

Read carefully the resolution presented by the Left Opposition to the New York Conference Against War at the Labor Temple on August 8. It is printed on page 3 of this issue. The resolution contains Lenin's revolutionary views on the struggle against war. It is Lenin's language, in letter and spirit! It is the language of Bolshevism which every Communist and militant worker must agree with. Why did the Stalinist leaders force the 300 Party members, delegates to the New York Conference, to vote against it? Why were Lenin's views rejected by the bureaucrats in favor of a petty bourgeois pacifist resolution? Why was the "Christian pacifist" Barbusse hailed while Lenin was howled down?

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Left Opposition Alone Raises the Voice of Lenin at N. Y. Congress Against War

Stalinists Unite with Liberal Pacifists to Reject Resolution of League Delegation on Fight Against the War Danger

A conference composed of more than 200 Communist workers at which a resolution giving Lenin's views on how to combat imperialist war, is jeered at and voted down. A conference to discuss the war danger at which only a small handful of Opposition delegates, representing

an expelled faction of the Communist party, defends the standpoint of Bolshevism. A conference at which the representatives of official Communism take upon themselves a stubborn defense of pacifists, advertise them, praise them, and at the same time seek to gag the

voice of the revolutionary followers of Lenin. A conference which not only turns down a Lenin resolution, but gives a thunderous vote of endorsement to a resolution presented in the name of a committee of pacifists and petty bourgeois liberals.

That was the Conference on August 8 at the Labor Temple in New York called by the American Committee of the World Congress Against War organized by Henri Barbusse, Roman Rolland, H. G. Wells, Albert Einstein, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Maxim Gorky and others.

We intend to present here an extensive report on all the important phases of this conference, not only in order that the misleading and deliberately inadequate report in the official Communist party press may be rectified, but to enable the militant, class conscious workers to have a complete picture of the depths of opportunism to which the crucial bureaucracy has sunk in the crucial question of working class politics: the question of war.

mitting the use of his name as a screen for the organizational manipulations of the Conference behind the scenes by the Stalinists. But for this, he received in return an infinitely greater concession from his opponents: the uncritical adoption by them of his pacifist program.

The Hitlerites at the Gates!

Alarm Signal!

On the anniversary of the German republic, Hitler stretches out his hand for power. The bloodthirsty Storm-Troops of Fascism are mobilizing outside of Berlin. The social democratic hero of the "Iron Front", Hindenburg, is negotiating directly with the Fascist chieftain concerning participation or leadership in the government. It is now no more a question of months and weeks; it is a question of days and hours. The blindest of the blind must now see the imminency of a Fascist coup d'Etat. Shall Hitler come to power without the most furious resistance of the proletarian masses? From the social democratic leadership, we expect nothing but the playing of the last act of treachery. But what is the Communist party doing? Dreadful, menacing, fatal silence! With Hitler on the threshold of power, we say openly to the working class:

If the Communist party allows Fascism to take the helm in Germany without organizing the broadest and most violent movement of mass resistance, it will have committed an act of betrayal which will brand it eternally in the history of the proletariat!

If the Communist party does not fight to the bitter end against the Fascist triumph, its betrayal will stand at the same abyssal depths as the social democratic treachery on August 4, 1914!

A terrific, historical responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Stalinism. It is being tried before the masses of the world. A greater responsibility rests upon the party members and Communist workers in general. Speak out, workers, speak out before it is too late! The knife of Fascism descends upon our throats! !

Fascism Must Not Take Power Without Armed Resistance

All dispatches confirm the news of the Fascists' concentration of forces around Berlin. Hitler himself is right on the scene, but remains incognito. There are well-founded rumors of pressure from the Brown Shirts ranks for a march on the capital, for a coup d'Etat. Hitler is said to utilize the threat of this pressure in his bargaining for a "legal" seizure of power with the Junkers in control. Constitution Day also brings with it, ironically enough, the information that President Von Hindenburg is to offer Hitler the portfolio of Chancellor.

But most ironical of all is the proclamation of the new decree "against rioting." This decree provides for nothing more nor less than a counter-revolutionary tribunal. The chief provision in the establishment of the bloody tribunal which is to mete out capital punishment to "Whoever commits homicide on an assailant from political motives (that is, in the struggle with the Fascist assassins) or on a policeman or any person summoned to his aid (read: the Brown Shirts auxiliaries) is: "a special court which can refuse to take evidence for the defense." All of this is proclaimed in the name of Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution—the ingenious handiwork of Hilferding, Wels, Kautsky and Co.

The Governmental Manipulations of the Bourgeoisie

Hindenburg's offer of the Chancellorship to Hitler is accompanied by several "conditions":

- "1. The Constitution is to be respected.
- "2. The Fascist militia must not be employed as auxiliary police.
- "3. There must be no equality between the Fascist militia and the Reichswehr, or regular army.
- "4. There must be no party government relying on storm detachments for support."

The sham of these conditions is all too apparent. Hitler is to be asked to respect a constitution which the spokesman of the present government itself declares "does not unite but divides the nation." These are the words of Von Gayl's, the Minister of the Interior in the Von Papen cabinet, at the Reichstag celebration.

The "conditions" and the proposal of Von Hindenburg are the farce behind the scenes of which the Junkers are handing over the reins of power to the logical heir of a capitalism seized by the throes of social agony. The apparatus for the "legal" extermination of the workers' organizations has been rigged into shape. Only the finishing touches are still to be applied to the Nazi coup d'Etat. Whether this will be done with the official sanction of Hindenzollern's Field Marshal or by a march on

Berlin is of secondary importance, Germany stands before the deluge.

Social Democracy—Personal Betrayer
Most wretched of all, clinging on as if to a last straw, is the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Driven from its Prussian government posts by a little band of 13 infantry soldiers, dispersed by Von Papen, who rules by the grace of the Hindenburg dictatorship, it nevertheless still stuck to its democratic popguns. It appealed to the Reich Supreme Court for a decision against Von Papen! The Supreme Court knew its class task and told the social democracy in so many words that it does not give a fig about the democratic forms. But the last defenders of bourgeois legality are not to be outdone. After dragging the German working class from debacle to debacle, from Weimar down to the Von Schleicher, they now resort to a pure declaration of faith: "Hitler will perish, democracy is eternal!"

The social democracy is even today holding back the proletariat of Germany from establishing the united front of the class, from open and determined action against the murderer clutching at its throat. The social democratic funkies are scared for their own skins, they know that working class action will sweep them away with one blow and clear the road for the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are ready to sell out the workers of Germany on a last and desperate speculation on saving their hides. They would still rather trust the bourgeoisie which is kicking them down with both feet than break the inaction of the working class.

Where is the C. P. G.?

Where is the German Communist Party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat? After a half-turn in the direction of the Leninist united front on June 20, when it proposed to the leadership of the Berlin district of the S. D. P. G. common action against the suppression of the social democratic Vorwaerts, after participating together with the socialist workers in demonstrations conducted by the S. P. D. G. fakers and in spite of them and their rejection of the Communist proposals—after reaping profit therefrom by an appreciable increase in the C. P. vote at the Reichstag elections of July 31, the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party has slunk back into its old, catastrophic error, content to rest upon its meager parliamentary laurels at a time when the class struggle is about to be decided on the arena of brutal, open combat. The latest reports reaching us from Germany bring the information that

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With Baldwin's speech, from one standpoint at least, there can be no quarrel. He adhered rigidly to the aims of the Congress as expounded by its initiators and directors, and repeated them faithfully. Need his speech be given here? It is better to present it in the form of a quotation from the Anti-War Congress call sent throughout the world from Paris:

"We make an appeal to all peoples, to all parties, to all men and women of good will. It is not a question of the interest of one nation, of one class, of one party. All are concerned. All are in danger... We do not have to make a plan of action in advance. That would mean hampering the liberty of those we are summoning, and it is they who in the Congress will freely present their different plans and finally try to come to a decision as to common action. What we want is to raise an immense wave of opinion against war whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from, whomever it may menace."

The Petty Bourgeois Liberals Set the Tone

The conference, as the report of the credentials committee showed beyond argument was composed overwhelmingly of Communist workers and the closest sympathizers of Communism. The Committee at the door, the committee on the platform, the chairman of the conference, and its real managers, were all Communists, taking painful precautions to conceal their political identity. Yet, it was left to the outstanding liberal at the Conference to strike the keynote—pacifistic through and through.

With a repulsively unctuous parade of studied respectability—the polite introductions of "Mister So-and-so" and "Miss So-and-so"—Roger Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, was called on to open the Conference in the name of the absent Theodore Dreiser, in an introduction by a Communist secretary whose party press only yesterday catalogued the same Baldwin as a "social Fascist". Baldwin purchased immunity from a similar attack by per-

sons of the Greek Left Opposition, Bolshevik-Leninists (Archie-Marxists), and it was unanimously re-elected at the end of the sessions.

The Congress decided to send delegates to take part in the international "Congress Against War" organized under the names of Henri Barbusse and Roman Rolland. As an indication of the sentiments of the former soldiers of the Greek bourgeoisie, the Congress elected as its first delegate the leader of international Bolshevism, comrade Leon Trotsky!

Trotsky Elected to Anti-War Meet

On June 27, 1932, the Fourth National Congress of the League of War Invalids and Victims of Greece met in Athens. Fifty-seven delegates from all parts of the country participated in the deliberations. The years of existence of this militant organization have been filled with heroic struggles against the bourgeoisie and militarism, and the report rendered the delegates by the National Committee was not only accepted but the complete confidence of the membership was expressed in the leadership it had presented. The National Committee of the League is composed entirely of mem-

bers of the Greek Left Opposition, Bolshevik-Leninists (Archie-Marxists), and it was unanimously re-elected at the end of the sessions.

The government of Azana, supported by the socialists, has remorselessly robbed the masses of every achievement that was looked forward to when the republic was proclaimed. Not one of the problems confronting the country has since been solved satisfactorily. The land-hungry peasantry, still groaning under the exploitation of the large landowners, are the agricultural laborers whose lives are a monotonous permanency of misery, have not received an iota of assistance from the Madrid government. The sole "advance" written into the statutes for the workers, the eight-hour day, remains a dead letter; for the suffering masses of the unemployed it is a cruel mockery. The expectations of the Catalonians have been trampled, and they are as far away from independence as they ever were. The civil rights promised the people have been ruthlessly torn from them by the law for the "Defense of the Republic", which contains Draconic measures of suppression and despotism directed exclusively at the working people. Strike movements have been suppressed with Bourbon cynicism.

Mass Meeting

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

LENINISM VS. PACIFISM

HOW SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS FIGHT AGAINST WAR?
WHAT RELATIONS HAS STALINISM WITH PACIFISM?
HOW SHALL WORKERS DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION?

Hear the Opposition Delegates to the New York Anti-War Conference Deliver the Speeches Suppressed by the Bureaucrats

JAMES P. CANNON MAX SHACHTMAN

HUGO OEHLER, Chairman

on WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1932, at 8 P. M.

at STUYVESANT CAY, 2nd Avenue and 9th Street

Admission 10 Cents

Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Monarchist Putsch in Spain

Militarist Coup in Seville and Madrid is Quickly Crushed

The military cabal headed by general Sanjurjo which sought to overthrow the republican regime in Spain and raise again the banner of the degenerate Bourbon dynasty, has been crushed by the governmental forces without great difficulty. In Seville itself, where the monarchists had concentrated about 6,000 troops, they were swept out of control within 24 hours. In Madrid, where a putsch was attempted by a smaller group, the monarchists received even shorter shrift. Their whole movement now appears to be thoroughly dissolved.

Significant in the whole affair is the prompt popular response to the monarchist challenge. The hatred accumulated in the breasts of the masses under the bloody regime of Alfonso, Primo de Rivera and the Jesuits, was given furious vent again on this occasion, just as last year when the threat of a monarchist plot in Madrid brought the whole city to its feet in militant reprisals which took the form of burning to the ground several of the ecclesiastic and lay centers of the black reaction. Immediately upon learning of Sanjurjo's attempt, a similar popular storm burst upon Madrid, Seville and other centers, with the people emphasizing their hostility to the reaction, which has been watered down systematically by the republican-socialist governmental coalition, by razing numerous monarchist and militarist clubs and centers, destroying their press and demonstrating in every spontaneous form a relentless opposition to the return of the dynasty and all the things associated with it.

That the monarchists should choose the present day—scarcely more than a year after the proclamation of the republic—for an attempted comeback, is itself a reflection on the present regime, which, the leaders of the uprising hoped, had created sufficient discontentment with itself among the masses to make possible a monarchist victory. The discontentment of the masses is indubitable, only the militarists gauged its temper incorrectly. The opposition to them has not been altered in the minds of the mass.

The government of Azana, supported by the socialists, has remorselessly robbed the masses of every achievement that was looked forward to when the republic was proclaimed. Not one of the problems confronting the country has since been solved satisfactorily. The land-hungry peasantry, still groaning under the exploitation of the large landowners, are the agricultural laborers whose lives are a monotonous permanency of misery, have not received an iota of assistance from the Madrid government. The sole "advance" written into the statutes for the workers, the eight-hour day, remains a dead letter; for the suffering masses of the unemployed it is a cruel mockery. The expectations of the Catalonians have been trampled, and they are as far away from independence as they ever were. The civil rights promised the people have been ruthlessly torn from them by the law for the "Defense of the Republic", which contains Draconic measures of suppression and despotism directed exclusively at the working people. Strike movements have been suppressed with Bourbon cynicism.

In all this, the working class and peasantry has groped blindly for a way out, deprived of leadership. The socialists have betrayed them into the hands of the bourgeois republicans. The anarcho-syndicalists, themselves leaderless and utopian, have only brought confusion into the ranks. The official Communist party has made a terrible debacle since the beginning of the revolutionary events in Spain. That is why the recent proletarian rising in Alto Lobregat, instead of becoming a new point of departure for progress, marked a high point in-

Lessons of the Bonus March

With their dispersal following their forceful eviction from Johnstown, the worker-vets have rung down the curtain on the first act of the fight for the bonus. It is the close of the first act but it is not the final scene. The fight they put up against the iron fist of "democracy" was too dramatic, too fraught with forebodings of the treatment the capitalist class holds in store for its wage slaves for the working class to forget it.

Under the remorseless pressure of the steadily deepening crisis, goaded to action by the cynical indifference of "their" government to their misery, and still permeated by illusions about the institutions of democracy, the vets spontaneously marched on Washington from all parts of the country to demand their "back wages". The outstanding aspect of that march was its spontaneity. It was not prepared for. It was not organized in advance. In this sense it may be said that the vets were thrown up by the flux of the class struggle.

Waters Leadership
During the six weeks they were encamped in Washington they tolerated the leadership of the Oregon cannery ex-superintendent who watched their fight with the police and their heroic resistance to the military from the side lines. This individual organized a military police which beat up the Reds, and worked with the secret service men to terrorize and intimidate the men. He conferred regularly with chief of police, Glassford and together with him arranged for the segregation of the vets who followed the leadership of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League.

Under Waters' leadership the fight assumed a narrow character, limiting it self to a demand for relief without any class content or class issues. No attempt was made by the vets to link up their fight with the broader fight for class relief led by the Communists. By this policy the vets were condemned to fight an isolated struggle without the active support of the masses of the working class who watched their fight with the greatest interest.

By all this the vets gave abundant evidence of their lack of class consciousness. Perhaps this was to be expected. The average age of the vets was somewhere between thirty-five and forty. They had come through the years of "prosperity" with profound illusions about the "difference" of American capitalism from the old world imperialism. They were deeply impregnated with the democratic nature of "our republic".

The tactics of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League in denouncing every body not a faithful follower of the one true Bolshevism, Stalin, alienated them from the masses of the vets and made their isolated demonstrations easy for the police to break up. They failed in their elementary Communist duty of raising the class consciousness of the vets. For this

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Report of the New York Anti-War Conference

(Continued from page 1)
set the official tone of the conference by his speech, but it was enthusiastically applauded by the assembled Communist workers disoriented and intellectually demoralized by their leaders who, all during the conference, did not utter a single word of criticism of the speech, did not make a single reservation, did not indicate in any way that the Communists would not identify themselves with the point of petty bourgeois pacifism. It is at them, that the criticism should be directed!

Left Opposition Makes Itself Heard

If the party spokesmen maintained an oyster's silence on the role of pacifism at the conference, they made amends by their vociferous attacks upon the Left Opposition. It is no exaggeration to say that the real center of attention at the Conference was the Left Opposition and the standpoint it presented.

All the preliminary arrangements went off smoothly, in accordance with the previous decisions of the party. As an innovation in the party's "united front" conferences, the chairman and committees were not appointed this time, but formally at least elected from the floor. Let nobody be deceived about this change of heart. It was not dictated, by any concern with elementary principles of workers' democracy, but rather as a concession to its "prejudices on fairness" entertained by the liberal partners of the party in the movement. What constant protests from Left Opposition delegates and other non-Stalinist forces at similar conferences failed to gain from the party bureaucracy, the petty bourgeois pacifists and men of letters were able to gain with little difficulty, if only as a formality without real meaning. There was only one slight slip-up in the party's plans: the selection of the credentials committee. One non-Stalinist delegate, I. Dryar, who represented a branch of the International Workers' Order, was elected on the committee as the fourth member in addition to the three already chosen for the posts in advance. Their report will come up later on.

The delegates of the Communist League of America (Opposition) were comrades James P. Cannon, Hugo Oehler and Max Shachtman. Despite the presence at the door of the Argus-eyed Ludwig Landy, the professional Stalinist manager of such projects, the Opposition delegates were permitted to enter the hall without being challenged. As other delegates came in, they invariably had in their hand either a copy of the *Militant*, or a mimeographed copy of the resolution we had prepared in advance for submission to the Conference, or both. To prevent in advance the complete suppression of our point of view, we had made adequate arrangements for the distribution in the lobby of our resolution so that, in any case, the bulk of the delegates would at least have a written memorandum of the standpoint of the Opposition.

In contrast to our resolution, printed elsewhere in this issue, the chairman, Jackson, a party member in the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, presented a resolution in the name of the American Committee. A more wretched piece of hollow pacifist literature could hardly have been read by a Communist without gagging. The tone set by the liberal "keynote" was to be consecrated in the form of a resolution, undoubtedly drawn up by the party fraction in the American Committee for the purpose of satisfying the totally disparate elements collected as the directors of the struggle against war, ranging from Harry Elmer Barnes and Upton Sinclair to . . . Moissaye J. Olgin, and presented by a Communist chairman for adoption by a Communist audience.

The resolution, which we challenge the party press to reprint as it was read at the Conference, endorsed the whole enterprise without reserve, endorsed the call sent out by Romain Rolland. In other words, the chairman called upon the Communist workers present to endorse a call which declares that war is not a "question of interest of one nation, of one class". To endorse a movement to "raise an immense wave of opinion against war, whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from, wherever it may menace", that is, to oppose a war—if the words have any meaning at all—of the working class against the bourgeoisie, to oppose a war of national liberation of an oppressed colonial people against an automatic imperialist oppressor, to oppose a revolutionary war of a victorious proletariat against a bourgeois enemy—to oppose all those wars which Lenin tried to teach the exploited of the earth to carry on unremittently.

By this resolution, the Communist workers were to commit themselves, for example, against the idea symbolized by the war of the Russian workers and peasants against their bourgeoisie in 1917-1918, the war of the Chinese people against the imperialists in 1925-1927 or their war against Japan in Manchuria today, against the war conducted by the Soviets against Pilsudsky's Poland in 1920 or against the Menshevik agency of imperialism in Georgia more than a decade ago, concerning this reactionary document, the Communist stage-managers of the Conference had only words of praise. They sewed their condemnations for something else.

No sooner had the chairman announced that there would now be discussion from the delegates, than comrade Shachtman of the C. L. O. (O.) delegation, jumped up to request the floor to read a substitute resolution. Taken aback, the chairman replied that there would be "adequate opportunity for everybody" to speak if the names of the speakers and their organizations would be sent up to the platform on slips of paper. We have never had any illusions about this procedure. It is employed for the purpose of enabling the chairman to make an arbitrary selection of speakers, for the audience is left in the dark as to who has asked for the floor until the chairman announces his name and place. However, immediately upon this announcement, a slip of paper was sent to the platform in so ostentatious a manner that the whole audience could see that we had been the first to make the request. After a hurried consultation on the platform with the Central Committee promoter in charge of the floor arrangements for the party, Joseph Brodsky, the chairman gave the floor to Shachtman.

By a snap vote, it had already been decided that on the burning question of war, the speakers from the floor would be limited to five minutes each. In view of the delays in getting started, this left less than an hour for discussion on the most important Conference question: the resolution of opinion and policy. Comrade Shachtman was therefore able only to read our resolution. It was heard in an intense silence throughout the hall and when, at the end of the first five minutes, a few zealots began shouting that his time was up, the chairman, with half an eye to his liberal partners, announced that the speaker would be permitted to finish his reading.

The Opposition's resolution is printed on the third page. Let every worker read it and see for himself if it isn't almost a word for word transcription in condensed form of all that Bolshevism has taught on the question of the war struggle, which every Communist worker should be duty-bound to support.

But instead of fulfilling their revolutionary responsibility of mobilizing the Communists in support of such a resolution as against the pacifist resolution, of supporting Lenin as against Barbusse and Sinclair, the party spokesmen at the conference did two significant things:

The Stalinists Reply to Us

First, they felt compelled, for the first time in years at such conferences attended by them and the Opposition, to discuss the two points of view: the Stalinist and the Leninist. At previous conferences, where comparatively secondary questions of dispute were involved, they felt their mechanical strength to be sufficient to settle the question in the usual manner, i. e., by merely ignoring our standpoint or by shouting us down with infamous slanders or by ridding themselves of the problem by expelling us forthwith. At this conference, where a fundamental question of principle was involved, where the party leaders had worked themselves into a position where they had to defend pacifism as against Bolshevism, the mechanical majority apparently did not suffice and the principle objections to the party line had to be met, at least to outward appearances, by an open discussion of the merits of the respective standpoints. In this lies the greatest victory for the revolutionists: the fact that for the first time on any extensive and public scale, in the presence of hundreds of Communist workers, the views of the Opposition were presented in head-on collision with the views of Centrism with the latter compelled to defend themselves from the criticisms of the Left wing.

Second, in defending themselves, the Stalinists not only made an elaborate apology for pacifism and pacifists, but a demagogic attack upon Leninism. This was the only significance of the speech delivered by Olgin.

As soon as Shachtman concluded the reading of our resolution, the chairman introduced Moissaye J. Olgin for the job of replying to the Opposition was highly characteristic. The only thing for which Olgin is "well-known" to any degree in connection with war and the defense of the Soviet Union, is his ardent support during the last world war of Wilson and his Fourteen Points, and, after the Russian revolution, his faithful services as a scribbler on the yellow Jewish *Daily Forward*, where he tried to convince the readers that Lenin and Trotsky were not only German spies but that they were strangling the Russian democracy in the blood of the people. But if Upton Sinclair, another hero of the "war to end all wars", and H. G. Wells, who played a similar role, are fit to lead a movement now against the danger of imperialist war, there is no reason why Olgin should be excluded. Only, one should retain at least a slight sense of proportion and values. Of all the people available in the party to "fight imperialist war and defend the Soviet Union" in the course of a vicious attack upon the spokesmen at the Conference for Lenin's standpoint the selection of the man with the least rights of anyone to speak on the question, was a

Because of the importance of the "Congress Against War", this issue of the *Militant* is being devoted largely to the New York Conference and other aspects of this movement. Consequently, we have been compelled to omit a number of other articles and other material which was intended for publication this week, including the next article in the series on "Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition". We ask the indulgence of our readers for a week, since the next issue of the *Militant* will publish the important articles we have been forced to hold over.

little too much. Discretion alone should have dictated another choice.

Olgin feebly and half-heartedly mumbled a repetition of the vulgar drivel with which the *Daily Worker* of that morning had greeted the conference—tenderness for the pacifists and calumny and rudeness for the Opposition—sought in vain to put some "revolutionary spirit" into his remarks against the "Trotskyists". At the same time, he introduced a new idea into Communist politics: the substitution of moral standards for political and class criteria. "Men like Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland are at least sincere in their opposition to war. They will defend the Soviet Union. The 'radical' phrases of this Trotskyist resolution," he continued, "criticize the Communists for uniting with Barbusse and Rolland. And what do they propose in their place? That the Communist International shall make a united front with the Second International and the Amsterdam International! They propose," cried this maestro of irony and revolutionary intransigence, "that we shall unite with Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit to defend the Soviet Union!" The indignant sarcasm almost robs us of reply. However that may be, the fact remains that we never sat down with Hillquit and Abe Cahan to attack the Soviet Union, whereas Olgin did. His conversion to irreconcilability towards Hillquit is very gratifying, but it lacks the humility of the neophyte that should accompany it.

In any case, the manner in which Olgin posed the question is both ludicrous and unworthy of a revolutionist. The problem of fighting war and defending the Soviet Union is not exhausted or even approached by moral considerations. Sincerity and honesty of this or that individual is a great virtue, but it is not decisive in politics. The defense of the Soviet Union is a political question which is decided by the process of the class struggle. Not Barbusse's sincerity or Sinclair's repentance is of great consequence, but the masses. Barbusse, Rolland, Einstein, Alla Nazimova, and even Michael Gold, do not have nor will they ever have the masses following them.

The masses, that is, the majority of them, still follow the social democrats. Without the support of these masses, the struggle against war and for Russia will, at best, limp along on one foot. The problem is to mobilize these masses. But this can not be done by a Venetian carnival where the Communists hide behind "respectable" petty bourgeois masks. It can only be done by a correct policy, the policy of the united front as adopted by the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

Olgin's Irony--at the Expense of Lenin

Olgin was followed several speakers later by his fellow party delegate, Dr. A. Markoff, who has been equally successful in the professions of dental surgery and Stalinist officialdom. Both of them worked up considerable merriment in the audience with their principal observation on our resolution: "Just look," they jeered, "in one sentence they call the social democrats traitors and social patriots. And in the very next sentence they propose that we should make a united front with these same traitors and patriots to fight against the war danger!" The fact that the scores of party members present joined in the laughter, is a deplorable, but quite comprehensible, commentary on the low level of understanding to which their leaders have driven them. We shall be unremittent in our endeavors to change that situation.

But Olgin and Markoff, who have the responsibilities of the leadership, even if it was obtained by disemboweling themselves, who know that our resolution, far from being a subject for mockery among Communists, is merely a simple statement of established Bolshevik ideas, displayed a demagogic scoundrelism which is unforgivable. Their labored irony was exclusively at the expense of Lenin. More, it was at the expense of the revolutionary training indispensable to the workers present. Were the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" the "danger" at the Conference, or was the danger constituted by the stifling pacifist vapors which rose to drug the senses of the workers? Obviously, the latter, for the pacifists are the outstanding leaders of the movement, it is their resolutions which are presented . . . and adopted with Stalinist assistance. The duty of a Communist leader was to center his criticism on the pacifists and not on Lenin.

In deriding our resolution, the Stalinists not only took up the cudgels for pacifism, but brought out the graveyard of the Communist International those sorry remnants of sham radicalism against which Lenin and Trotsky fought such a terrific battle at the Third Congress of the Communist International, and in the event of whose victory at the Congress, Lenin said, the International in February 1922, on the question of the conference of the three Internationals proposed by the Vienna (Two-and-a-Half) International, the "ultra-Leftist" opposition was represented by the Spanish, French and Italian delegations. In their name, Cachin, the progenitor of Olgin and Co., moved:

"The enlarged Executive, after discussing the invitation addressed to the Communist International by the Vienna International for the participation in a common conference of the Second, Two-and-a-Half, and Amsterdam Internationals, decides not to accept." And after this motion was defeated, the 1922 Olgins and Manuilsky's declared: "It

seems to us that the reformists of all countries are parting more and more with the working class and that they follow a policy contrary to the daily defense and welfare of the proletariat. We do not doubt that they will be, under any conditions, the adversaries and saboteurs of the real united front of the working masses."

Like Olgin at the Conference, and like his masters in the Politbureau, they could not understand how the Comintern could denounce the reformists as traitors and at the same time join in a united front "from the top" (Horror of horrors!) with the same traitors. They could not understand it, because they simply neglected to notice that the reformists had millions of workers behind them, just as they have today—the social democratic parties, and not the Sinclairs and Barbusse and Wells!

Lenin's Comintern in 1922

What was the Comintern resolution adopted against the standpoint of Cachin? What was its attitude towards the International headed by such proven traitors and social patriots as Vandervelde, Henderson, Wells and Co.? It declared:

"The Enlarged Executive of the C. I., taking note of the proposition of the Vienna International declares for the participation of the parties of the Communist International in the projected Conference. The Enlarged Executive of the Communist International also proposes the participation in the Conference of all the Industrial federations and associations, both national and international; of the Red International of Labor Unions; of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International); of the C. G. T. U. of France; of the Italian Syndicalist Union; of the American Federation of Labor (even Gompers you see!) and of other autonomous industrial associations. The Communist International also considers it necessary to invite the principal anarcho-syndicalist organizations; the I. W. W., the Shop Stewards, etc. . . . The Communist International accepts the agenda of the Conference as proposed by the Vienna International, viz., a defensive fight against the capitalist offensive and a struggle against reaction, as an addition it proposes to complete the agenda with the following items:

"1. Preparations of the fight against new imperialist wars.

"2. Relief action for the reconstruction of the economic life of Soviet Russia." Etc., etc., to the permanent discomfiture of all past, present and future Cachins and Olgins!

We can still hear, ten years after wards, the echo of the words of a Markoff of those days: "How? You denounce Vandervelde as Belgian imperialism's war minister, Henderson as His Majesty's war minister, Wells and Scheidemann as the Kaiser's war ministers, the Georgian Mensheviks as the armed counter-revolutionary agents of Allied imperialism—and yet you propose to sit around one table with them to discuss as point 1 on the Agenda 'Preparations of the fight against new imperialist wars'? Down with the Executive Committee of the Communist International! Down with Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and all the other Trotskyist renegades! How then down, workers of the world!"

And yet, on April 2, 1922, comrades Radek, Bucharin, Zetkin, Rosmer, Katayama, Vuyovitch and the rest of the delegation of the Communist International literally sat down in Berlin with such confirmed and tested social patriots as Hlysmans, Vandervelde, Stauning, Otto Wells, Ramsay MacDonald, Tseretelli (the Georgian Menshevik, whose party had shot down scores and hundreds of revolutionary workers and peasants of Georgia), for the Second International, and Crispin Longuet, Martov, Abramovitch, Adler and Bauer of the Two-and-a-Half International to discuss a united front against war and the capitalist offensive. Isn't it strange, Dr. A. Markoff, D. D. S.?

And do you know, Messrs Olgin, Brodsky and Markoff, what Mr. Emile Vandervelde said at the Conference to the Communists? "Whilst we are being told, for example, that men like Jouhaux, Merheim, and Henderson, Vandervelde or Longuet are serving the interests of the bourgeoisie, it is, to say the least of it, strange that these same men should be invited to take part in the defense of proletarian interests." Now, Citizen Olgin, do you see who is the originator of this argument? Is such flagrant plagiarism from a social democrat, a social-Fascist, so to speak, permissible for a "leader in the struggle against war"? And further do you know what reply Vandervelde and Confres received from the Communist representative? Radek declared:

"But then you say: 'If this is so, what do you want of this Conference, what tactical maneuvers are you after?' And I will tell you boldly and clearly to your face what you want. You came to this Conference because you had to; you were the instruments of world reaction, and now, whether you want it or not, you must be the instruments of the struggle for the interests of the proletariat. And without confidence we say to you: we sit down at the same table with you, we will fight with you, and this fight will decide whether it is a maneuver, as you say, in favor of the Communist International or a stream which will unite the working class. What you do will decide the meaning of our action. If you fight with us and with the proletariat of all lands—not fight for dictatorship, we do not expect so much, but fight for a crust of bread, fight against

further world ruin—then in this struggle the proletariat will come closer together, and then we shall judge you not on the ground of this terrible past, but on the ground of fresh facts. So long as these are not present, we go with cold hearts into these negotiations, and into this common action with deep mistrust that you may fail us ten times in this battle. But we will try to fight together, not for love of you, but because of the unprecedented need of the hour which drives us and compels you to confer in this hall with the very Communists you have treated as criminals." (Conference Minutes, pp. 32-33.)

Our readers will pardon our extensive quotations from the past. The Stalinist marauders have brought such de-education into the movement, they have so violently obliterated the past, the Leninist past, that the very foundations of our movement have become obscured and remain unknown to the new generation of Communist workers. The marauders compel us each time to dig up A B C truths out of the past, to elucidate them with painfully elaborate simplicity, not merely for the prematurely senile bureaucrats but primarily for the new Communist forces whom they are so cruelly miseducating.

In any case, the quotations we have cited—a few out of thousands—are enough to show that when Olgin and Markoff played upon the emotions and ignorance of the workers present, when they sought to whip up a mob spirit against the Left Opposition, they were actually jeering at—Lenin!

Cheer Confusionists -Gag Oppositionists

Olgin and Markoff were not the only speakers, although they spoke officially in the name of the Communist party. The floor was also given freely to various other representatives. The terrible confusion existing among party members who spoke on this fundamental question of the struggle against war, could only leave a saddening impression upon Communists acquainted with the elements of Marxism. Few indeed spoke on the question from the standpoint of the class struggle and revolutionary policy. One was opposed to the war because a relative was killed in the last war. Another, an engineer who had been to the Soviet Union, and who continued to emphasize that he represented nobody but himself (and isn't that the case with the rest of the respectable window-dressing behind which the Stalinists are practising their opportunistic policy?) delivered a speech which was a disgrace, not so much to himself, but to the conference of Communist workers who cheered him. One of his relatives, too, had been wounded in a war and he demanded (and how militantly!) that we shall no longer petition our governments against war, but demand that they do not unleash the dogs of war. Is the distinction plain to you? Furthermore, proposed this ingenious representative-of-nobody-but-himself, this movement should carry on a campaign to enlighten the "soldiers, the police, the government spies" (we quote literally!) to "humanitarian ideas against war." He was thickly applauded, but not one party member in his speech had a word to say about his standpoint—they were too occupied with defending the pacifists against the Left Opposition.

Another speaker was Roth, a member of the Socialist party from Ithaca, New York. The discovery of this or that isolated socialist worker who supports the Soviet Union, and his decorative presentation by the Communist party at its "united front" conferences, is the substitute which Stalinism offers today in place of winning the masses of reformist workers in a genuine united front. Roth's speech was also widely applauded and exempted from a word of comradely criticism by the party speakers. After having heard the sharp Communist criticism we made of the social democracy in our resolution, not only consonant with participation in a united front but quintessential, this Socialist declared: "I am glad to see that the fratricidal war in the Left wing movement of labor is confined to a few factions in the Communist and Socialist movements." By "fratricidal war", he evidently meant our revolutionary criticism. His gratification, too, was justified. He met with no such revolutionary criticism from the Stalinists; nor did the pacifists who have been imposed upon the "Anti-War Congress" as its leadership.

But if every well-intentioned muddle-head could get both the floor and acclaim of the Stalinists, a different attitude was adopted towards the delegation of the Left Opposition. Towards the end of the meeting, Brodsky, who manipulated the conference of the party with the skill and cynicism common to the legal profession, suddenly made a motion to bring the discussion to a close. Why? Because comrade Cannon had sent up his name to the chairman to speak in defense of our resolution which Stalinist speakers had been given extended time to attack and misrepresent, immediately, comrade Cannon rose, as did other delegates in various parts of the hall, to demand if he would be given the right to make a concluding defense of the resolution before the house. The hall was in an organized tumult. Stalinist "plants" sought to shout down comrade Cannon's request for a point of information from the chair as to the procedure on the resolution. Without paying the slightest bit of attention to his insistent calls to the chairman, the latter kept pounding the table with his gavel, admonishing all to sit down and remain silent.

The elementary right of a delegation

to speak at least once, not to mention a summary, on a resolution accepted by the chair for a vote by an assemblage, was simply and literally ignored. The Stalinists were determined that the Left Opposition should not get the floor again to present its point of view, which had already caused so much embarrassment in their ranks. While comrade Cannon was still on the floor attempting to get a response from the chairman, the latter put the pacifist resolution to a vote. It was overwhelmingly adopted, with negative votes from less than ten percent of the delegates, and the chairman tried to proceed to the next order of business without putting our resolution to a vote, apparently under the impression that this was a party membership meeting. Voices of protest again were raised throughout the hall, and the steering committee decided to put our resolution forward. It received a small minority of the body, a voice vote which included over twenty delegates.

Thus the Conference, which gagged the Opposition speaker and cheered the pacifists, voted overwhelmingly for Barbusse and howled down the words of Lenin!

The gagging of the Opposition on the floor came only after an unsuccessful attempt to unseat the Opposition delegation. When the credentials committee met, Ludwig Landy, not a committee member, pointed to our credentials and observed: "That's from the Trotskyists. Unseat them!" Dryar, a committee member, turned upon him and demanded: "Are you a committee member? If not, we don't take any instructions from you!" Nevertheless, the proposal to unseat us was made in the Committee, and were it not for the resistance of Dryar and his promise to the Stalinist members that he would bring the matter to the floor and fight to have us seated, their proposal for exclusion would undoubtedly have been reported. As it was, the report was brought in to "seat all delegates" and before you could say "Jack Robinson!" the report was declared accepted and the chairman hurried on to the next order of business.

What they did not succeed in doing with us, they succeeded in doing with the delegate from the Weisbord group who presented his credentials at the door while the conference was in session. Upon his protests, the doors were immediately closed at the rear of the hall, a scuffle took place and he was barred—without any of our delegation inside the hall knowing what had happened until after the conference. In the course of the scuffle, when members of our League had come to the assistance of the excluded comrade who was being attacked by Stalinists, the police were called to "preserve order." They remained thenceforward at the credentials table near the entrance, supervising the newcomers to see that they conformed with the "requirements" established by the Committee! Their supervision was undoubtedly of great assistance in preserving the level of the conference at the point of unruffled peace so desirable to its organizers.

All doors open to petty bourgeois pacifists! Suppression of the Marxists! Cheers and applause for the liberals, the "honest", the "reliable" friends of Russia, the people who are, at best, weak feeds to lean on and, at worst, treacherous allies! Boos and hisses for the revolutionary Communists! This is the balance-sheet of the party's policy at the New York Conference.

London in 1915 and New York in 1932

There is a striking analogy with our position contained in what happened at the obscure "London Conference" of February 14, 1915, called by the Allied social patriots and Centrists, to which Lenin's Central Committee sent as its representative, Maximovitch (Litvinov), to present the Bolshevik standpoint on war. His report is included in Lenin's article of March 3, 1915, "On the London Conference". Here is a brief, instructive quotation:

"I take the floor and protest against the official representative of our party not having been invited to the International Socialist Bureau. The chairman, interrupts me and contends that all those 'whose names are known' have been invited. I protest a second time against the failure to report on the actual representatives. Thereupon I refer to our manifesto which expresses our standpoint towards the war and which was sent to the I. S. B. Before we can speak of peace terms, we should establish with what means we shall strive for them and towards that end it must be established if a general revolutionary social democratic basis exists, if we are conferring as chauvinists, pacifists or as social democrats. I read our declaration, but the chairman does not let me conclude and declares that it is not yet made clear (!) if I am a delegate and that they have come together 'not for the purpose of criticizing the various parties' (!) . . . I . . . seek to continue the declaration in order to establish if I may remain. The chairman interrupts me and does not permit me to put 'conditions' to the conference." Etc., etc., in almost stupefying similarity to the New York Conference at which the Bolshevik delegates were also denied the right to present their standpoint in contrast to that of petty bourgeois liberalism.

Lenin's views on the question of war finally managed to make their way through the working class world despite the gavel of a whole race of "chairmen" who "interrupted". Our views, which we learned from Lenin, which we

(Continued on page 3)

A Letter to Roger Baldwin

On Stalinist-Pacifist Relations at the Anti-War Conference

August 9, 1932.
Mr. Roger Baldwin, Director
American Civil Liberties Union
New York City
My dear Baldwin:

You left the anti-war conference at the Labor Temple last night after your opening speech as the representative of the "American Committee for the World Congress Against War." Allow me to inform you of what transpired after your departure and to put some questions to you.

Two resolutions were presented for consideration—the official (pacifist) resolution presented in the name of your committee, and a different resolution, outlining the Leninist program for the fight against war, presented by the delegation of the Communist Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).

The floor was then given to a number of speakers who defended the official resolution and attacked the resolution of the Left Opposition. Pacifists, "Left" Socialists, official Communists and others spoke. The leader of the attack on the Leninist resolution, appropriately enough, was Olgin; the same Olgin whom you will remember as the ardent patriot who attacked the Lenin program in 1917-18 from the standpoint of Wilson's "14 points." Our request for the floor to defend our resolution and answer the attacks made against it was refused by the chairman.

Was it a pre-arranged plan on your part to leave the meeting and thus give tacit support to the steam-rolling of the Bolshevik-Leninists, or did you have other engagements, more important and more pressing at the moment, than the question of the fight against war and the principle of free speech in a movement under your leadership?

I am inclined to the first assumption. And, from a political point of view, your indirect support of the suppression of the Left Opposition at the conference is quite comprehensible. You, and the tendency you represent—pacifism—were undoubtedly the victors at the conference. In the united front between the Stalinists and the pacifists in the anti-war movement the Stalinists have yielded the principle positions all along the line, from Paris to New York. The program, the character of the preparatory propaganda and the leadership are pacifist. In return for these concessions you allow the Stalinists to manipulate the movement organizationally and to suppress the voice of the Left Opposition which they fear more than anything else. That is what your united front looks like to us.

It must be admitted, again from a political point of view, that you and your fellow-thinkers have made an excellent bargain. We cannot condemn it on those grounds, for we have never put the question of free speech and democracy as the fundamental question. We have stated more than once that we could reconcile ourselves even to bureaucracy if it could be demonstrated that it serves a revolutionary end. It is precisely because the Stalinist bureaucracy works in an opposite direction, because it serves as a blind instrument of reaction, that we oppose it so intransigently.

But some clarification is needed as to your position. Hitherto you have defended free speech as a principle, even to the extent of demanding it for the Mensheviks in Russia and the Ku Klux Klan in America. That was your right, of course. But if you have modified your standpoint; if you have decided to sacrifice the principle of free speech where we are concerned in a movement under the direction of your national committee in return for the truly enormous concessions in principle made by the

Stalinists, then you ought to make a frank public explanation of your change of position and the reason for it.

Frankness and clarity are of special importance in every aspect of the struggle against war which incorporates at the present moment all the interests of the U. S. S. R. and the world proletariat. In the struggle against war nothing is more dangerous and disarming than ambiguity and deception. Let the position of every group be made clear in every respect! The faction to which I belong—the Bolshevik-Leninist faction—devotes itself especially to this work of clarification, not only of its own position but also of others.

In putting these questions to you I trust you will understand that they are meant invidiously in a personal sense. I do not doubt the sincerity of your intentions in the anti-war movement. It is your program that we oppose. It is the ambiguity as to your attitude toward the right of the Left Opposition

The New York Anti-War Conference

(Continued from page 2)
accepted because they were tested in the very crucible of war and revolution, will also make their way. Of that we have always been confident, and our convictions were strengthened manifold by the feeble, cowardly, apologetic defense the Stalinists made against our criticisms at the Labor Temple.

The Conference, we said, centered upon our standpoint, much to the chagrin of the Stalinists. They had originally planned the whole affair as an elaborate masquerade, a repetition of the catastrophic experiments with the Anglo-Russian Committee and the Anti-Imperialist League. Instead of a revolutionary presentation of the Communist position, as an absolute pre-requisite for a united front with the non-Communist masses, the party planned a "respectable" movement for which the liberals would furnish the window-dressing, thereby presumably enabling the party to win the masses—without the masses knowing a thing about it! Listen to how the party-controlled New Masses of this August, with the distinguished Olgin on its editorial board, speaks thus of the movement: there must be built "a realistic, uncompromising, American, peace, movement, cooperating actively with the sane and determined forces of peace in other countries to the end that the war-makers may be exposed and checkmated on every front." "Sane and determined forces of peace"—how smoothly these Stalinized dilettantes slip back into the language of "sane" liberalism, of the Nation and the New Republic!

In harmony with this dazzling plan to present pacifism as revolutionary, while revolutionaries are dressed up into pacifists, the party had decided not to send official delegates to the anti-war conference, apparently under the impression that this would somehow prove that the conference was nothing if not respectable. We are able to state here confidently and on incontrovertible authority that this was the original plan of the party strategists. They decided only at the very last minute to change this plan—only after the appearance of last week's Militant, where we exposed this cowardly piece of opportunism and announced that we would go to the Conference to present our point of view. Not even Baldwin, apparently, was tipped off to the change in the party's plans, because he referred in his speech to the fact that "of course" the Communist party would not participate officially.

to participate and defend its viewpoint in the conferences organized under the auspices of your national committee that we seek to clear up.

The Left Opposition is not against the participation of sincere pacifists in the anti-war conferences. It is against the pacifist program and the pacifist leadership, aided by the treacherous sanction of the Stalinist bureaucrats. To that we will always counterpose the Lenin program and the revolutionary leadership. This aim motivated our appearance at the conference last night and our request from the floor there. It will be the same in the future.

The specific question to which we desire an answer now stands: Do you and the "American Committee for the World Congress Against War" of which you are a prominent member, recognize our right to participate in the conferences and meetings under its direction and to defend our views there, or have you come to a tacit agreement with the Stalinists to exclude us? We will find the way to popularize the Lenin program in any case. We ask no favors. The sole object of this inquiry is clarification of your position.

Yours,
JAMES P. CANNON.

Further indications that this was the original plan is seen in the fact that officially the T. U. U. L., the red trade union central organization, sent not a single delegate. The Young Communist League, which has as one of its highest tasks the struggle against war and militarism, was not represented by a single delegate! And even the party did not send any of its prominent leaders. To represent official Communism, it sent a successful dentist, an equally successful lawyer, a business man, and a second-hand journalist. The conference must not be "too red." It must be respectable. It must satisfy the liberal authors, painters, poets and actors. It must conform to the idea of a masquerade.

A big debacle is being warmed up for us in the Stalinist kitchens. If in no other question, then at least in the question of the struggle against war the Stalinists have had a "consistent" policy. Daily, deafening, endless cries about the "war danger" and opportunistic combinations with all the shady and dubious elements inside and outside the labor movement to "lead" the struggle against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union as a substitute for the leadership of the Communist party. This was the meaning of the combination with Purcell and Co., with Chang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei and Feng Yu-hsiang, as well as with all the other adventurers and traitors who used Stalin's "Anti-Imperialist League" either as a refuge from working class storms at home or as a Communist Monte Carlo where their fortunes might be replenished. In no case was this hollow substitute for a revolutionary struggle successful in advancing the genuine anti-war movement by an inch or in adding to the defense of the Soviet Union.

The present course being followed by the Comintern in the Barbusse Congress enterprise can lead to only one conclusion: catastrophe. One more or less will not matter, say the cynics. They are wrong. The capital accumulated by others and usurped by Stalin is far from inexhaustible. Each debacle has served to diminish it. Stalin continues to squander it and brings the world revolutionary movement and the Soviet Union increasingly closer to a horrible end. It is high time for the Communist workers to awaken and act. The Opposition will be at their side.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The Party and the 6-Hour Day Slogan

In the first period of the crisis the Communist League of America advanced a series of slogans for the fight against unemployment. Among these, and as an outstanding propaganda slogan, we advanced the slogan, "FOR THE SIX HOUR DAY, THE FIVE DAY WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY." Today, Hoover, Green and Hearst are making capital out of the six-hour day, five-day week proposal. It is advisable to review the present struggle and find out why the capitalists have stolen a march on the workers, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE, and FIND OUT WHAT THE RESULT WILL BE. The slogan for the six hour day has been advanced in one form or the other by unions for over a decade, but not until the present crisis and the establishment of a permanent army of unemployed has the slogan attracted wide-spread attention by different classes, for different ends. This must be explained.

The tremendous increase in productive forces, the rationalization since the last war, has laid the economic base for a corresponding change in the use of labor power. Around the value form of the product the capitalists attempt to reorganize the American labor power, on the basis of the reorganized industrial structure of American imperialism. From this flows increased class struggles. Around the attempted reorganization of the labor power, will first develop struggles on immediate demands that can lead in short order into deeper channels. If we allow the capitalists to reorganize the labor power to their own liking the workers will have less space necessary for the running jump to overthrow capitalism. If we allow the capitalists to reorganize the labor power without presenting a Marxian analysis, the class must again condemn the vanguard for failure. The Stalin policy has already failed in this field.

The Capitalist Aim

In this period of capitalism, the fall in the rate of profit forces the capitalists to make up the loss by the most drastic steps. They must change the ratio of necessary labor (wages) and surplus wages (surplus value) to their interest. The lengthening of the work-day has given way to the speed-up and drastic reduction of wages in order to reduce the necessary labor and increase the surplus labor to keep up the falling rate of profit. In crises, and in sections of the industrial structure the capitalists are still able to lengthen the work-day, but the general trend is in the opposite direction, due to the developed productive forces which forces them to resort to speed-up and general wage cuts. The developed productive forces since the war have forced into the structure for the first time an absolute decrease of the number of workers employed in production, which opened the door for a permanent army of millions of unemployed workers.

This new condition called for new action on the part of the capitalists toward the commodity, labor power, if they intend to continue to exploit the workers. Likewise, it calls for bold steps by the workers' vanguard; to utilize the contradiction in the capitalist system to enable the class to take one or more steps forward. This can be done in many ways, but in this field it can only be done one way—and that is by presenting a Marxian analysis of the higher relation of labor power to production and present a Marxian program of action for the class. The party under Stalinist leadership not only failed in this task but now comes out with action that closes the door to the whole problem.

The Editorial of the Daily Worker of August 4 (city edition) dealing with Hoover-Green shorter week proposal plays into the hands of the capitalists and presents another heap of confusion

in the ranks of Communism. The editorial tells us in terms none too mild that the Hoover-Green, and we may add, Hearst Five-Day week proposal is a maneuver against the working class. To be opposed to the Hoover-Hearst-Green shorter week proposal is not a difficult thing for a Communist paper but to present class reasons why take up. To pass off the shorter work-day proposal of the capitalists as another stagger plan is to miss the very center of the contradiction, the relation of production and the commodity labor power. Not to understand this A B C of Marxian economy, makes impossible an adoption of Marxian tactics and strategy for the class.

A Stalinist Muddle

The editorial further, either through ignorance or lies, confuses the stagger plan with the struggle for, "The six hour day, the five day week, and no reduction in pay." The editorial says, "The socialists, the Musteltes, the Trotskyites are putting forward the slogan of 30-hour week without reduction of pay. In reality they are helping put into effect

MILITANT BUILDERS

THE MIRACLE ISSUE

As our readers know from our front page appeal for financial help we are facing extraordinary difficulties in getting the Militant out each week. Last week they seemed so insuperable that after the paper was sent off to the post office we still could not believe it. And when the happy realization was borne in on us we felt that we had performed a miracle. Last week's issue will go down in the history of our movement as the miracle issue.

MOVING UP

Of course, one of the best and soundest ways of obviating such miracles and the situation which makes them necessary is to get subs. We are doing this but the tempo is too slow. Some time ago we warned that the number of subs which expire each week must be more than balanced by new subs. Comrades, we are barely holding our own. We are moving up but too slowly. The record for this week which we give below if compared with last week's will show that.

Comrades, the Militant is in danger. We ourselves must save it. Part of the work must take the form of raising subs. Subs, get subs, get renewals. We must get subs.

A good sign in the staff record is the fact that the oldtimers are being crowded for their places. New comrades are stepping out ahead of them.

J. Weber	4
A. Weaver	2 1-2
C. Cowl	1
P. Schulman	1
H. Nashua	1
L. Goodman	1
H. Schwartz	1
J. Edwards	1
W. Wynne	1
The record by branches is as follows:	
New York	10 1-2
Minneapolis	3 1-2
Chicago	2
Philadelphia	1

Other branches—get busy!

GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

As might have been expected with the present developments in Germany the demand for this pamphlet has shot up like a sky rocket. Our supply is almost exhausted. All that we have left are some hundred copies. And at the rate they are going they won't last another ten days. This is last call for this pamphlet. In next week's issue we will have to announce it as out of print.

the stagger plan." The above argument is about as effective as the ultra-Leftist who says; because the capitalists rule by the parliament and the Communists participate in parliaments, both are fakers; because the capitalists advocate social insurance and the Communist advocate social and unemployment insurance the Communists are no better than the capitalists. Every immediate demand has two sides to it, its exploiter and exploited side, its reformist and revolutionary side. In the struggle for immediate demands the capitalists and reformers struggle for one end, and the revolutionists for the other. Such is the case with unemployment insurance, with elections, with strikes, with civil war and likewise with the demand for the six-hour day the five day week, and no reduction of pay.

The Stalinists present the seven-hour day slogan as correct, and the six-hour day slogan as false. The editorial bases its argument upon, "the full time work week being around 50 hours, the demand for the 30 hour week without reduction of pay would be not to take the struggle of the workers seriously and to pave the way for the stagger plan." The bourgeois average of 50 hours a week for full time workers (how many at full time work in the crisis?) does not determine the slogan for the class, as Stalinists contend.

The six-hour day, five-day week, without reduction in pay is based upon the needs of the workers at the present stage of American capitalism. The editorial says, "Through speed-up the capitalists hope to get out of the workers the same production in the six hours as they now get out of an eight hour day." The capitalists have already accomplished this in the past and in the future the speed-up will be increased, even though the workers don't get any reduction in hours. Seven hours, under capitalist speed-up, is too much. The workers cannot stand the pace. The hours must be reduced to six if ordinary health is to be had. The struggle for the six-hour day does not mean the 30 hour week average. The eight hour movement of the eighties did not mean a 48 hour average. The six hour day struggle is the driving force to reduce all hours in industries that run all the way from 8 to 16 hours. If we win the six hour day it will only mean about a 40 hour AVERAGE for the American industries

Hours and Wages

A reduction of hours for the class, on the basis of class struggle, regardless of the bosses ability here and there to lower wages—has the directly opposite effect on wages. History proves the reduction of the hours of work per day causes wages to rise. Marxists also prove this—in case some Stalinists care to consult their Marxian economics.

We have warned the party many months ago in the columns of the Militant about the danger of playing around with the six-hour day slogan. We said if the party did not take the lead, the reformers and the capitalists would take the lead and turn it into a campaign against us to reduce the standard of living further. The capitalists and reformers, through the neglect of Stalinism now have their hands on a weapon and will use it on our heads. In the eight-hour day struggle in the Eighties the workers had the weapon and used it over the heads of the capitalists. Every immediate demand is a race between the classes for the lever; and the tactics and strategy, based on Marxian analysis will determine if we can obtain the lever, instead of the capitalists, in the class struggle

The slogan, advanced by us many months ago for "Long Term Credits to the Soviet Union," has also met the same fate in the hands of these Stalinist muddleheads. The Communist League of America must intensify its activity within and outside of the party in the class struggle to win a greater organized Left Opposition to give us more pressure upon Stalinist revisionism, to enable our class and vanguard more effectively to fight the capitalists.

The slogan for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay, is the central propaganda slogan for the struggle against unemployment. To unite the employed and unemployed upon a solid organizational basis. It is not a question of social insurance, or immediate relief, or the shorter work day, or long term credits to the Soviet Union or the United Front—which is first and which is second. Immediate relief is the most pressing problem for the class at the moment but this does not mean we build a movement around the slogan of immediate relief as the first or central slogan. Depending upon ebbs and flows, upon sharp turns or victories, other slogans will be shifted to the spotlight and then replaced by one of the other slogans. The structure must be built on a solid organizational base, that touches the roots of the capitalist system that spans the whole period of unemployment, and at the same time enables the other slogans to build upon this structure. This slogan is the slogan for the reduction of hours, "The six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay."

—H. O.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH

By good fortune we have picked up a copy of Max Eastman's biography of comrade Trotsky which is out of print. The title of it is—Leon Trotsky, the Portrait of a Youth. We have only one copy and we refuse to sell it. But we will turn it over to the Militant staff to be included in its premiums to be offered to the highest standing member of the staff of Militant Builders at the end of August.

The Left Opposition's Resolution at the New York Anti-War Conference

The Conference Against War assembled on August 8th at the Labor Temple, representing numerous labor and fraternal organizations of New York, declares that the problem of Imperialist war and aggression against the Soviet Union has now become a most acute question requiring the immediate consideration of the working class of this country and the rest of the world.

The present world-wide crisis of capitalism is accentuating the conflicts among the imperialist powers to the highest degree and by the very nature of capitalist society is driving them headlong towards another bloody conflict for the re-division of the markets and other sources of power in the world, in which each of the great powers, expecting a victorious outcome, hopes to emerge from the crisis raging in its midst. The numerous "disarmament" conferences which have been held in Geneva are an enormous swindle, comparable to the various "peace" conferences and maneuvers of the days before the world war of 1914-18, which were calculated by the imperialist powers merely for the purpose of jockeying for position in the field of armaments and for lulling the working class of the world into a feeling of false security during which all the preparations were actually being made for war itself. The preaching of "disarmaments" is pernicious, hypocrisy which, in reality, serves to disarm the working class at the same time that the capitalist class is arming itself to the teeth.

War and the Soviet Union

The preparations for a new imperialist world war go on simultaneously with the preparations for an aggressive assault upon the Soviet Union. The imperialists have a permanent hatred for the Soviet Union not only because of the economic advances it has made, but prim-

Lenin's Fundamental Views Which Were Voted Down By the Stalinists in Alliance With the Pacifists

arily because it is the fatherland of the workers everywhere, the beacon light which inspires the proletariat throughout the world to intensify its fight for emancipation from capitalism.

The strength of the international proletariat is the best defense of the Soviet Union. The attack upon the latter, therefore, is commenced by the capitalist offensive and the assaults of Fascism upon the working class outside the Soviet Union. War against Russia is a military continuation and prolongation of the attack upon the proletariat in every country. The defense of the Soviet Union cannot be conceived of without a revolutionary struggle of the working class in all lands, led by the Communist parties, against their own bourgeoisie. Defense of Russia without positive participation in this revolutionary struggle is merely a liberal gesture.

War is not an arbitrary act of evildoing individuals. It is the inevitable product of capitalist imperialism which cannot be abolished without the overthrow of the ruling class and its system. Only to the extent that the working class is united under the leadership of the Communist party will it be able to conduct an effective struggle against the danger of imperialist war and military intervention against the Soviet fatherland of the proletariat.

The war of 1914-1918 not only revealed the bankruptcy of capitalist society, but above all the bankruptcy and treachery of the social democracy of all lands, including the pacifists, who served as an obstacle in the path of working class struggle against war. Pacifism and so-

cial democracy, today also, are the petty bourgeois agencies of imperialism in the ranks of the working class. The conference condemns and rejects the views of these tendencies as dangerous to the genuine struggle against war. "Resistance to war", "general strike to stop war" and similar slogans of pacifism are deceptive phrases and gestures, without the revolutionary unification of the working class under Communist leadership which can put an end to war only by working systematically to convert the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

In the event of an outbreak of imperialist war, the working class decisively rejects the reactionary idea of "defense of fatherland", for it has no fatherland except the Soviet Union. In a war of imperialism, the working class takes a defeatist position. While participating in the armies of the capitalists for the aims of its own class, the proletariat works for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie as the first step in the overthrow of its capitalism. The struggle against war, therefore, is primarily the struggle against one's own ruling class and does not begin only when war has broken out. It must be carried on in the same class spirit: before, during and after the outbreak of war.

The Key Danger—Hitlerism

While calling the attention of the workers to the acute threat to the Soviet Union contained in the Japanese attacks on Manchuria, supported by French imperialism, which is the most active supporter and organizer of the anti-Soviet

movements on Russia's western frontiers, the conference declares that the present situation in Germany constitutes not only the gravest danger to the Soviet Union but to the existence of the working class and revolutionary movement throughout the world. Upon victory or defeat of German Fascism will depend the fate of the world working class and the Soviet Union for the next epoch. Hitler can preserve himself in power only as a counter-revolutionary agent of France and the other great powers, only as the butcher of the German proletariat vanguard, only as the primary instrument in a military attack on Russia. The defeat of Hitlerism is therefore the immediate problem of the whole working class, and requires the utmost concentration of forces. The conference therefore urges upon the German Communist Party a consistent application of the policy of the united front towards the social-democratic masses to annihilate Fascism in the form of a proposal to the social democratic party for a united front on the basis of concrete minimum demands, aimed at a united death-blow to the Hitlerites. The policy of the united front developed under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky at the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International, the unity of the working class will make it possible to smash Hitlerism and thus destroy the instruments of reaction directed at the Soviet Union. The problem of the struggle against war is now posed most acutely by the Fascist menace in Germany and it is there that the battle is concentrated at the moment.

For Revolutionary Struggle Against War

The acuteness of the situation requires that the Communist International shall take the initiative and leadership in the development of an international struggle against war and for the defense of the

Beginning with the next issue, the Militant will print brief sketches of the individuals chosen to head the Barbusse-Rolland-Wells-Gorky-Sinclair "Congress Against War." From these sketches our readers will be able to gain an idea of the records of those to whom the leadership of a "struggle against imperialist war" has been entrusted. Watch the next issue!

Soviet Union. To leave such a movement in the hands and under the leadership of confusionists and pacifists like Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, and their American followers can only prevent the unfolding of a revolutionary anti-war struggle.

As against a movement led and dominated by such elements and ideas, the conference urges the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions to convene an International Congress to which shall be publicly invited the Second International, the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam), the International Workingmen's Association (Anarcho-Syndicalists), in order to prepare a world-wide struggle against the danger of imperialist war, against the threat of Fascism in Germany and for the defense of the Soviet Union. Convocation of a similar gathering in Berlin in April 1922, initiated by the Communist International, and including the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals served admirably to broaden the movement for a revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

In the meanwhile, the Conference urges that such a plan be executed immediately on a national scale in the United States.

The Conference instructs its delegates to adopt a position there in harmony with the views expressed in this resolution.

Hands Off Rosa Luxemburg

by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from last issue)

When Lenin, going back into the past, wrote in October 1919 ("Greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists"), "... in the moment of the seizure of power and the creation of the Soviet Republic, Bolshevism remained alone in the field, it had drawn to itself the best of the tendencies closest to it in socialist thought." I repeat, when Lenin wrote this, he unquestionably had in mind also the tendencies of Rosa Luxemburg, whose closest adherents, e. g., Markhlevsky, Djerjinsky and others, were working in the ranks of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin understood Rosa Luxemburg's mistakes more profoundly than Stalin; but it was not accidentally that Lenin once quoted the old couplet in relation to Luxemburg,

Betimes the eagles down swoop and
neath the barnyard fowl fly,
But barnyard fowl with outspread
wings will never soar amid the
clouds in the sky.

Precisely the case! Precisely the point! For this very reason Stalin should proceed with caution before expending his vicious mediocrity when the matter touches figures of such stature as Rosa Luxemburg.

In the article "In relation to the History of the Question of the Dictatorship," Lenin (October 1920) touching upon questions of the Soviet State and the dictatorship of the proletariat, already posed by the 1905 Revolution, wrote, "Such outstanding representatives of the revolutionary proletariat and of the unfalsified Marxism as Rosa Luxemburg evaluated immediately the significance of the practical experience and came forward at meetings and in the press with critical analyses of it." On the contrary, "people, of the type of future Kautskyites... evinced an utter incapacity to understand the significance of this experience." In a few lines, Lenin fully pays the tribute of recognition to the historical significance of Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against Kautsky, the struggle, which Lenin himself had been far from immediately evaluating at its true worth. If to Stalin, the ally of Chiang Kai-Shek, and the comrade in arms of Purcell, the theoretician of "the worker-peasant party", of "the democratic dictatorship" of "Non-antagonizing the bourgeoisie", etc.—if to him Rosa Luxemburg is the representative of Centrism, to Lenin she is the representative of "unfalsified Marxism". What this designation meant coming as it does from Lenin's pen is clear to any one who is even slightly acquainted with Lenin.

THE BANNER OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

I take the occasion to point out here that in the notes to Lenin's works there is among others the following said about Rosa Luxemburg "During the florescence of the Bernstein revisionism and later of ministerialism (Millerand), Luxemburg carried on against this tendency a decisive fight, taking her position in the Left wing of the German party... In 1907 she participated as a delegate of the S. D. of Poland and Lithuania in the London Congress of R. S. D. L. P., supporting the Bolshevik faction on all basic questions of the Russian revolution. From 1907, Luxemburg gave herself over entirely to work in Germany, taking a Left-radical position and carrying on a fight against the Center and the Right wing... Her participation in the January 1919 insurrection has made her name the banner of the proletarian revolution."

Of course, the author of these notes will in all probability on the morrow confess his sins and announce that in Lenin's epoch he wrote in a benighted condition, and that he reached complete enlightenment only in the epoch of Stalin. At the present moment announcements of this sort—combinations of sycophancy, idiosyncrasy and buffoonery—are made daily in the Moscow press. But they do not change the nature of things. "What's once set down in black and white, no ax will hack nor all your might." Yes, Rosa Luxemburg has become the banner of the proletarian revolution!

How and wherefore, however, did Stalin suddenly busy himself—at so belated a time—with the revision of the old Bolshevik valuation of Rosa Luxemburg? As was the case with all his preceding theoretical abortions so with this latest one, and the most scandalous, the origin lies in the logic of his struggle against the theory of Permanent Revolution. In his "historical" article, Stalin once again allots the chief place to this theory. There is not a single new word in what he says. I have long ago answered all his arguments in my book "The Permanent Revolution". From the historical viewpoint the question will be sufficiently clarified, I trust, in the second volume of "The History of the Russian Revolution" (The October Revolution), not on the press. In the present case the question of the Permanent Revolution concerns us only insofar as Stalin links it up with Rosa Luxemburg's name. We shall presently see how the hapless theoretician has contrived to set up for himself a murderous trap.

After recapitulating the controversy between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks on the question of the moving forces in the Russian revolution and after masterfully compressing a series of mistakes into a few lines, which I am compelled to leave without an examination, Stalin indites, "What was the attitude of the Left German social democrats, Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg to these controversies? They concocted a utopian and a semi-Menshevist scheme of the Permanent Revolution... Subsequently this semi-Menshevist scheme was caught up by Trotsky (partly by Martov) and turned into a weapon of strug-

Reply to the Slandering of a Revolutionist

gle against Leninism... Such is the unexpected history of the origin of the theory of the Permanent Revolution, in accordance with the latest historical researches of Stalin. But, alas, the investigator forgot to consult his own previous learned works. In 1925 this same Stalin had already expressed himself on this question in his polemic against Rak-dek. Here is what he wrote then, "It is not true that the theory of the Permanent Revolution... was put forward in 1905 by Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky. As a matter of fact this theory was put forward by Parvus and Trotsky." This assertion may be consulted on page 185, "Questions of Leninism", Russian edition, 1926. Let us hope that it obtains in all foreign editions.

LUXEMBURG AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

So, in 1925, Stalin pronounced Rosa Luxemburg not guilty in the commission of such a cardinal sin as participating in the creation of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. "As a matter of fact, this theory was put forward by Parvus and Trotsky" In 1931, we are informed by the identical Stalin that it was precisely, "Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg... who concocted the utopian and semi-Menshevist scheme of the Permanent Revolution". As for Trotsky he was innocent of creating the theory, it was only "caught up" by him, and at the same time by... Martov! ! ! Once again Stalin is caught with the goods. Perhaps he writes on questions of which he can make neither head nor tail or is he consciously shuffling marked cards in playing with the basic questions of Marxism? It is incorrect to pose this question as an alternative. As a matter of fact, both the one and the other obtain here. The Stalinist falsifications are conscious in so far as they are dictated at each given moment by entirely concrete personal interests. At the same time they are semi-conscious, in so far as his congenial ignorance place no impediments whatsoever to his theoretical propensities.

But facts remain facts. In his war against "the Trotskyist contraband", Stalin has fallen foul of a new personal enemy, Rosa Luxemburg! He did not pause for a moment before lying about her and vilifying her; and moreover before proceeding to put into circulation his stallion's doses of vulgarity and disloy-

alty, he did not even take the bother of verifying what he himself had said on the same subject five years before.

The new variant of the history of the ideas of the Permanent Revolution was indicated first of all by an urge to provide a dish more spicy than all those preceding. It is needless to explain that Martov was dragged in by the hair for the sake of the greater piquancy of theoretical and historical cookery. Martov's attitude to the theory and practice of the Permanent Revolution was one of unalterable antagonism, and in the old days he stressed more than once that Trotsky's views on Revolution were rejected equally by the Bolsheviks as well as the Mensheviks. But it is not worth while to pause over this.

What is truly fatal is that there is not a single major question of international proletarian revolution, on which Stalin has failed to express two directly contradictory opinions. We all know that in April 1924, he conclusively demonstrated in "The Questions of Leninism" the impossibility of building socialism in one country. In autumn, in a new edition of the book, he substituted in its place a proof (i. e., a bald proclamation) that the proletariat "can and must" build socialism in one country. The entire remainder of the text was left unchanged. On the question of the worker-peasant party, of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, the leadership of the October Revolution, on the national question, etc., etc., Stalin contrived to put forward, for a period of a few years, sometimes of a few months, opinions that were mutually exclusive. It would be incorrect to place the blame in everything on a poor memory. The matter reaches deeper here. Stalin completely lacks any method of scientific thinking, he has no criteria of principles. He approaches every question as if that question were born only today and stood apart from all other questions. Stalin contributes his judgments entirely depending upon whatever personal interest of his is uppermost and most urgent today. The contradictions that convict him are the direct vengeance for his vulgar empiricism. Rosa Luxemburg does not appear to him in the perspective of the German, Polish and international workers' movement of the last half-century. No, she is to him each time a new, and, besides, an isolated figure, regarding whom he is compelled in every new situation to ask himself anew, "Who goes there Friend of foe?" Unerring instinct has this time whispered to the theoretician of socialism in one country

that the shade of Rosa Luxemburg is irreconcilably inimical to him. But this does not hinder the great shade from remaining the banner of the international proletarian revolution.

LUXEMBURG AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Rosa Luxemburg criticized very severely and fundamentally, incorrectly the policies of the Bolsheviks in 1918 from her prison cell. But even in this, her most erroneous work, her eagle's wings are to be seen. Here is her general evaluation of the October overturn, "Everything that the party had the power to perform in the sphere of valour, of forceful action, of revolutionary farsightedness and consequentialness—all that was fully carried out by Lenin, Trotsky and the party comrades. All the revolutionary honor and the capacity for action, which the social democracy of the West so lacked, were demonstrated by the Bolsheviks. Their October insurrection was not only the true salvation of the Russian Revolution but it also saved the honor of international socialism." Can this perchance be the voice of Centrism?

In the succeeding pages, Luxemburg subjects to severe criticism the policies of the Bolsheviks in the agrarian sphere, their slogan of national self-determination, and their rejection of formal democracy. In this criticism we might add, directed equally against Lenin and Trotsky, she makes no distinction whatever between their views; and Rosa Luxemburg knew how to read, understand, and seize upon shades. It did not even fall into her head, for instance, to accuse me of the fact that by being in solidarity with Lenin on the agrarian question, I had changed my views on the peasantry. And moreover she knew these views very well since I had developed them in detail in 1909 in her Polish Journal... Rosa Luxemburg ends her criticism with the demand, "In the policy of the Bolsheviks the essential must be distinguished from the unessential, the fundamental she considers to be the force of the action of the masses, the will to socialism." "In this relation," she writes, "Lenin and Trotsky with their friends were the first who have set an example to the world proletariat. Even now they remain the only ones who can exclaim with Huss, This, I have dared!"

Yes, Stalin has sufficient cause to hate Rosa Luxemburg. But all the more imperious therefore becomes our duty to shield Rosa's memory from Stalin's calumny that has been caught by the hired functionaries of both hemispheres, and to pass on this truly beautiful, heroic and tragic image to the young generations of the proletariat in all its grandeur and inspirational force.
Prinkipo, June 28, 1932

The Black Hordes of Fascism at the Gates of Power

(Continued from page 1)

the Central Executive Committee of the C. P. G. has condemned the Berlin-Brandenburg united front action of June 20. The whole theory of "social Fascism" with all its disastrous appendages is to remain intact. The "red united front" under the leadership of the Communist party" is to remain the line.

Nothing can be more fatal, nothing can be more tragic than this thoughtless and irresponsible action of the German Stalinists. At a time when the deadly enemy is at the doorstep, the Stalinist bureaucrats persist in their headless and giddy ultimatum game. They simply refuse to tear the mask off the treacherous social democracy at this, the most propitious moment. They are throwing away the opportunity of uniting the Communist vanguard with the social democratic workers in one common front which the workers all want and for the sake of which they will break with the treacherous leaders who want to sabotage it. The criminal, headless German Stalinists must be stopped!

Where is the Communist International? What has the Stalinist faction in control of the C. I. and of the Soviet Union to say in this hour of desperation? Stalin and his faction are maintaining a dastardly silence, a silence which condones the criminal policy of the German leadership. We stigmatize this unheard-of, cowardly, silence on the part of Stalin as an act of treachery.

The Stalinist leadership has allowed the working class of Germany to pass from one defeat to another in the last year alone. Emergency decree has followed emergency decree. The workers have received wage-cut upon wage-cut, unemployment has swelled to fantastic proportions and unemployment insurance has been stripped to the bone, the banks have crashed, the workers' rights have been trampled under foot, the press (even the (Vorwaerts) suppressed, Von Papen

LESSONS OF THE BONUS MARCH

(Continued from page 1)

failure the vets and they have paid a heavy price.

The tactic of passive resistance which the vets pursued finally exhausted the little patience of the capitalist class. The armed forces of the government were called into play. First, the police proved unreliable—1200 of the 1400 cops were themselves ex-servicemen. The sailors who were summoned next, notified their masters that they were "sea fighters", and did not enlist to fight on land. The marines gave a similar answer.

The newspapers, hungry for sensational stories, spread the story far and wide in all its gory details. No item of the gruesome butchery was spared. The New York Evening Journal reporter said that he saw a vet who was lying prone, face to the ground stabbed in the back by a bayonet! No one can be mistaken about the job that was done in Washington by Hoover's orders.

The working class will not soon forget

swept away the Reichstag, the dictatorship was instituted in Prussia—all without a struggle, all without any resistance. The Communist party has simply played the role of a helpless onlooker, it has not given the working class leadership. It has paralyzed by the Stalinist line of policy. The bourgeoisie has been pushing through an unobstructed offensive. The Fascists are primed for power. Germany is to be handed over directly to the butchers of the working class!

The Next Step of Fascism—War Against the U. S. S. R.

But not only Germany. The next step in the bourgeois offensive is war—the international, the imperialist extension of Fascism—imperialist war against the workers' state, against Soviet Russia. The Fascists have gained their following by vague and magnanimous promises. There is no other way for German capitalism than the bloody rule of Fascism. There is no other way out for Fascism than the adventure of imperialist war against another nation, war in which it will receive unconditional support from the money bags abroad. That nation is and can be none other than the U. S. S. R., the fatherland of the international working class, the fortress of the world revolution!

We are at a turning point in history. The German working class is not yet crushed. The institution of Fascism is, however, a matter of days. The Stalinist leadership has enormously failed in its task. Without the guidance of its revolutionary Communist party, left in the hands of the petrified and putrefying social democracy, the working class of Germany will be lost and with Germany lost, defeat, terrible, bloody defeat stares into the eyes of the Soviet Union and the working class of the world.

Yet, yet, it is not too late. But the fatal moment is almost here. Not a single hour, not a minute is to be lost. Workers, Communists, the destiny of the

what it learned from the bonus fight. The fight put up by the veterans will yet become one of the traditions of the revolutionary working class movement. The traditions of American democracy and legalism have become thinner in the minds of the workers. We are nearer to the day when they will snap. This we owe in part to the fight put up by our class brothers in Washington.

The capital which this fight has given us must become the special weapon of the Communists to advance the cause of the revolution. We must proceed by raising the class consciousness of the vets by linking up their fight with the fight for general class relief from the crisis at the expense of the capitalist class and its government. The national conference called by the Workers' Ex-servicemen's League for the end of September must work out a program of accomplishing this task. We will support it with all the means at our disposal.

international proletariat is standing before a disastrous decision, years of black reaction threaten the international working class.

Make your voices heard. It is now or never! Together with the Left Opposition blast the silence, the criminal unconcern, the treacherous tranquility of the Stalinist leadership! Send telegrams and cables by your units, by your selections to the address of the Communist International, to the Central Executive Committee of the German Communist Party.

Take your fate—the fate of the international revolution—into your own hands. Demand the adoption of the Leninist policy of the International Left Opposition. Demand the return to leadership of Lenin's comrades and co-workers, the Russian Left Opposition with comrade Trotsky at its head. The victory of world Communism lies along the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

A new, a most terrible war is threatening the Soviet Union and the working class of the world. The Bolshevik-Leninists are needed at their posts: at the forefront of the world revolution!

LEON TROTSKY

WHAT NEXT?

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

BRANDLER?

NATIONAL SOCIALISM?

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY?

RED STRATEGY?

SEYDEWITZ?

SOVIET UNION?

PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION?

HILFERDING?

RED ARMY?

CENTRISM?

FASCISM?

BOLSHEVISM?

STALIN?

HINDENBURG?

LENIN?

ULTIMATISM?

LEFT OPPOSITION?

ADOLF HITLER?

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Ferment in the British Party

Open Letter from Comrade Stewart Purkis to Harry Pollitt

Dear Comrade Pollitt,

You have asked a straight question: you have a straight answer. You have asked me how far I go with "The Communist"—the bulletin which contained comrade Trotsky's article "Germany: the Key to the International Situation", and other material by the British Group of the Left Opposition. My answer to you and to my comrades in the British Party is: "I go with it all the way." Not only does this answer inevitably incur expulsion: it also entails misunderstanding, disappointment and condemnation amongst valued comrades. It is my duty to them and to the Party, that I state clearly why I take any stand with the British Group of the Left Opposition.

Stand—One of Policy

First I wish to say that my reasons are political, not personal. During my five years of Party membership, I have experienced—with few and trifling exceptions—nothing but good will and comradeship in my Party life: the rank and file of the Party are, as a whole, splendid comrades and fellow workers. The leadership of our Party has in it men of outstanding gifts: a writer as acute as R. P. Dutt; an organizer as skilled as Emile Burns; a speaker, tactician and mass leader as able as Harry Pollitt. Such is the quality of the leadership.

This is my estimate of our Party and its leadership. I state it that it may be clear that it is not because of unsatisfactory personal relationships with the rank and file, nor because I underestimate the ability and gifts of its leadership that I line up with the Left Opposition. I support the Left Opposition because I believe that the policy of the British party and of the Communist International is at fault on those very root issues for which comrades Trotsky, Rakovsky and the many comrades of the Left Opposition have fought and have been expelled.

Reviewing Past of Party

The very facts I have indicated—the gifted leadership of the British party, the comradely and industrious rank and file, the developed objective conditions—all these contrast so vividly with the Party's failure to win the leadership of the British working class, that every Communist has it as his plain duty to ask himself whether the Party is on the correct line. The position in Britain today, after ten years of hard struggle is: (1) **Parliamentary**: 70,000 votes for the defence of the U. S. S. R.; (2) **Industrial**: no roots in factories or trade unions; (3) **Political**: complete failure to make the revolutionary way out plain to the workers. This position repeats itself in the Communist parties throughout the world. These facts have moved me to accept the Left Opposition criticism of the strategy of the Communist International.

At the time of the Left Opposition struggle and the expulsion of comrade Trotsky, I was a new member of the Party. Even then it was difficult for me not to oppose the contention that Trotsky, who had shared the leadership with Lenin, who—in the words of Stalin "had the immediate direction of the practical organization of the uprising" and to whom "the Party was first and foremost indebted for the garrison's prompt going over to the Soviet" could be the "counter-revolutionary" into which Party calumny slowly pictured him. Literature was sparse. The Party's little great men the Arnolds the Ernies Browns, the Murphys, they said their say. One remained unconvinced but ill-equipped and so refrained from voting. With others I worked on in the Party and continued to study the issues raised by the Left Opposition.

The literature has come slowly to hand. On the past issues—Poland, China, Russian industrial and agricultural development, the Anglo-Russian Committee, all the evidence I have se-

cured justifies the Left Opposition and condemns the line of the Communist International. But though the Left Opposition has been correct, it seemed inadvisable to risk expulsion from the Party, even to take part in a fight to win the re-admission to the Communist International of comrades whose past line had been the correct one. Past issues were past. One turned to the work which clamoured to be done at every depot gate and street corner.

The Crucial Issue of Germany

Then hard on the heels of the disturbing attitude of the Communist International towards the Spanish Revolution, came the crucial issue of Germany. Party comrades "in the know" whispered that the Fascists were to take power unchallenged. German industry is so important to the success of the Five Year Plan, that nothing must disturb the relations between German Capitalism and Russian Socialism. The Five Year Plans were to be completed with the help of German industry: whatever the government!

But comrade Trotsky's writing on the German issue, especially "Germany: the Key to the International Situation", the "Letter to a German Comrade" and "What Next?" have vividly shown the position in Europe. They have made it clear that "Who wins in Germany wins in Europe". They have presented the danger of war on the U. S. S. R., not as an annual August shilliboleth, but as a living reality.

In 1930 Trotsky warned the Party that their forecasts of the early collapse of Fascism were not justified. Twelve months ago, Trotsky pointed to the United Front of the Communist and social democratic organizations as the only policy which could ensure the defeat of Fascism, the break-up of social democracy, and successes in the struggle for proletarian power. Today events tardily compel the Party towards Trotsky's line. But time in this struggle is the life and death factor. The line which Trotsky pointed out two years ago, the Party begins to shuffle towards today. These delays and weaknesses of both the Communist International and the German leadership threaten disaster to the U. S. S. R. and to the whole working class movement. In the present situation it is to me a clear duty to put comrade Trotsky's writings in the hands of the Party membership, that his leadership may be available to the working class in this hour of need. That is why I support the work of the Left Opposition in issuing the bulletin for circulating in the Party and to militant workers.

When I was expelled from the Railway Clerks Association, the R. C. A. leadership saw and condemned my action as a "breach of rule". Many of my fellow members and my comrades in the Party saw and supported my action as the course which loyalty to the working class demanded.

I know that I may now be condemned by you and by many valued comrades for breaking rules by circulating this material on Germany. But we who do this hold that loyalty to the Party's cause is more important than keeping rules which ban vital discussion in the Party.

In this short letter I cannot set out the Left Opposition case on the major political issue: the case for the policy of International Revolution against National Socialism (even when it wears the guise of "Socialism in one country"), and all the tactical issues which follow from it. I ask every comrade who sees the importance of mastering these issues to write to me for details of the publications of the Left Opposition.

I write this letter to make it clear that my course of action is dictated by political and not personal motives; and that if my acceptance of the Left Opposition position and support for its works entails my expulsion, I shall from without the Party do my utmost—together with my Left Opposition comrades within the Party—to strengthen the Party for its real task: the organization of the working class for the world struggle for world socialism.

With Communist greetings,
STEWART PURKIS.

4, Hogarth Hill,
London N. W. 11. July 27th, 1932.

MARXIST CLASSICS

Through an exchange arrangement with a local bookseller we have got a number of copies of the **Communist Manifesto**; **Socialism, Utopian and Scientific**; **Wage Labor and Capital**; and **Value Price and Profit**. In the past we have received requests for this literature. In the course of our propaganda work among workers we frequently find it necessary to begin at rock bottom. This is all the more necessary today because of the terribly low ideological level that obtains in the party ranks under Stalinist leadership.

Unfortunately because of the terms of our exchange arrangement we are unable to offer any discount on this literature. The selling prices in the order in which they are listed above are: 10 cents; 25 cents; 30 cents; 25 cents.

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