....1
- J. Kaplan, N. Y.....1
- S. Weinstein, Detroit.....1
- M. Basin, Pittsburgh.....1
- L. Thomson, Chicago.....1
- A. Bornstein, Chicago.....1
- D. Ross, Baltimore.....1
- A. Wolfe, New Haven.....1
- S. Gendelman, New Haven.....1
- J. Reid, Tonawanda, N. Y.....1

to participate in the united front (interruption from a socialist delegate "Not we!"); on the other hand, there was a reason to fear that the speakers of these two organizations intended to act in a manner which would disrupt and defeat the purposes of the united front. He therefore proposed that the delegates of these two organizations, although they had voted against certain points of the resolution, state that they were willing to consider themselves bound by the points and would continue to participate in the united front on this basis.

### Irving Plaza Mass Meeting

Comrade Abern opened the list of speakers on behalf of the Left Opposition, pointing out the class significance of the Rivera case and the necessity for united working class support. After several others had spoken, Phil Bard of the John Reed Club insisted on having the floor. He was finally allowed to have it, on the insistence of representatives of the Left Opposition, and repeated in effect that the John Reed Club could not allow itself to be gagged. Comrade Abern, speaking again, pointed out the incorrectness of the club's understanding of the necessity as well as the limitation of criticism within the united front—particularly after the party had offered an out-and-out, impermissible "non-aggression" pact to the socialist party.

Comrade Rivera spoke in Spanish, with Bert Wolfe of the Lovestone group as translator. The revolutionary artist went on to appeal for the unity of the workers against capitalism and Fascism, and declared that his paintings represent the banner of the proletariat.

"Capitalist buildings here and in Mexico contain my works," he said, "but if you will it, and unite, the day will come when those buildings and all that is in them will belong to the workers."

"I beg of you to omit the name of Rivera from this fight," he concluded, "and when the day comes that something more than painting or talk is required—on that day, either with your good will or without it, if necessary against it, comrade Rivera will stand in his place along with the rest of the revolutionary workers."

Preparations were announced for an open-air meeting and mass picketing to take place on Wednesday, May 17. When the united front committee met again on Monday afternoon, the delegates of the John Reed Club and the Workers School insisted that the resolution previously adopted by the committee be read and voted on again, point by point. This time they objected, not only to the point against recriminations based on past events unopposed with the purposes of the united front, but also on point 4, commending Rivera for his courageous stand against Rockefeller. They were again voted down on both points.

Comrade Field, representing the International Workers School, stated that his organization, and undoubtedly many others were present on the committee, were anxious to have the John Reed Club and the Workers School continue

# Labor Writhe Under Nazi Whip

(Continued from last issue)

The German working masses instinctively knew their enemy and were seeking the means of defense; but the leaders failed and disarmed the workers each in their own way. The social democrats prevented the workers from preparing the defense, cancelled patience and trusted in the constitution for which, however, they said they would sound the call to fight should Hitler violate it and resort to "illegal" methods. The social democratic leaders who had long ago given up their pretense to socialism and become completely bound up with bourgeois ideology had thereby also long ago abdicated the last pretense of actually leading a fight for the defense of the democracy. So when the last shreds of democracy went down in the torchlight blaze and gunpowder smoke, trampled upon by Fascist heels, their miserable position became fully revealed.

But Hitler found the Weimar constitution, written by the social democrats, sufficiently flexible to serve his purposes. He could, by the failure of his opponents, carry out all measures necessary to complete the first stage of the consolidation of his power, including the crushing of the Communist party and the throttling of the social democrats.

The Communist party leaders started from the absurd idea of concentrating the main fire against the social democratic party as the twin brother of Fascism. It was precisely the deep antagonism between the social democratic workers and Fascism which should have been made the bridge to the united working class defense. But even this simple historical lesson had been lost to the party leaders. Their bloated exaggeration of party strength and frivolous proclaiming of the general political strike could not become a substitute. On the contrary, it threw confusion and demoralization into the ranks and accelerated the party catastrophe. In the industries and within the mass organizations, from which the united working class defense should proceed, the

### Workers' Leaders Lacked Strategy Against Fascists

party policy had torn up its own roots. Save for its election victories, which were empty, it was in reality isolated from the masses long before the decisive hour had arrived. So much so, that Goebbels, the new Fascist minister for culture and propaganda, could declare, in a speech on March 31: "We broke Communism with one blow and we have isolated the social democratic party from the people."

### The Party in the Industries

How well was the party rooted in the industries? We remember that for some years there has been within every German factory, shop, mill and mine a factory council, established by the factory council law. This law, it is true, imposes definite limitations as to their powers but nevertheless they have been in the position of functioning as important organs of struggle. In a certain sense they have furnished an embryo structure of future Soviets. Naturally they should be an important basis for Communist party activities. And there is also the place to actually gauge the strength of the revolutionary party. But it is precisely in this field that its fatal weakness was most glaringly demonstrated.

In this we can now more clearly perceive the disastrous fallacy of the so-called united front from below practiced by Stalinism. The actual results prove a thousand times stronger than words that this sort of policy contradicts all tenets of genuine united front policy. The so-called united front from below was only a mask to cover up the refusal of the Stalinist leaders to build the bridge of the workers' unity of defense, composed of all organizations, Communist, social democratic and trade unions.

Actual working class unity against Fascism under the conditions existing in Germany would have unmasked all of the bureaucratic incompetent leaders. And in this the Communist party leaders, equally with their prototypes of

social democracy, feared for their positions and prestige. But from this state of affairs Fascism gained enormously in strength and self-confidence and the social democratic leaders escaped exposure.

The factory council elections particularly demonstrated the Communist party's weakness. One can argue, and with considerable justification, that in the Reichstag elections held March 5th, the party could not at all mobilize its full strength because of the pressure of the Fascist terror. But within the shops and factories at the factory council elections matters are different. That is at the source of production and exploitation where the workers are the most accessible and where they respond in the most direct sense to a correct revolutionary program. That it at the very foundation, where the class struggle receives its dynamic expression. At the present time it is necessary to add that with the increasing suppression of all of the rights of ordinary democratic channels and the general campaign of terror the party was duty bound to increase its efforts to connect the more solidly with the masses in the industries. In turn it was to be expected that the contacts below would be the stronger expressed. The party, however, was not rooted in the industries. That was proven by the factory council elections held during this period of seven weeks. To attempt to give a picture, I am presenting a cross section of these election results, reporting mainly the larger concerns.

In the "Lemna Werke," a chemical factory and one of the biggest concerns in Germany, the factory council election results were the following: The Reformist ticket received 2381 votes, Communists 884, Christian trade unions 285, Fascists 2064 and Steelhelmets 1043.

In the "Wolfen Film," the second largest chemical concern, the results were the following: Reformists 942, Communists 1795, Fascists 439, Steelhelmets 198 votes.

In the Hamburg Street Railway council elections the Reformists received 4319 votes, the Communists 189, the Fascists 158, others 106.

At the Elevated Railroad in Hamburg the results were Reformists 1152, Communists 416, Fascists 160 votes.

At the Troisdorf Dynamite factory the Reformists received 1249 votes, the Christian trade unions 209, the Communists 189 and the Fascists 189.

At the Bremen Street Railway council elections the Reformists received 860 votes, the Fascists 160, the Steelhelmets 107 and the Christian trade unions 72.

At the Phoenix Rubber Factory, Harburg, the Reformists received 1505 votes and 13 delegates, the Fascists elected one delegate, others none.

In the various Kiel factory council elections out of a total of 61 delegates elected, 57 were Reformists and 2 fell to the Fascists. These results are only a general cross section, if a more complete tabulation was to be made the results would show even less favorable for the Communists.

### The Party and the Factory Councils

When we add the total votes cast in these factories where exact figures are given we have the following results: The Reformists scored a total of 13,098 votes, the Communists 3,493 and the Fascists 3,210. There is a serious weight expressed in these figures but not on the side of the revolutionary party, despite the elections taking place at the most acute moment of attacks upon the workers. That more than anything else perhaps gives the lie to the delusions of grandeur contained in the empty boasts of the party leadership conjuring up altogether non-existing victories in this field. Thus for example the Wedding party congress held in June 1929 declared:

"The factory council elections in which the Communist Party of Germany came forward for the first time in the sharpest struggle against reformism as the bearer of the united front of the organized and unorganized, became a triumphal march in the most important industrial fields and large factories." The labor masses elected countless red factory councils under the banner of struggle against the state power, the employers and reformism."

Nothing more, nor less. The only trouble is that it was an attempt to ascribe to the party a strength it did not possess which subsequently had to be admitted by the party congress. Such is the method of inflating one's own strength out of all proportion and simultaneously minimizing the strength of the enemy. It is typical of the self-complacent bureaucracy but it is mortally dangerous to the party—as the events have now so decisively proven. Against this the Left Opposition has many times warned:

"The way to get strong is not to begin by the mistake of exaggerating one's own strength." Not only that, but the policy of consistently separating the militant minority from the bulk of the trade union membership in the factories by their separate red election lists, even though appearing under the grand name of "unity lists," contributed heavily to the isolation of the party and to the disorganization of the movement. One can say that though the party apparatus never followed a consistent policy it certainly managed to be consistent in its mistakes, even to the extent of mistaking the workers.

(Continued in the next issue)