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THE MILITANT



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Workers of the World, Unite!

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National Banking Crisis

STAGE IN GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN THIS COUNTRY THROWS BOURGEOISIE INTO PANIC; ITS 'WAY OUT' TO BE SOUGHT ON BACKS OF WORKERS

The present cyclical crisis began in 1929 with a financial crisis, in the form of a crash on the stock market; now, after nearly 3 1-2 years, it is marked by a nationwide banking crisis. What does this mean? Is it what the Stalinists call "the end of the stabilization of capitalism", or the terrified bourgeois still more simply call "the end of the world"?

many more defeats than victories in the class struggle under crisis conditions—not only in strikes against wage cuts, in the question of adequate unemployment relief and insurance, but politically they have not been able to mobilize the masses against the bourgeoisie. There is no use in recapitulating the chapter of defeats and mistakes; we have pointed out the responsibility of the Communist party as the record has developed, its failure to assemble the proletariat around its banner and assume the leadership of the broadest masses.

Fascist Elections Show Stalinist Bankruptcy

Policy of «United Front From Below» Fails to Win Over Masses of Socialist Workers

In an atmosphere of unprecedented terrorism, intimidation and the suppression of Communist, socialist and even Centrist publications and meetings, the German Nazis have gained a distinct election victory which, together with the vote rolled up by the Hugenburg Nationalists, gives them a parliamentary majority in a Reichstag which has now lost particularly all importance.

Table with 2 columns: Party Name, Votes. Includes National Socialists (288,196), Social Democrats (125,123), Communists (81,100), etc.

The Hitler regime—based on the Nazi-Nationalist coalition—thus has an absolute parliamentary majority with which to operate "legally" in the carrying out of its murderous policy of exterminating the organizations and institutions of the working class.

The election posters of both these parties were ripped off the billboards. The possibilities for election propaganda and agitation by these two parties were reduced to a tiny minimum.

Of even greater significance, is the vote cast for the Communist and social democratic parties. The Communist vote declined, and the importance of this fact, even though it is far from decisive, cannot be ignored.

Lovestone Group and the Opposition

A Political Swindle Exposed

The current issue of the Workers Age, organ of the Lovestone Right wing, contains the following attack upon the Opposition which we quote in full:

"But the most pitiful figure is not the Lovestone Right, but the Opposition, who not so long ago (Militant, July 25, 1931) insisted that it is absurd to think that the imperialists will welcome a Fascist dictatorship in Germany, who sagely informed us that 'on the contrary, they (the imperialists) have every reason to reinforce and support the social democracy and parliamentary forms'...

Oppositionists Attacked

Last Friday night at Pitkin and Rockaway Avenue, members of the Left Opposition were again treated to a wholesale exposure of Stalinism in action. For the third or fourth time in a year, the aspiring bureaucrats of the American Youth Club saw fit to stir up hysteria for a physical attack on us.

Chinese Bourgeoisie Is Impotent Before Advancing Japanese Armies

The democratic phase of the Chinese revolution included as its major task the ousting of the foreign imperialists and the national unification of China. This task could only have been accomplished with the aid of the wide masses of workers and peasants.

GERMAN MEETINGS

- MASS MEETINGS ON GERMANY. ST. PAUL MEETING. ST. PAUL LABOR TEMPLE. MAYORS RECEPTION HALL, COURT HOUSE. Minneapolis, Minn.

Newark Meeting

at the Hungarian Workers Home 87-16th Ave., Newark, N. J. Saturday Evening, March 11th, 8 P. M. THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT AND FASCISM. Speaker: JAMES P. CANNON. EVERYBODY WELCOME! (Opposition) Newark branch

Our German Campaign Is Endangered!

The end of this week will mark one month that we have been issuing the MILITANT three times a week. We have accomplished this enormous task under the impact of the German situation, and by a supreme effort.

MANHATTAN MASS MEETING

That seems most unlikely. It would mean that capitalism could be finally defeated on one sector of the economic front alone, and by the automatic working of the market, at that. The forces of the working class, poorly organized, divided and without the class leadership of a determined and clear-sighted Communist party, have had

LABOR TEMPLE

FRIDAY, MARCH 10th, 8 P. M. 14th Street and Second Avenue LARGE HALL ADMISSION 15 Cents

After the German Elections-What Now?

Speakers: JAMES P. CANNON, MAX SHACHTMAN, MARTIN ABERN, Chairman. (Opposition) Communist League of America (Opposition)

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Stalinists Sabotage United Front

St. Louis.—The Unity Conference held in St. Louis by the Unemployed Councils unanimously passed the demand of the Left Opposition for a standing committee of each organization to compose a United Front Unemployed Conference Committee. And from this committee trade union and organizational committees were to be elected to work for the Permanent United Front movement and the calling of the second conference.

Two Unemployment Conferences

Philadelphia. Last week saw two "United Front" conferences in Philadelphia on unemployment. One was sponsored by the Communist Unemployed Councils; the other by the Socialists. To both the local branch of the C. L. A. (O.) sent delegates, to present our program and to participate in the work. At the Left wing conference our delegation was seated. At the socialist conference they were, in common with all other radical organizations, not even admitted to the hall.

far reaching enough program to cope with the unemployment problem. It narrowed its aims down to the State Hunger March and Demonstration. No organizational report was discussed by the delegates. Our resolution was supported by the committee and comrade Roberts had to force the issue from the floor. The bureaucratic steering committee was able to prevent it from being taken to a vote.

I.L.D. Expels St. Louis Oppositionist

St. Louis.—Although the Beezy branch of the I.L.D. has an average attendance of about ten, the last meeting was filled to overflowing with the tense and heated faces of the South Side branch of the Communist party—not five of whom carry membership cards in the I.L.D.

lowing activities; arrange March 4th joint demonstration for immediate relief; send speakers to all working class organizations in the city asking for a speaker from each tendency; issue 20,000 popular leaflets explaining the aims of the U. F. U. C. program; make arrangements for the calling of a trade union committee to concentrate on getting union support. Payer pointed out that the entire program adopted was our "Trotskyist" program. This is the very same program which we had been urging the C. P. to adopt and for which we had been called "counter-revolutionists".

He also report upon the sabotaging of the conference work by the central committee of the Unemployed Councils—by the failure to hold the agreed upon Tuesday (Feb. 21) committee meeting. Payer introduced the motion that "the Beezy branch, I. L. D. requests the C. C. of the Unemployed Councils to carry out the decisions of the united front unemployed conference by immediately calling the proposed meeting of the U. F. U. C. committee consisting of one delegate from each organization represented at the conference". The vote was 4 affirmative and 20 negative, three abstained—all the Stalinists naturally voted against.

Then a Stalinist motion—"To accept the report of all delegates to the conference with the exception of Payer's". On the question (by Casano) as to what was wrong with Payer's report none of the Stalinists could give a reason. However they replied by voting—22 affirmative, 5 negative.

Then another Stalinist motion "to get down to business" to expel Payer from the branch because of being a "disrupter". In the discussion that followed Payer endeavored to show that it was the organization and not he. He pointed out his record in the I.L.D. branch since organized; showed how all committees, all delegations to which he was elected were sabotaged by the higher S. E. C. Due to interruptions from the Stalinists he was not allowed to continue.

Payer was then ordered to leave the hall. After Payer left, one of the newer Stalinists, Horrum, thinking to further expose "Trotskyism" made a motion for an open discussion on the "Trotskyists" with speakers from both sides. Pandemonium broke loose. The Stalinists themselves split on the question. The voting was 10 negative and 8 affirmative with 8 abstaining. The motion lost, but only by a small margin.

At the very same time Payer was being expelled at the South Side I. L. D. the following motion was made and vigorously defended on the floor at the North Side Mooney branch of the I.L.D. by George Roberts and Harry Goldberger. The Mooney branch protests to the National Committee, I. L. D., against the expulsions of workers from I.L.D. branches because of their political affiliations. In particular, members of the Communist League of America (Opposition) called "Trotskyists". We demand their immediate reinstatement in order to maintain the I.L.D. as a broad defense organization of all workers". The motion was lost but also by a narrow margin; 7 negative, 5 affirmative with 7 abstentions.

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

(We begin today with the publication of the most important of the theses adopted at the international Pre-Conference of the International Left Opposition which concluded its sessions last month in Paris. Representatives were sent from the Russian, Greek, Swiss, American and other sections of the Opposition. The theses which we reprint here is now up for discussion in the membership of the Opposition, for final adoption at the regular international Conference which is planned for convocation later in the year.—Ed.)

The task of the coming Conference of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) consists of accepting a clear and precisely-formulated platform and organizational status, as well as of selecting the leading bodies. The preceding theoretical, political and organizational work of the Left Opposition in various countries, especially in the last four years, has created sufficiently prerequisites for the solution of this task.

More will be heard from St. Louis later. Already the Stalinist bureaucratic have pointed (publicly) to other members of the L. O. and to sympathizers and stated that "they were next". We will naturally fight against the expulsions with all our forces by relentlessly exposing the absolute bankruptcy of the Stalinist bureaucrats—in whose hands the working class defense movement has actually lost in membership (10,000 members in 1929—only 8,500 in 1932!) despite the most favorable objective circumstances.

Communist workers: Why is the Communist International silent about the crisis in Germany? Why is Stalin silent?

A Political Swindle Exposed

(Continued from Page 1) Obviated by the collapse of the proletarian movement—as happened in October 1923—the bourgeoisie saves itself the expense of the inevitable ensuing sanguinary conflict, a period of "stabilization" sets in, and the Fascist movement begins to decompose. And with it, the revolutionary proletarian party. From this it does not follow that the Fascist danger to the German proletariat is now eliminated, or even definitively on the decline.

Further on in the same article: "When the official Communist party states that the social democracy is the most important prop of bourgeois domination, it repeats only that idea which served as the point of departure for the organization of the Third International. When the bourgeoisie invites it to power, the social democracy casts its vote for the capitalist regime. The social democracy tolerates (suffers) any bourgeois government that tolerates the social democracy. But even when completely discarded from power, the social democracy continues to support bourgeois society, recommending to the workers that they conserve their forces for battles, for which it is prepared never to issue a call. By paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, the social democracy provides bourgeois society with an opportunity to remain alive under conditions when it is no longer capable of living, thus turning Fascism into a political necessity."

As for branding the Brandlerist theory and practise of the "united front" opportunist, the Left

An End to Stalinist Confusion -- For the United Front!

In the Daily Worker of Monday, February 20, Max Bedacht, member of the Central Committee of the Communist party writes: "They, too, (the Left Opposition and others) come with the proposals of united fronts between the Communists and the 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 Noske, the Scheidemanns and the Wels, but to the masses of social democratic workers." (Our emphasis—G. R.)

Thus it is clear, according to Bedacht, that the German Communist Party is opposed to addressing

A Mistake in the Daily Worker

The Daily Worker of March 6, prints a picture of Joseph Stalin with the following caption: "The above picture, printed for the first time in the United States, shows Joseph Stalin, present secretary of the Communist party, Soviet Union, as he appeared in 1919 on the south front in the struggle against the white guard bands of Denikin and Wrangel, who unsuccessfully attempted to invade the Soviet Union." The Daily Worker here makes a little error. The photograph is well known to us. It is a picture of Stalin at a masquerade ball in Moscow two years ago, where he disguised himself as the Organizer of the Red Army. He lost first costume prize only to Martinov, who appeared at the ball disguised as a Bolshevik.

The Militant

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Party and Crisis

Under such conditions, a banking crisis like the present would have the profoundest social results. It would be part of a general retreat in struggle of a demoralized, organized, well-staffed and victorious army of the proletariat.

International Pre-Conference of the Left Opposition Presents Thesis

led at the beginning of this year to a new turn to the Right. According to the conditions of its privileged situation and its habits of thinking, the Soviet bureaucracy has many features in common with the reformist bureaucracy of capitalist countries. It is far more inclined to trust in the "revolutionary" Kuo Min Tang, the "Left" bureaucracy of the British trade unions, the petty bourgeois "friends of the Soviet Union", the liberal and radical capitalists, than in the independent revolutionary initiative of the proletariat. But, through the necessity of defending its position in the workers' state, the Soviet bureaucracy is forced every time into sharp collisions with the reformist hand-made-men of capital. In this way under unique historical conditions a fraction of bureaucratic centrism has separated out of proletarian Bolshevism, and has laid a heavy hand on a whole epoch of development of the Soviet Republic and of the world proletariat.

Bureaucratic Centrism is the worst degeneration of the workers' state. But even in its bureaucratically degenerated form, the Soviet Union remains a workers' state. To transform the struggle against the centrist bureaucracy into a struggle against the Soviet state, would be to place oneself on the same level as the Stalinist clique, which declares, "The State—is I". The unreserved defense of the Soviet Union against world imperialism is such an elementary task of every revolutionary proletarian that the Left Opposition tolerates in its midst no vacillations or doubts on this question. As before, it will break ruthlessly with all groups and elements which attempt to occupy a "neutral" role between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world (Monatte-Louzon in France, The Left Opposition in Imperialist Countries).

a united front proposal to the Social Democratic party. It stands for the so-called united front from below. Since such, according to Bedacht, is the position of the German Communist Party perhaps he can explain the following incident reported in the Daily Worker, Feb. 15, 1933. We quote directly from the Inprecor cable to the Daily Worker:

"The Central Committee of the Reichstag met today under the chairmanship of the Socialist Deputy Loebe, whereupon the Fascist deputies repeated their tactics of howling down Loebe and preventing a session of the Committee. He therefore, again declared the session adjourned; whereupon the Fascists pushed him from the chairman's table. The Communists, Socialists and other oppositional members then left the room...."

"In the afternoon the members of the oppositional parties met to discuss the situation. The Socialists declared the Constitution had been violated and proposed that protests be made to the Fascist president of the Reichstag, Goering, and to President Hindenburg. The Communists declared such protests were useless, and proposed a new meeting of the Control Committee to be defended by detachments of the Anti-Fascist League and the Reichsbanner." (Our emphasis—G. R., Daily Worker, 2-15-33.)

Therefore, we would like to know, and let Bedacht or any other member of the Central Committee answer:

If the Stalinists are opposed to making proposals to the leaders of the Social Democratic party, why did they propose common action to the Reichstag leaders of the Social Democratic party to defend the Reichstag Control Committee from the disruptive actions of the Fascists?

Was this proposal in line with the party policy of only the united front from below?

Why are the Stalinists for a parliamentary united front, with the leaders of the Social Democratic party in the Reichstag, which is a united front purely from the top, and opposed to a united front with the Social Democratic party on the basis of a common minimum program of struggle against Fascism, which will draw the masses into action?

If the Stalinists can propose a united front of the Anti-Fascist League (controlled by the Com-

munist party) and the Reichsbanner (controlled by the Social Democratic party) to defend a parliamentary meeting, why not a united front of the Anti-Fascist League and the Reichsbanner, the Communist party, the Social Democratic party, and the trade unions, to defend workers' meetings from the assaults of the murderous Fascists?

Let the Stalinists cease their policy of confusion! A clear-cut policy of the united front tactic of Lenin and Trotsky before it is too late. —G. R.

Trotsky's Genius Denied

With this headline, today's World Telegram prints a United Press dispatch from Moscow which reads as follows:

"Leon Trotsky's leadership of the Red Army during the Civil War period is bitterly attacked in a speech delivered by Clement Voroshilov, present commissar of war, made public today. Voroshilov denied the world-wide belief that Trotsky, now in exile, possesses great military genius. He claims that Joseph Stalin really saved the situation on all endangered fronts, and that the Red Army was built up to an imposing strength in spite of Trotsky's inefficiency."

Voroshilov is spitting in the wind. Better men than he have tried in the last ten years to re-write the history of the party and the Red Army as it never happened. The "world-wide belief" was not founded on myth and falsification, as is the fable manufactured by Stalin and his clique. To take but one quotation out of hundreds in those days, we cite from Gorky's memoirs of Lenin, written in 1924:

"Yes, I have often heard him (Lenin) praise his comrades. And he knew how to do justice to the energies of even those with whom he was supposed to be personally unsympathetic. Surprised by the flattering appreciation he showed for one of them, I remarked that a good many people might be amazed by it. Yes, yes, I know. They tell a lot of lies about my relations with him. Yes, they tell a lot of lies—and especially about me and Trotsky."

"Founding on the table, he declared: 'Show me another man who could organize in a year an almost model army and win the respect of military experts besides. We've got that man. We've got everything. And so we'll do wonders.'" Comment superfluous!

Nation-wide Bank Crisis Breaks Out

(Continued from Page 1) carrying through its own solution of the crisis.

Party and Crisis Under such conditions, a banking crisis like the present would have the profoundest social results. It would be part of a general retreat in struggle of a demoralized, organized, well-staffed and victorious army of the proletariat.

As things stand, we cannot assign it any such importance. It becomes one of a series of episodes in the development of the crisis, like the heavy gold withdrawals of September-October 1931 and April-June 1932, which were met by temporary financial manipulations on the one hand, and increased

pressure on the workers and the masses in general on the other. Just what manipulations will be invoked in this particular case is not of great consequence; it may be the issue of Clearing House scrip, or a tax on gold, or an embargo on gold exports, or a guarantee of deposits by the government of a banking pool, etc. That increased exploitation of the masses will be the next step to be attempted is the one thing sure.

The main point is that the bourgeoisie, panicky and demoralized as it is, can and will find its way out of such immediate predicaments as the present banking crisis, on the backs of the proletariat and the working masses, unless the masses are organized for struggle under the leadership of a powerful Communist party. The rearming and development of the Party to a scale commensurate with its tasks is the basic function of the Left Opposition.

It was and remains in the highest degree characteristic of centrism that for long periods it went hand in hand with the right as the current most nearly related to it in principle, but never made a bloc with the Bolshevik-Leninists against the Right. As to the Right wing on an international scale, like every form of opportunism it is marked by an extraordinary variety and contradictoriness among its national constituents, while they all have in common hostility to the Bolshevik-Leninists.

In the U. S. S. R., under the conditions of the dictatorship, in the absence of legal opposition parties, the Right Opposition inevitably becomes the tool whereby the class forces which are hostile to the proletariat exert their pressure—therein consists the main danger of the Right Opposition; on the other hand, the consciousness of this danger paralyzes those leaders of the Right Opposition who through their whole past are bound to the Communist party all the shades up with the Party. In capitalist countries, where to the right of reformism can spread themselves, the Right wing (Brandlerists) has no field of activity. Insofar as the Right Opposition has mass organizations, it turns them over directly or indirectly to the social democracy (Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden), except for the revolutionary elements who find their way to the Bolshevik-Leninists (Czecho-Slovakia, Poland). The Brandlerist elements who have remained independent here and there (Germany, U. S. A.) build their calculations on being called back and pardoned sooner or later by the Stalinist bureaucracy; in the name of this perspective they carry on a campaign of lies and slander against the Left Opposition quite in the spirit of Stalinism.

To be continued

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