



'What Next?'— Book of Hour

WHAT NEXT? by Leon Trotsky Translated from the Russian original by U. Vanzler. 200 pages. Pioneer Publishers, New York, Paper, 35c; Cloth, 65c.

Events are moving with dazzling rapidity in Germany. Within a brief two years span, government control has passed over from the hands of the socialist coalition under Hermann Mueller and into the hands of the Junker dictatorship under Von Papen. Only a few months ago, the main popular prop of the government—then led by Brüning—was constituted by the reformist trade unions under the control of the social democracy. Today, the government of Germany leans for its mass support upon the motley following of Hitler and the Fascist party.

From Harzburg to Von Papen

As late as December of last year, the French jingoes were still howling blue murder because the Harzburg meet of the Hitler-Hugenburg Opposition had been permitted by the authorities. In these days, when nationalism runs rampant in Germany, when Minister of the Reichswehr Von Schleicher announces disregard in the future for the armament provisions of the Versailles Treaty, the Paris press appears to forget all its fears for "French security". Von Papen even suggests "occasional conversations between the general staffs of Germany and France" to Premier Herriot (Interview of Von Papen, N. Y. World-Telegram, July 27, 1932.)

A year ago, Brüning appealed for aid from American financiers against the threat of "Right wing radicalism". Today, the Junkers call for help to fight against Communism.

Dark doings are going on behind the scenes of international politics. Dense, black clouds hang over the heads of the peoples of all nations.

What Next?, by Leon Trotsky illuminates this sombre situation with the brilliancy of an acetylene lamp. It penetrates into the deepest background of recent happenings. It supplies the thread that links them with the social developments of the past. It brings out with utmost clarity and sharpness, the staggering implications of the facts we have seen with our own eyes.

This latest pamphlet by the great international revolutionist gives an appraisal of German political life in the incomparably lucid terms of Marxist thought. What are the causes for the rise of Fascism, what is the social composition of the movement, what is its specific role in the capitalist system, what does Fascism mean in so far as the workers are concerned, what are its international connections—all these questions are treated with Trotsky's characteristic incisiveness. The problems, the reactions, the reflections evoked by the German situation are painted on the broad canvass of historical continuity. Each event, every factor is seen as part of an all-embracing whole.

Lessons of the Past

German political developments of the present day are tested on the touchstone of past experiences. No lesson of the past, whether it be connected with the rise of Mussolini in the Italy of 1920-21 or the crushing of the reactionary Kornilov in pre-revolutionary Russia of September 1917 is left out of account. The whole post-war period of world political development, is deftly utilized to set off the struggle of the classes in Hindenburg-Germany, in bold relief.

A scathing analysis of social democratic activity in the last 18 years, beginning with the vote of socialist Reichstag fraction for the war credits in 1914 and coming down to their policy of the lesser evil, serves to lay bare the putrid and decadent character of the reformist movement of our times. Trotsky exposes the inexorable logic of the collapse of the social democracy by voluminous quotations from their press, by citing an abundance of incidents and actions which strike at the very core of this diseased and outlived political organism. But even more convincing than the bare facts—which are enlightening enough—is the Marxian explanation given to them as they are woven into the texture of declining German and European capitalism as a whole. The puny soul of this withering reformist pillar of backsliding capitalist Germany—the social democratic functionary—shrivels and shrinks into insignificance before the masterful sociological and psychological scrutiny of Trotsky's eye: The question of the struggle against the social democracy is posed on the following premises: "(a) the political responsibility of the social democracy for the strength of Fascism; (b) absolute irreconcilability between Fascism and those workers organizations on which the social democracy itself depends."

A Critique of Stalinism

On the basis of these premises, the Bolshevik leader proceeds to a thoroughgoing criticism of the Stalinist leadership of the German Communist Party and the Communist International. The hopeless blunders of the Stalinist bureaucracy, (Continued on page 4)

All Out on Aug. First

Demonstrate against Imperialist War and the Hitlerist Menace

An entirely new generation has grown to maturity since August 1914, eighteen years ago, when the most murderous imperialist war history has every known burst in Europe and dragged the most important nations of the whole world into its vortex. Yet so deep a gash did the world war leave on the body of the world that the workers and peasants everywhere are still suffering from the effects of it. The anarchy of capitalist competition, the struggle for world power of each imperialist nation, which gave birth to the "war to end all wars", has not only produced again one of its periodic crises, more terrific in its consequences than any which preceded it, but it has also brought closer to reality the danger of a new world war.

At the extremities of the capitalist world the preliminary shots of war already ring in the ears of those who fight them in the interests of their imperialist overlords. Manchuria is occupied by the armed forces of Japanese despotism who have encountered an unlooked for resistance from the Chinese people. In Latin America, one country after another is on the verge of military combat, impelled by the rivalries of the imperialist nations of America and Great Britain who seek to hold their own and gain an advantage by displacing each other from the sources of profit in their respective colonial and semi-colonial empires. In the sorely torn metropolises, the insidious idea is eagerly cultivated that a large-scale war would provide jobs for the millions who now tramp the streets without work.

Imperialism on a Volcano

With the world crisis having drawn all lines taut, with world capitalism sitting on a volcano, each important political event reveals ever more clearly the truth which the Marxists have for decades sought to bring home to the proletariat; capitalism today is sitting on a vast powder deposit which may be blown into consuming flames by the slightest, most unexpected spark!

That is why August 1st of this year becomes an appropriate occasion for the assembling of the proletarian millions in the streets of the capitalist world for an enormous demonstration of opposition to imperialist war. One of the principal forces that has thus far restrained the imperialist war-mongers from an open struggle on the battlefields has been the fear of the answer which an aroused working class will make. The unforgettable lesson taught by the Russian revolution, which brought the imperialist war to an end by the overthrow of the ruling capitalist class, has penetrated the minds of the advanced ranks of the working class. The imperialists know that a new world war would bring with it the revolutionary reply of the world proletariat. But their fears of this eventuality is sometimes dominated by their greed for power and expansion, and driven by the inexorable laws of imperialist society, they are moving towards war in spite of everything.

At the present time, even more than

during the days before 1914, the preparations for war are proceeding at a frenzied pace under the smoke-screen of "disarmament". Out of each conference which the pacifist idiots or scoundrels seek to palm off on the working class as a guarantee against war, the imperialist

OPPOSITIONISTS! ATTENTION!

All members and sympathizers of the Communist League of America (Opposition) are urged to gather at our headquarters on 84 East 10th Street, New York, at 4:30 P. M., August First, so that the Left Opposition may be able to go to the party's demonstration as a unit. Be there on time!

powers emerge with increased and better equipped military and naval forces. The "disarmament" conferences have become an absolute pre-requisite to the imperialists in their preparations for war. The August First demonstrations this year, therefore, will have to become imposing, clear-minded protests against the monstrous swindle which militarists and pacifists are jointly practising against the people. They will have to be aimed at clearing away the fog in the workers' minds, caused by the poisonous gases of pacifism. They must not only be a demonstration of protest against war in general, but a mobilization of the workers for the prosecution of the class war whose triumph really means the end of all war and the commencement of a new epoch for humanity.

The Treat of Hitlerism

The drive towards new imperialist war is inextricably inter-twined with the growing threat of war against the Soviet Union. Japan continues to lie in wait on Russia's Eastern borders, attending the most appropriate moment to fling his legions against the workers' republic in an attempt to exterminate what it failed to crush in the wars of intervention a decade ago. On the Western frontier, an even greater threat is growing against the Soviets. The swelling of the forces of Fascism in Germany, which are being nourished on an implacable hatred for Bolshevism, whose marching songs reveal their fiendish desire to annihilate the Red Army and its Soviet republic, constitutes the most serious menace to Russia in recent years.

No more timely defense of the Soviet Union can be made than the concentration of the world's revolutionary forces to smash the Fascist monster before it comes to power. No more urgent task faces the Communist movement than that of redressing the line of German Communism so that it may be able to tread the right road: the establishment of a genuine united front with the social democratic masses for a mortal struggle against Hitlerism. To shout about war without making the German situation the center of agitation is to convert August First into a meaningless meeting.

The failure to do this up to now reveals one of the sore spots in the pre-

sent Stalinist policy, which results in effect into transforming the August First demonstrations into a ritualistic parade, disconnected from the most vital questions of the day. When the August First demonstrations were first proclaimed by the Comintern in 1929, they were deeply tinged with the spirit of mad adventurism. Three years later, Stalinism has gone through another of its periodical zigzags, and now August First is associated with the opportunistic game they are playing with the Barbusse "Congress against War." The working class could not play into the hands of its enemy more surely than by thus hiding its face behind the mask of confused and pernicious pacifism. Here too, the line of official Communism, turned and twisted into a hopeless knot, must be unraveled instantly so that during and after August First a revolutionary position may be presented to the workers.

August First, finally, will be a mere anniversary commemoration if it is not associated with a strengthening of the class movement in this country. To accomplish this without a change in the course of the party, has been proved impossible. It is here that the criticisms of the Left Opposition gain point and timeliness.

On August First, the working class must fill the streets. Join with the Communist party and the revolutionary militants in a demonstration of opposition to imperialist war, loyalty to the Soviet Union, and organization of resistance to the capitalist offensive! Every worker out!

Bullets & Gas for the Vets!

Hoover and Co. Make a Repayment for Soldiers' Services

By order of the arch-reactionary, Hoover, amid clouds of tear gas, "gently prodded by bayonets", struck by the flats of sabers, the veterans encamped in Washington have been driven from their billets by infantry, cavalry, tanks and machine gun detachments. Tear gas bombs were hurled into the midst of women and children standing on the sidewalks, booing the misguided soldiers. It was a mopping-up sortier reminiscent of world war days, say the capitalist reporters.

This incident, foreshadowing what capitalism holds in store for the future revolts of its wage slaves, followed a skirmish earlier in the day in which the enraged veterans drove off the police and Treasury agents who attempted to evict them from their makeshift homes. In this affray a veteran lost his life, a number of others were injured, and several policemen received as well as they gave. For hundreds of thousands of workers all over the country the true nature of American democracy has been revealed. Before their very eyes the views of the Communists have been proved. Capitalism rules by force. It spares nobody.

The veterans have reaped the only reward their capitalist masters will give them. This is what they get for their defense of "innocent, bleeding Belgium." This is their reward for making the "world safe for democracy". The gas bombs they once hurled at equally misled German workers have now been hurled at them by "their own countrymen." The bayonets which they once used to rip and slash the bodies of "enemy" soldiers have been applied to their own skins by men wearing the same uniforms they wore in the Argonne and Chateau-Thierry. What a bitter education these workers are getting under the driving

force of the class struggle!

The Veterans' Progress

How far they have come on the road to class consciousness can be seen from the fact that these are the men whom the capitalist class had organized into the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars as instruments to smash strikes and working class demonstrations. Now, having learned by their own experience what capitalism is, they will no longer allow themselves to be used for this kind of capitalist dirty work.

But they still have a long way to reach the ranks of the class conscious vanguard. They must learn that the fight for the bonus must be made a part of the class fight for relief from the crisis at the expense of the capitalist class and its government; that their fight must be made a part of a united working class fight embracing with employed and unemployed workers.

It is the task of the Communists to teach them. They must advance the correct slogans, and work in the ranks of the veterans to raise them to class consciousness. The Communists must support the fight for the bonus—as a special measure of relief for a special section of the working class. In this connection it must be noted that the **Daily Worker** has made a profound mistake in relegating the fight for unemployment insurance and relief to a position second to the bonus fight. If the fight for the bonus is to yield results in relief and class consciousness the correct relation between it and the broader fight for unemployment insurance must be observed.

Communist Opportunities

The Communists now have a splendid opportunity to take over the leadership of the bonus fight. In the crucial moment when the veterans needed leadership and direction their commander, Waters, turned out to be, as the Communists foretold, a coward and faker. The tide of battle swept him aside. The men are now leaderless. The prestige of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League will rise if it steps into the breach and leads. It has in this situation an opportunity to smash through the isolation into which its incorrect tactics led it. It can demonstrate that it is capable under Communist guidance, of leading not only isolated demonstrations of the vanguard, but the masses of the vets.

The Communists must rally the vets, draw for them the lessons of their fight for the bonus and the most recent actions of the Hoover starvation government, and raise the fight for the bonus to the higher plane of the general class fight for relief. If they will do this they will advance the vets toward class consciousness and raise the prestige of Communism in the eyes of the whole working class.

—T. S.

200 at German Meeting

Despite a heavy shower shortly before the meeting, and the intense mid-summer heat, more than 200 workers packed the hall of the Stuyvesant Casino last Wednesday to hear the viewpoint of the Left Opposition on the crisis in Germany. Hugo Oehler introduced the subject with an analysis of the events leading up to the present situation and the significance of the struggle between Fascism and Communism. He was followed by Max Shachtman, who sketched the false course pursued by the official party leaders for the past few years in connection with the social democracy on the one hand, and Fascism on the other. The seriousness of the situation in Germany was emphasized and the standpoint of the Left Opposition revealed to have been vindicated by life itself. The speakers were followed with the strictest attention, and the audience included not only a large number of party and Lovestone group members, but dozens of workers who had never before attended a meeting of the Left Opposition. The Casino meeting was the first in a series of meetings being organized throughout the country by us in an endeavor to arouse the American militants to the vital importance of the situation now developing in Germany.

Eleventh Hour in Germany

Socialists Restrain Workers: Stalinists still Reject United Front

Events in Germany are rushing swiftly towards a climax. Sunday's elections to the now dissolved Reichstag will serve as another milestone on the road which leads Germany to the final decision: the triumph of Fascism or proletarian emancipation.

For those to whom it was not clear at the outset, it should now be plain: the von Papen regime of Junkers and militarists is a stop-gap of no permanency. It cannot be expected to last for any length of time except that required by the Hitlerites to demoralize the working class forces and strengthen their own to the point where Fascism may seize power in its own name. To expect, furthermore, that the Fascists will take power only after they have gained fifty-one percent of the votes is to suffer from the same stupid illusion, turned upside-down, which the social democrats the world over have fostered in the minds of their followers by telling them that they will come to power after they have gained a majority of the ballots. Hitler cannot and will not wait until he has attained that far-off objective. The acuteness of the struggle does not allow time for such a "peaceful" advent to the seat of power for Fascism. Moreover, Hitler realizes as well as anyone else that his social reservoirs are being rapidly exhausted; that the discontented and despairing petty bourgeoisie from which he has hitherto drawn the bulk of his electorate, have been tapped to the utmost; that he is rapidly nearing the height of any possible parliamentary triumphs; that unless power is seized violently—and that is the only way in which the proletariat will allow it to be seized—it will not be seized at all.

The Eleventh Hour Nears

That is why the crucial moment, the eleventh hour, is approaching. That is why the workers must be vigilantly on guard—not only in Germany but throughout the rest of the world: for on the triumph or defeat of Fascism in Germany hangs the fate of the world revolution and the Soviet Union for the entire coming period.

But the vigilance of the working class of Germany is being broken from two directions. The first is from the social democracy, which is dragging the proletariat and paralyzing its limbs while Hitler advances. Its policy of restraining the workers, soothing them with empty, treacherous promises of salvation, is demoralizing the ranks of the workers and sowing the spirit of despair and capitulation. Their attitude is summed up by the pessimistic analysis of the **New Leader** of July 30, the organ of the American socialists: "If Hitler ascends to power, he will be defeated within a few months, as he is an ignoramus and conditions will certainly not improve because a child mind has been heaved into eminence." This curious combination of surrender in advance, ignorance of recent history and the elements of politics, knavery, and an imitation of the vain boasts of the Stalinists in Ger-

many several months ago—would be fatal if it became the general view of the German workers.

Thaelmann's New Theory

It is only after he attains power that Hitler will be able to fortify himself in such a manner that every vestige of labor organization on an independent scale would be exterminated with a fury exceeding anything known in the history of Mussolini and his blackshirts. It is NOW that Hitler must be annihilated, before he comes to power, and not afterwards. The German workers are beginning to realize this elementary truth. Elsewhere in this issue we indicate the growing, spontaneous urge of the German proletariat towards a united front. Under this mighty impulse from below—to which should be added the stinging criticisms of the Left Opposition—a half turn is being made by the Stalinists. But it is far from enough. In the latest issue of the German party's theoretical organ, Thaelmann advances the theory that a "united front from above" is now permissible provided that the masses have already been convinced of the need for a united front. This stupidly opportunistic idea is still advanced under a Leftist cloak! The indisputable facts show that the masses have long since gained this conviction: what has been lacking is the determination and conviction of the Stalinist leaders!

We repeat a hundred times over: Invaluable time has been lost, but it is not yet too late! A mass united front of Communists and social democrats can still crush Hitlerism. To arouse the militants to this idea and to the acute need of the German situation, is the task of the moment. The criminal silence of the party's press here, the failure to take up the situation either inside the party or in mass meetings outside, must be countered by the conscientious party members demanding discussion and action by the party. The Left Opposition is doing its duty. The worker-Communists must join their voices with ours!

New York Branch Starts Important Drive

We're moving again with our activity centering around our latest publication, **What Next?** The New York branch has started out with a bang by launching a Literature and Finance Campaign whose pivot is **What Next?** The details are reported elsewhere in this issue.

As our ad announcements, until further notice, we are offering a free paper copy of **What Next?** with each half year sub of twenty-six issues; and a free cloth copy with each year's sub of fifty-two issues. Militant Builders, this is your opportunity! You have in this offer a great inducement to workers to subscribe. We think that this is so great an opportunity that it is possible for every

comrade to get subs. We are therefore throwing out all our old records and starting from scratch. Every comrade now has the same opportunity.

Beginning with the next issue we will record the progress of the staff and our branches. We want to see this record grow by leaps and bounds. There is no reason why it shouldn't.

To the two comrades who stand highest in the list at the end of August we will open our literature closet—they may make their choice of any one of our publications.

Now then to work! We have here an opportunity we may not get again so soon. Action is needed to realize it.

Hoover and the «Relief» Bill

Millions of Unemployed Workers Swindled by New Congress Bill

The press reports that Hoover has at last signed a "relief" bill which releases \$9,800,000,000 to help the country out of its present fix. Just how is this money to be used and whom will it relieve?

With the growing army of unemployed clamoring for aid from the government, it would seem "logical" that this money should immediately go to them. But alas, the father of his country seems to have his own ideas about how to aid his people. Out of this whole enormous sum of close to four billions of dollars, exactly three hundred millions will go to the states for "direct unemployment relief". Three billion, five hundred millions are to be used in the same way as have all the so-called relief schemes that have been adopted up to now. How?

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation gets the biggest chunk—\$1,800,000,000. "Public construction", private loans, and financing of agriculture through credit corporations receive a small donation of \$1,500,000,000. The rest of the kitty goes for various improvements in roads, highways, parks, etc.

What, then, do the starving millions of workers cast on the scrap heap of industry, actually get? The pitiful sum of three hundred millions—and before state agencies of distributing this money get through dishing it out, the bigger part of it will have found its way into their own pockets in the form of salaries! How many times have the workers already seen these "relief" sums loudly announced in headlines of all newspapers—and every time, the same hypocritical praise of these ideas. Always the same end of the

whole rotten bunk—graft for the dispensers of relief, lovely talk and no cash for those who really need it.

At the same time something happened that the unemployed workers of these United States should open their eyes to and learn from. Hoover actually signed an act which will permit 215,000 veterans to receive, after July 25, half the value of their bonus certificates! Why does Hoover do this now after Congress and Herbie himself have time and again refused to help the ex-soldiers out of their misery?

There can be only one answer to that. The demonstrations and growing militancy of the vets at the very doors of the old man in Washington are beginning to have their effect. The increasing threat of the marchers, the picketing on the lawn of the Capital have forced this half-way move of Hoover.

The unemployed and employed workers are seeing before their very eyes a picture of the only way they ever will get real relief—by organizing and fighting for it. Hoover is just about as much concerned about the plight of the unemployed and actual relief, as he is over the scene of misery enacted by the bonus army on the disease-infected banks of Anacostia flats. Hoover and the boss class for which he stands, will continue to turn deaf ears to the pleas of this starving mass of wage slaves until those pleas become mighty, roaring commands of an organized force of employed and unemployed invincibly united.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

• THE CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY •

The Fascist Terror Is Let Loose!

July 1, at the University of Berlin
Fascist student bandits attacked anti-Fascist students with clubs and knives. Three Communist students, three social democrats and one other, from the S. A. P., were seriously wounded.

At Dresden
June 21, in the suburb of Leubau, a Nazi group attacked two social-democratic workers who were seriously injured. When numbers of workers ran up to protect them the band of Nazi cowards ran away.

At Halle
On June 20, a uniformed assault band provoked some revolutionary workers in a laboring district. When the police arrived they took the side of the Nazis against the Communists. Alleging that they had been attacked with rocks, the police used their arms. Two policemen were wounded, and we cannot ascertain whether there were any losses on the side of the workers.

July 2
At Janowitz Bridge (Berlin) a worker was beaten up by six fascists. Some marble-workers in the vicinity immediately ran to his aid. A section of the League for Struggle and several young socialist comrades interfered, and the Nazis ran away. (On this occasion a permanent committee of defense was organized.)

At two-thirty, the Nazi bandit Trumpeimann, in Schenkeberg, fired ten revolver shots on two revolutionary workers out on the street. One was seriously injured by two bullets, and the other by three. These two victims of the Fascist vermin are at present struggling against death in the hospital. . . . This act of aggression took place after a discussion.

Nine Workers Killed in One Day
At Hattingen (Ruhr) comrade Lubberich was assassinated, and comrade Scholz felled by a revolver bullet in the lungs. At Cologne, a Fascist motorcyclist killed a worker, head of a family. Two other workers were injured. At Berlin a policeman beat up our comrades Gerloke and Schoneck. At Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, two social democratic workers fell under the fire of Hitler's bandits.

July 3, Hamburg
After their C. P. meeting, in Dittmar-chen, our comrades from Lunden, returning to their homes, were suddenly attacked by a hail of bullets from 300 Nazis. Comrade Frahm was killed by a bullet in the abdomen, and comrades Blesch and Krach were wounded in the arm and head.

In Berlin
A comrade in Berlin was assassinated, seated on motorcycles, a group of Nazis organized an armed attack against the Fischer workers' local (Vogtstrasse). Six or eight shots were fired in the local—another comrade was seriously wounded.

At eleven o'clock a group of Nazis in an automobile sped by the Karl Richter local (Berlin N. Gottschiedstrasse), and fired six shots, which struck two women, both wounded in the thigh. Twenty minutes later the police appeared. One Fascist was arrested. A short time before this attack the same Fascist automobile drove through Oudenarde Street and passed before the Koch local. Several people were wounded.

At Mariendorf
A private automobile drove very slowly in front of the local which is situated on Kurfürstenstrasse. Fifteen to twenty revolver shots were fired, wounding a few diners. At Steglitz some Fascist bandits on a Fascist motorcycle fired on the workers' local in Albrechtstrasse. Fortunately nobody was wounded. In the Angrif, Goebbels officially boasts of these murderous assaults.

At Wedding
In the night of Friday-Saturday, the Assault Battalions fired revolver shots and used knives in various localities. The black dogs stabbed the worker Zabel in the back with daggers and sent him to earth with a pistol shot. Comrade O. Zabel is in the hospital, gravely wounded.

In Neue Hochtaste and in Leuzener-platz the S. A. bands provoked some serious encounters. Seized with bestial sadism a group from the S. A. mistook a crowd of Nazis, who were coming in their direction, for the "Commune", and fired among them. One Nazi was killed by a bullet wound in the neck.

On Friday Fascist provocations started again at about eight-thirty in the evening, in Neue Hochtaste. In front of Lassam workers' local the Nazis injured some workers; but when members of the "home groups for self-defense" arrived immediately, they fled. Suddenly, at eleven o'clock, a motorcycle with an unlighted side-car arrived. In front of the Lassam local, four or five revolver shots were fired from the cycle. The workers withdrew to the local and closed the shutters; by doing so they saved their lives for at that very instant, Nazis

posted in different corners of the street fired from every direction, with the result that 40 or 50 bullets struck the local building. At that same moment another Fascist band arrived coming from the other side of the street. The Nazis who had just fired took them too for Communists and turned on them. Wounded in the neck, the Nazi, Steinberg, fell. Three others were wounded.

The "home group for self-defense" section assembled and the Nazis fled. A policeman ran to meet him, revolver in hand, but allowed the Nazis to pass, although they were obviously armed. The policemen asked some passers-by who had done the firing. He was told that it was the Nazis who had just passed him; in spite of this the policeman continued in the opposite direction. In their flight the Nazi bandits in the Neue Hochtaste knocked down a porter named Kniet and slashed him with knives.

At a quarter of one Goebbels' bands returned. At Lenzenerplatz they tried to enter Neue Hochtaste. Seeing that the street was filled with workers they assembled; in the commotion they fired on each other once more.

The Police Assassins
Berlin—During the night at 1 o'clock, the police took unheard of measures in Rostockerstrasse (Moabit); because of

Hitler's bands are increasing their bloody deeds. Just as in Italy, they are laying a crushing burden of terror on city and countryside. Already acts of aggression and assassinations take place every day. We draw up here a record of Fascist

the heat many of the inhabitants had left their window open. The patrol demanded that the windows be shut immediately. As several of the inhabitants expressed their indignation over this demand, one of the policemen drew his rifle from his shoulders and fired three shots. Another patrol arrived and also fired. An assault-truck and an armored car came up. The porter of the house on 2 Rostockerstrasse was aroused from his bed and forced to turn over the keys of the collar and store-room. The police ransacked the house from top to bottom. In the middle of the night the inhabitants were rudely aroused from their beds. The bourgeois press claims that there had been firing from the windows.

July 5
At the entrance of the Stadium where the trials of the Spartacus took place in Essen (Ruhr), the Fascists and the police provoked the workers. A serious conflict resulted, the police trying to prevent the workers from singing certain songs. Twenty-four workers were wounded and one policeman killed.

aggressions since July 1, taken from the *Rote Fahne*. May our comrades realize by these few examples that today it is the fate of the whole European proletariat which is being decided in Germany! Let us line up to help them!

In the evening there were new encounters between the workers, who were going home, and the police and Nazis. Allegedly, stones were thrown at the police trucks; the police fired in every direction. A worker was killed by a bullet in the head, another seriously wounded in the abdomen. The Nazis waylaid the youth comrade Werman and stabbed him fatally.

Kassel
On the occasion of the filing off of Fascists at Eschwege, near Kassel, yesterday, there occurred some serious conflicts between the entire workers' population and the S. A. provocateurs. By their shouting the masses kept the Fascist orator from speaking in the market place. In league with the S. A. the police used brutal measures against the workers. From a distance of several meters Severing's police fired on the workers. Two workers, a Communist and a social democrat, were killed by the shots of the Severing forces.

Minden (Westphalia)
Last night, with no excuse whatsoever,

Spontaneous United Front Developing

Nazi bandits opened fire on a working class street. A worker, coming out of a saloon just at that moment, was so gravely wounded that he died a short time later in the hospital.

Kottbusertor (Berlin)
Last night an S. A. bandit fired on a group of workers wounding two slightly, and killing one Reichsbanner worker. The workers punished the cowardly assassin, who had to be taken to the hospital. The workers, forgetting all party considerations, next hastened to the lair of the Nazi assassins in Skaltzerstrasse, and demolished it. The workers decided to organize a joint demonstration in the banquet-hall at Ewald, in order to weld the anti-Fascist united front still more solidly.

July 6, Essen (Ruhr)
The worker Heinrich Steinweg, from Dortmund-Bracke, whom the police wounded in the neck on Sunday with a revolver shot, died this morning.

July 7
Yesterday four young unemployed workers took some food in Diana House, and were pursued and attacked on the Brecken-Neu-Zittar road by a car full of policemen. One of the unemployed youths, seriously wounded by a bullet in his back, fell from his bicycle while riding. He, as well as one other boy,

was arrested. The two others succeeded in escaping.

Tuesday afternoon, a motorboat bearing the Fascist flag went along the Spandau canal (Berlin). The occupants of the boat hurled insults at the unemployed men who were bathing between the Muhertitz and Hinkeldey bridges, shouting out at them "Long live Hitler!" One man shouted back, "Down with Hitler!" whereupon the Nazis drew revolvers and fired on the unemployed men. Two youths were wounded, one by a bullet in the arm, the other in the knee. The bathers, bitterly aroused, threw rocks at the boat, wounding one of the assassins.

July 8, Gollnow
In the course of the wood-workers' strike, which has grown more serious during the last few days, some encounters between the strikers and scabs occurred. The manager summoned the police, who fired on the strikers, one of whom was seriously wounded by Severing's police.

July 9
Wednesday evening, at a quarter of eleven, a Nazi band fired on the Beckman workers' local, at Pankow, Beritg-strasse, 2. The bandits threw some hand-grenades and rocks and beer-bottles through the windows. One worker was seriously injured and had to be taken to the hospital. The Hitlerites fired three revolver shots at the cafe-proprietor's wife who fortunately escaped their bullets. When the police arrived, the mob had long since disappeared. The next day thirty Fascists came out of their barracks to provoke the population. The workers and passers-by demanded that the police search them. A revolver was found on one of them, who was recognized as a participant in the assault against the workers' local the previous evening, and he was arrested.

July 10, Frankfurt-on-the-Main
Last night the bandits of the S. A. passed through the workers' borough of Nied, proceeding towards Höchst. Although the march had been forbidden, the police brutally cleared the street for the passage of the brown plague, knocking down men and women. The alarmed workers assembled in front of the town-hall, where about fifty Nazis were thoroughly thrashed. Intimidated by the unconfinable anger of the workers, the police put away their clubs.

Shortly before midnight a police car drove up; it too was greeted with stones thrown by the workers. The police started firing and wounded a worker. Near Nidda-brücke the workers threw up barricades to block the road for the Fascists. Not until early morning did they dare to return to their homes, under a strong police escort.

Hirschberg (Silesia)
Last night Nazi bandits from the entire region tried to attack a camp of young socialist workers at Schneideberg. The S. A. bandits surrounded the camp and bombarded it with rocks. When the workers, who were instantly awakened, ran towards them, they tried to run away. In the melee 16 Nazis and 10 workers were seriously injured. The police searching the Nazi bandits later, found several dozen revolvers, clubs, and brass knuckles.

Assault battalion 33 of Charlottenburg (Berlin), once more attacked and fired upon the workers. Under police protection the Nazis had distributed leaflets in Havelstrasse during the morning, but they finally had to withdraw to their retreat in Hebelstrasse. Along the way they attacked a workers' local in Grunstrasse.

The Nazis threw a worker off his bicycle, crying out, "There's a lesson for the Commune!" The police arrested the worker but had to release him soon. While the Fascist mob, with a strength of about thirty men, was beating the workers with clubs and stones, while Scheffler leading his Nazis, was hitting the workers with shovels and the workers were running away, police car number 1A45,951 passed up and down Grunstrasse, where the workers local is situated.

Child Killers
The capitalists live in Grunewald (Berlin); the proletariat lives in Fischerkeit. When the assault battalions want to undertake punitive expeditions, where do they go? Not to Grunewald, but to Fischerkeit. There lives Helmut Seiten, a lad of thirteen. He is a puny child, the youngest of eight brothers and sisters.

Thursday evening, June 23, Helmut and his friends were playing in the streets. Suddenly one of the little ones cried out, "Look out for the Nazis!" Before they had a chance to run away, the Nazi rifles swept the street. The wounded were bathed in blood—among them Helmut. The Nazis cried out, "Get out of here, you red curs! This is the Third Empire!" A bullet wounded Helmut in the thigh, severing an artery. The hole where the bullet entered is the size of a five mark piece.

The old mother ran to her son's aid. She was weeping; Helmut tried to console her. "Don't cry, mamma, it's not so serious." His blood was flowing fast. Some firemen carried him to the hospital. In order to save his life it was necessary to give him a blood transfusion. One of the firemen put himself at the surgeon's disposal for this operation.

Helmut is still at the hospital. His leg is shattered to fragments. The assassins gleefully make ready for their next cowardly blow.

The German Communist Party and the United Front

Is it Really Possible to Establish a Unified Proletarian Front Against the Growing Danger of Fascism?

The German workers' press gives daily abundant testimony of the development of the class struggle in Germany. Publishing extracts from Thaelmann's speech, *L'Humanité*, central organ of the French Communist Party, is finally forced to write (7-6-32) "The French workers who follow with ever deepening interest the vicissitudes of the class struggle—the CIVIL WAR already begun in Germany—must read the answer of Thaelmann," etc. What! civil war is already unleashed in Germany, in the most developed capitalist country of Europe, and yet the official party press contents itself with giving the workers minutest doses of information. Is it in this fashion that the party can appeal to the workers to aid the German proletariat in the struggle? We will try to give here some extracts from the German workers' press to help our readers form an opinion, and to have on hand data necessary in the daily polemics: unfortunately, even so we cannot replace the immense work which could have been carried on day by day by the party press.

THE TURN OF THE GERMAN C. P. TOWARDS THE UNITED FRONT

We have already spoken of the beginning of a turn on the question of the united front which the C. P. of Germany was forced to make under the pressure of the workers and due to the penetration of the ideas of the Opposition. This is how Remmele presents the matter in a speech at Tetlow: "After the elections in Prussia a mighty will of common struggle against Fascism manifested itself in the hearts of the working class. In his speech at the Sport Palace, our comrade Thaelmann declared to all the workers: 'We, Communists, we want a united front in the struggle against Fascism and for the demands of the workers with ALL ORGANIZATIONS ready to fight. We do not pose the question of a united front in a formal manner. We set only one single condition; it is true, a condition of decisive importance: we demand a real struggle against Fascism and for the workers.'

"History had a similar situation in the struggle of the Russian working class. WHEN THREATENED WITH THE INSURRECTION of Kornilov, the Bolsheviks made the Kerensky government give them arms and Kornilov was defeated. From the victory over Kornilov emerged the victorious October revolution and the power of the Soviets.

"The Von Papen government legalized anew the Fascist bands and let loose the assassins and a wave of murders against the workers. We demanded of Severing and Grzeschinsky the abrogation of the decree which chained the working class. I ask the social democratic workers, would the Von Papen government come if there had been and demonstration of 700-800,000 Socialist and Communist workers? I ask: which social-democratic workers would be opposed to Severing's lifting the ban against the United Front fighters? etc." (*Rote Fahne*, of 17-6-32.)

Thus, the C. P. of Germany has been forced to follow the road of a united front. But is a half-turn, without explanations, sufficient: Is it sufficient to address only once the reformist organizations? No! It is necessary to persevere, to push the leaders of the social-democracy against the wall.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AGAINST THE UNITED FRONT

It was sufficient that the C. P. of Germany took the road of the united front, even though in a confused and not sufficiently sincere manner, for the social democratic leaders to become uneasy and to unmask themselves. Here is a circular published by the *Vorwaerts* in which the leaders of the social democrats try to put stop brakes on the pressure of the workers towards a united front in the struggle:

"... The avowals of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany, as well as of the leaders and the Communist press, show very clearly that the so-called anti-Fascist action on their part is in reality nothing

but an anti-social democratic action. They openly declare that they will not have a united front with the leaders of the social-democracy. All the invitations of the social-democracy to cease first the struggle and to concentrate the forces against the common enemy were disdainfully repulsed. The circular of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany of June 4 confirms clearly that even in the present fights the main attack should be directed against the social democracy.

"This proves that the C. P. of Germany does not really want a united front of the workers, which it recognizes in words. This slogan is to serve only as a means of attracting social-democratic workers and voters. Everyone to whom the idea of a true unit of proletarians is a serious and sacred thing will turn away with indignation from such a disloyal maneuver.

"Had the C. P. of Germany desired it, it could have had enough opportunity to concentrate in the electoral struggles on winning the masses of voters who left it to join the National-Socialists. By such an orientation in the struggle, it could have reduced to a minimum the friction with the social-democracy. But it is not this that they want, since they direct their main attack against us, so that the front of brass as well as the front of defense must also remain firmly against them.

"Therefore, comrades, open your eyes. The one who is educated politically knows that only the central leadership of the parties are in a position to carry on negotiations which can meet with success. Local negotiations, instead of creating unity and clarity, lead only to dissension and confusion. Therefore, they must absolutely avoided." (*Vorwaerts*, 6-29-32.)

By persevering along this line, the C. P. of Germany will drive the leadership of the social-democracy to its last retrenchment. Without making any concessions on its political program, it will gain the masses of reformist workers. Messrs socialists, why do your friends of

Germany refuse to bring about the united front? This is the question which every worker asks.

ARISE NOW, RED BERLIN!
At the same time the heads of the social-democracy are themselves forced to prohibit the *Vorwaerts*, that means their newspaper. They are wedged between the light wing of the bourgeoisie which makes them capitulate in every instance and the mass of workers who want to carry them into the struggle. On the eve of the suppression of the *Vorwaerts* (for five days) it appeared with the following heading in enormous letters: "**NOW, ARISE YOU, RED BERLIN!**"

And on the morrow a tremendous demonstration assembled tens of thousands of reformist workers. That is the very reason why we must pursue our action of the united front. This is the only road which will turn the direction of the social-democracy and gather the great masses of workers under the banner of Communism.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY AND THE UNITED FRONT

If the C. P. has not taken the initiative in this matter, there are other intermediary parties like the S. W. P. (Socialist Workers Party), which try to make use of it. But the leadership of this party does not call for a united front to gather the masses with a view to action, in order to tear away the masses from the leadership of the social-democracy. They want a UNIFICATION OF THE PROGRAM of the working parties. It is the bankruptcy of their party that allows them to write the following:

"That which seemed unimaginable only a few weeks ago, is now being realized in a number of ways: through all the differences, the working class of all parties and of all organizations finds a road to a common struggle against Fascism and social reaction. We can say with pride that these are the fruits of the minutest work, full of sacrifices, of the S. W. P. Already in the heart of the Socialist party, the cadres of the S.

A comrade in the party answers my criticism with the reply "I know the party is wrong in important points, but I do good work here, teaching Communism to the workers. That work is my inspiration."

Why cannot you do this fine work, comrade, and at the same time express your opinion on party mistakes? Because you would be expelled. Fear of this makes you choose the work you love even at the sacrifice of two tremendously important issues: First, the working out of a correct strategy in the party, and second, the right of a party member to participate in the clearing up of important problems.

Which is the more important, the education of the masses to Communism or a correct strategy? Both are essentials. Either one is useless without the other. However, the masses are bound to come to us—economic forces are driving them to Communism—but if we are not prepared to offer wise leadership their forces will be smashed on the rocks of mistakes and deceit, and the triumph of Communism is delayed.

The Opposition offers any comrade the opportunity to keep up his A B C educational work. We have our street meetings (often broken up by party members, it is true) but we combine with this elementary work the equally important task of learning to apply correct strategy.

Communism had the masses in China; a strong trade-union movement (3 millions according to Losovsky), a tremen-

dous peasant force, many army regiments ready to support us—but false strategy—working hand in hand with Chiang Kai-Shek—smashed the revolution.

In Germany we have five million voters and the socialists nine million yet this is not preventing the Fascist or Junker dictatorship, which will mean attack upon Soviet Russia. Why? Wrong Stalinist strategy in alienating the socialist workers.

A general must have an army but his army is worse than useless without a correct strategy. A builder must have bricks, but his house will topple, if his plans are incorrect. The Communist party today has no leadership, no correct strategy. In every important historical event where correct action was necessary, it has failed—in England, in China, in Germany and in Russia itself with the peasants.

When the world is in an uproar—Stalin has nothing to say—he is silent at the XVII party conference. In the streets of Moscow it is murmured "He is expecting directions from Trotsky."

—A. K.

BOUND VOLUMES

Like the tide they're still going out. We're almost down to the point where we can announce: Last Call. Let this be a reminder or a warning that comrades who want a copy should lose no time.

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What Is Happening in the Soviet Union

Behind the scenes of the Stalinist apparatus a deep-going process is at work undermining the "monolithism" of the leading group which is narrowing down ever more threatening to the personality of Stalin. The official party press naturally maintains a censor-bound silence on what is going on in actuality. The present letter will give our readers an insight into some of the significant events taking place.

(Continued from last issue)

To all sorts of critical remarks and demonstrations of Stalin's ideological insufficiency, the average Stalinist replied, "Yes, all that may be true, but he sure is a sly boots; you won't break your neck following him." Moreover the successes of industrialization and collectivization covered up all sins. The sharp about face came with the aggravation of the situation in necessities. "Hunger is an aunt to none." In deliberations concerning the situation in necessities, general formulas do not suffice. The Vuz nuclei, which as you are aware, are, or are reputed to be, the most reliable, i. e., those in which they swear by Stalin in every other phrase. But here is quite a novel fact, very symptomatic in the present atmosphere. In the nucleus of the Electro-Technical Institute, during a discussion over the foodstuffs situation, one of the petty apparatus retainers made an attempt at an exposition to the effect that "the situation was improving". Then and there one of the students threw in reply, "You, like Stalin, can see nothing." This insolent reply was taken up by the assembly with open sympathy, despite the presence of the members of the nucleus bureau, who pretended to be absent. The winged phrase, "You like Stalin, can see nothing", at once began to circulate about the town.

The forms of declination from Stalin take on a passive and temporizing character. The average functionary adapts himself to the party mass in the sense that he denies Stalin the manifestations of enthusiasm. Many episodes on this subject are circulating. Each one in itself is not very important, but taken together they fill in the picture. I was personally a witness to one of these incidents. On February 23, Stalin attended the Bolshoy Theater. Such visits are, of course, always prepared for, not only from the point of view of security (which is self-evident) but also as regards the proper "reception". In recent years the plaudits of the claque invariably called forth the support of a considerable number of the theater-bureaucrats. On February 23 Stalin's appearance was met, before my own eyes, with an icy silence. Evidently the claque itself, fearful of falling through, did not give the signal for the plaudits. However, what is more significant, is what takes place in this sphere at all kinds of subordinate meetings, at festivals, conferences, etc. At elections of honorary presidiums, or in sending of collective greetings Stalin's name appears obviously first. But while two years ago the pronouncement of this name was met with applause (the more violent, it is true, the more select, i. e., the more official the character of the assembly) now on the contrary the roll call headed by Stalin's name calls forth no "enthusiasm".

The reason for this is to be found in the entire situation and in the bitter experience. At present wide circles in the party and in the Soviets are becoming more and more convinced that what obtains "is a great master on little things". Of course, even three years ago those Communists who at least could put two and two together took stock quite clearly of the fact that after he had consummated the organizational struggle against the Left Opposition, Stalin then grabbed its platform as life-saving anchor. But even this was not debited against him. "Sly-boots"—that was the honorary epithet bestowed upon Stalin by the functionary, and it was often repeated after the functionary by the worker.

Among the academic youth, the authority of Stalin as a "theoretician" has fallen greatly. Everyone knows how long and with what persistence he strove to assure his theoretical reputation. Various flunkies, like Milonov, the former theoretician of the Workers' Opposition, have inscribed, it is true, Stalin among the "Marxian Classics" just as Schervnik enrolled him among the geniuses. But amidst our students and our Red professors, notwithstanding how this audience has been depraved by the Stalinist regime, there are still to be found not a few honest and clear young minds, and, in the last analysis, it is they who determine the unofficial public opinion of the working class in general. Stalin's far-famed report in the Society of Agonomists has cost him dearly. Trotsky's criticism has reached few directly, but indirectly, through intermediaries, it has penetrated into rather wide circles. But, indeed, we ourselves, "have grown beards too." There is no lack of people among us who are well acquainted with the Marxian system. No matter how the scandalous Stalinist report was advertised in the press, (Pravda even celebrated in its time the anniversary of the world-historical report) the results obtained were the opposite: the more solid academicians in the apparatus refer to the report with restrained but significant smiles: within the circles of the most advanced youth, it has become the source of numerous jokes and anecdotes.

STALIN'S DISCREET

SILENCE

But even Stalin's purely political reputation has suffered exceedingly during the last year. At the XVII party conference Stalin did not utter a word. His silence produced a tremendous effect, and

A Letter from Moscow

thereto a fatal one. In the party, this conference was awaited not without agitation. None, of course, presupposed that the assembly of functionaries could change or revive anything. But all were convinced, that at the conference, the long-silent leader of the party, would speak out his thoughts on the contemporary situation. In the course of the winter, I happened more than once to listen in Moscow, as well as in a provincial industrial town, where I chanced to pass a few weeks, to discussions on the theme as to what Stalin thinks of the situation in Germany, of the world-wide crisis, and of the international position of the Soviet Union. "Why does he keep mum?" many asked each other. "Now is time that he should speak out in Ilyitch's manner" . . . To this the more solid interlocutor would ordinarily reply, "Just bide your time, he'll come out with it yet; why, the party conference takes place in a few weeks." Thus within the party and around it a firm conviction became established that Stalin was keeping a tight upper lip, in order to speak out all at once at the party conference. The greater was the disenchantment that awaited the party. After each session, the delegates and visitors were pestered by the query: And how about Stalin?—Nothing,—so far . . . How come? Don't know, perhaps he'll speak out yet . . . the delegates replied more and more wearily. Toward the close of the conference, the delegates themselves began to become upset and began respectfully insisting that "the big-chief" make himself heard. But Stalin refused point blank. This really was quite a shock to many. A few began to speak out, in their circles of course, "Why doesn't he say anything? Because he has nothing to say." It is in such an atmosphere that the words of the student, "You like Stalin, can see nothing" grew their wings with greatest facility.

Those more "informed" in the average bureaucratic circles spoke a great deal with significance after the conference, "Stalin kept quiet because there is a divergence of opinion on top both as regards the spheres of domestic and foreign policies." The Japanese provocations shook up the party and the working class. Some decisive steps on the part of the Soviet government were awaited, but at the same time there was doubt abroad lest a provocation be instigated. All awaited and sought for courses to take. But no instructions were forthcoming. I personally heard in the course of a single day in several places the jocular phrase, "We must ask L. D. to rush in instructions post-haste." Such ironical formulas circulate very rapidly around Moscow, sometimes from above down, at other times upward from below. In a certain sense the course was outlined and received. The 25-26 number of the Bulletin with the article, "Germany—the Key to the International Situation" undoubtedly produced a restraining effect upon the bureaucracy. References to this article penetrated into the party from different sides. If above, on the question of the Far-East policies there were really disagreements, then they were solved obviously to the effect not to fall into Far-Eastern provocation. We consider this to be entirely correct.

Another disagreement among the heads touched evidently the question of restoring the domestic market. Molotov, it would seem, was against it. However, one must add that the upper crust of the party now is such a closed corporation as to almost prevent any penetration of information regarding its inner life into the layers beneath. And thereto the inner fights take place not in official institutions such as the Politbureau, the C. E. C. etc., but within the four walls of the general secretariat, in the innermost recesses of the inner circle.

THE NEED FOR THE BULLETIN

Could we receive at present in the Union a few hundred copies of each number of the Bulletin, the situation in the party would take on another aspect. The need of the critical elucidation of the situation and of perspectives which was submerged in the period of "dizziness" successes, has now reasserted itself and has taken on the character of a thirst. But the Bulletin arrives in isolated and accidental copies. The bureaucratic tops, of course, read it. But the average party member gets a chance at a Bulletin only abroad. Seldom does anyone decide to venture bringing in a new number in his pocket, for on this topic, as it is relayed to us, there have been considerable unpleasantnesses even in the midst of highest dignitaries. But nothing, of course, can interfere with those returning from abroad of transporting the Bulletin in their heads. From them the ideas of the Bulletin circulate into much wider circles. In addition thereto, the official press deems it necessary on all important problems to produce the slogan against "the counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". In Pravda and in the Bolshevik, in the Leningrad Pravda, in the provincial papers, in the Literary Gazette, etc. one can always run across a citation from the Bulletin or a rehash of one or another article. The Oppositionists from this point of view, open a new number of the paper or cut the pages of new issue of a magazine with the thought uppermost, perhaps there is something about us there? The extracts, it is true, are almost always twisted around, the ideas are lied about, but after all these years we have learned a great deal, and among other things, how to read between the lines. In nine cases out of ten we unmistakably guess how you ac-

The letter which we publish here may be considered as entirely authoritative being written by a well-informed comrade in Moscow who is in a position to know what is taking place. The present issue of the Militant contains the conclusion of the letter and makes it possible for our readers to be oriented more intimately on such questions as the status of the collectivization movement, the internal party situation, etc.

tually have posed the question in the Bulletin.

Despite the unremitting organizational raids, the Left Opposition lives. Oppositionist units and groups are disseminated everywhere, and in many places considerable Oppositionist nests are uncovered. There was hardly ever in this world at any time or anywhere such difficulty for a genuine Marxist trend to carry on its work, in the technical sense, as there is for us at present in the Soviet Union. This is one of those vicious jokes of history, on which the most expert dialectician can break his teeth. The more respectable part of the captulators motivates its capitulation precisely in this manner, "It is anyway impossible to carry on any illegal activities; at any rate, it is better to serve as an honest functionary of the workers' state." But it appears that the Oppositionist idea finds its channels. As regards this sphere, I, of course, am compelled to be exceedingly careful. I shall enumerate therefore only such facts as have already received a certain publicity, or to put it more exactly, which have reached the ears of the rulers.

THE OPPOSITION IN THE FACTORIES

In the factory "AMO", during the complications mentioned above, placards appeared inscribed, "Hands off the Working Wage" and a portrait of comrade Trotsky was hung up. The portrait was removed by the administration. The import of this fact does not require commentaries. It is to the point to add that the factory "AMO" was not so long ago renamed after Stalin, but here too there is no correspondence between the official name and the actual content. In another factory, the name of which I prefer not to mention, a portrait of Lenin was hung up, but drawn so that when approached from the sides it turned into a portrait of Trotsky.

The authority of those Oppositionists who neither bent nor broke is terribly great with the party mass, and among the number there are apparatus retainers also. "Now, there are men!" say even the antagonists. Others express themselves even more directly, "Real Bolsheviks!" Individuals like Radek evoke a genuine contempt, even within the bureaucracy. Recently, N. I. Muralov arrived in Moscow, on personal business, with the special permission of the authorities. It is possible that this trip was permitted in order to test his staunchness. One or two of the more respectable captulators were sicked onto Nikolai Ivanovich. He replied, "If you are all set to talk me over, there is no point to our meeting." This phrase immediately made the rounds of Moscow and called forth nothing save praise, "Atta boy, Muralich!" There were no

Pioneer Publishers Notes

"WHAT NEXT?" OFF THE PRESS!

Well, we've done it. What Next? is off the press. And at reduced prices. When the news of the military dictatorship in Prussia reached us we sat down and went over our figures carefully to see whether we could not reduce the price and thereby make possible a quicker and wider sale. The result is the price announced in our ad.

What is required now is the collective efforts of all our comrades, sympathizers and friends to sell the book. It should be easy to sell this book: it is extremely timely; it is priced low; it is the only Communist publication in this country on the present situation in Germany; it is written by comrade Trotsky whose word is eagerly and attentively read by the workers who have not been convinced and never will be convinced that he is a counter-revolutionist. And on top of all this the book is offered free as a premium with a sub to the Militant.

Judging from the increase in sales of Germany—The Key to the International Situation since the latest developments in Germany the new book could go very fast. The thing to do is to hustle around and sell it.

WHITHER ENGLAND?

Since our announcement last week of the arrival from England of Whither England? by comrade Trotsky we have received orders for a few. We want to remind our readers that our supply is limited (we received only thirty) and comrades who want a copy should order it at once.

GERMANY—THE KEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, IN GREEK AND SPANISH

We have been reminded by our Greek and Spanish comrades that in our announcement of comrade Trotsky's writings in foreign languages we omitted mention of the fact that The Key can be had in these languages.

In Russian we still have a number of copies of What Next? In Jewish we have a supply of comrade Trotsky's open letter to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R. on the subject of the deprivation of his citizenship. In Italian we have a number of copies of the Spanish Revolution in Danger. In Spanish we have the following titles by L. Trotsky: The Spanish

Interviews held. Muralov departed back to Siberia.

In the beginning of March a search was made in the house of V. D. Kasparova and her son; it seems that something or other that was "compromising" was found in the son's possession. Was it Lenin's testament perhaps? Or perhaps a copy of that letter written on his deathbed in which Lenin severed all comradely relations? Not a few "compromising" documents were left behind by Lenin. But whom do they compromise? K. E. Gruenstein and his wife were also searched. They are in Saratov. Stalin will not allow the old, irrefragable revolutionist Bolsheviks like Kasparova and the Gruenstein couple, etc., to draw a carefree breath precisely because he knows how great their authority is, and what respect their names bear.

It is good that such "old-timers" remain who were not rendered impotent and drained by three revolutions, decades of struggle, years in prison and hard labor, and who did not succumb to the bureaucratic milieu. But still the most consoling fact is the new recruitment of the Oppositionist youth. In Sverdlovsk recently was discovered an organization of 75 members, of them eight are already in isolation. Sverdlovsk is not an exception. The arrests are almost unceasing, and serve as a gauge of the influx of new forces to us. In the places of exile are growing up ever newer and newer colonies of Bolshevik-Leninists.

RUMORS ABOUT RAKOVSKY

A few days, a rumor suddenly spread in Moscow about Rakovsky's death and it produced a fearful impression, actually, oppressive. Is Rakovsky really dead? People asked one another with a kind of horror. It's impossible! In these words was expressed the thought that it cannot be that the crime committed by Stalin in relation to Rakovsky has become irreparable. Happily, the rumor was shortly proven unfounded. It is remarkable that three months ago the same kind of rumor was spread about L. S. Sosnovsky and produced approximately the same impression. The memory of Sosnovsky amidst the workers of Leningrad, Moscow and the Urals is very fresh and strong. It was a puzzle to me—whence do these rumors originate? I am of the opinion that they are born of the profound disquietude, the acute alarm of the wide circles of the party for the fate of their honored and loved comrades. Incidentally, the last bulletin we have received from Barnaul is to the effect that both Christian Georgievich and Alexandra Georgievna (Rakovsky's wife) suffer from heart fatigue, a great deal but despite the onerousness of their daily lives and their existence as recluses, their mood is cheerful and optimistic.

The report of Ryazanov's death, this time, unfortunately, was true. It shocked all his friends greatly, and they are not a few throughout the land. He was one of the firmest, purest and immutable of men, despite his grave illness. As a Marxian and an agronomist, he very attentively followed all the processes in rural economy and the collective farms in particular. We shall miss very much indeed his judgments that were so serious and so well grounded both in theory and experience. So it is that life flows on, bringing us sorrow and happiness, we remain and some comrades are lost to us, and others, new and young, step forward and join hands.

—M. M.

Revolution in Danger; The Last Peppery Dish of the Cook, Stalin; The Five Year Plan; The Spanish Revolution; by Andres Nin—The Proletariat and the Spanish Revolution; What Are Soviets?; The January General Strike and Its Lessons; by Henri Lacroix—What Is Trade Union

Organizing the Jobless

The Need for Change of Course in the Official Party Policy

Workers who have serious concern for the interests of their class cannot avoid posing the timely question of what is to become of the unemployment movement. With our advance toward the fourth crisis winter it naturally enters with so much more persistency, pressing for a solution. No actual relief measures have as yet been obtained. The numbers of the unemployed army are mounting higher and higher but the emergence of a serious movement is still lagging.

Will anybody question the fact that such a movement, to have real meaning, should bring into its sphere of activity the trade unions, the various existing unemployment organizations and the working class political parties. Or, to put it more bluntly, the problem is to secure the necessary unity of action of all of these working class sections to fight for actual relief measures and to advance the movement to a higher plane. This does not at all leave out of account the sharp differences of aims and objectives. Of course, these fundamentally opposing differences remain. There can be no common ground between the aims and objectives of revolution and those of reform. Nor can there be any community of interests whatever between the revolutionary party and the reactionary capitalist lieutenants now in control of the trade union official positions. Nevertheless the united action of the workers from all of these organizations remains the imperative need when obtaining unemployment relief is to be seriously contemplated.

The Various Relief Programs

In surveying these various organizations it is apparent that the pressure of working class need exerts itself everywhere. Hence there is a good deal of identity in the programs of immediate demands. While the objectives differ sharply the immediate needs stand out clearly. The various organizations demand immediate governmental relief. They demand unemployment insurance and the shorter workday. Reformists make these demands to obtain reforms within capitalism and to cater to the working class support, though when the support is obtained, they will without scruples betray their own reforms. The revolutionists advance the demands for the working class needs to obtain them and to advance the struggle toward its revolutionary conclusion.

Even the American Federation of Labor, under pressure of these needs, is now compelled to somewhat change its front. The Executive Council at its recent meeting, in the swell resort of Atlantic City, instructed the meek Baptist, Wm. Green, to draw up a program for unemployment insurance. This reinforces the foundation upon which the revolutionists must put these organizations, including their leaderships, to the actual test. It increases the opportunity for the revolutionary party to forge ahead, initiating a mass movement.

If the party fails to do this it will be on the penalty of the reformist forces assuming uncontested leadership of the unemployment movement which will then develop without it and in spite of it. It is therefore necessary that the party without delay change its course in this respect.

Unity?; What Are Shop Committees?; by L. Fersen—What Is Trotskyism?; by Esteban Bilbao—Communist Unity; by Luis Garcia Palacios—Communism and the Agrarian Revolution. All of these pamphlets sell at two for five cents.

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First of all, the party must give up the idea of a separate unemployment movement narrowed by artificial limitations which demand that the party leadership and control be accepted in advance.

Secondly, it should utilize its present position of leadership in the Unemployment Councils to build a much broader unemployment movement. It should officially and genuinely propose to the trade unions, to the workers' unemployment organizations of the various groupings and to the Socialist party to join the united front for unemployment relief. It should particularly appeal to the workers of all these organizations that they put their leaders to the test by demanding that their organizations join the united front fighting for the needs of the unemployed.

Thirdly, the party must maintain its independent position, patiently explaining its objectives to the workers, making its tactics of the united front clear and constantly criticizing the reformist forces in the united front. The party has the duty of clarifying its revolutionary objectives by pushing the actual struggle for relief measures and demonstrating in practical experience that they can be only temporary measures, that the unemployment situation can find its final solution only through the proletarian revolution.

In the Leninist party these elementary requirements used to be accepted as the A B C of the movement. The fact that they have been forgotten, emasculated and pushed aside to give way to false policies makes necessary that they be re-stated again and again until accepted in practice. Mere lip service will not suffice, it is the actual practice which counts and it is the future life of the movement which is at stake.

We could well conceive of a structure for the movement in which the workers, employed and unemployed alike, are organized in the city block councils and centralized on a territorial or city wide basis into delegated bodies where the trade unions and other workers' organizations will send their representatives.

On the Program of Demands

Naturally the program of immediate demands for a genuine united front movement will first of all reflect the pressing needs of the present situation. But it is of the utmost importance that it be so construed as to take into account the identity of interests of the working class as a whole and not only its separate sections. It must particularly harmonize the needs and the objects of both employed and unemployed workers and unite them into one common stream. It must recognize the international aspect of the unemployment problem in such a way that it will strengthen the international class solidarity and help to break down the artificially erected national barriers. It must give articulate expression to the community of interests of the workers of the Soviet Republic and of the capitalist countries. That is why the Left Opposition has long since advanced the slogan of long-term credits to the Soviet Union. This has been rejected by the Stalinist leadership. But the continued failure to adopt this timely and correct slogan may easily play into the hands of reformist demagogues who may grasp it as an opportunity purely and simply to extend the capitalist market and endeavor to take it out of the realms of a working class issue.

In all of this, it is necessary to emphasize again the importance of the demand for the Six Hour Workday Without Reduction of Pay. There could be no objections to its timeliness. Moreover, with the advance of the crisis and the permanency of unemployment, a serious movement for its attainment could above all draw into its orbit and unite in action the employed and the unemployed workers. This demand would become a potent weapon of the united front. It does not in the least, however, obviate nor conflict with the other demands. For example, unemployment insurance still remains as necessary and as pressing as ever. And suffice to add only the fact of the growing misery and destitution bringing to the fore more sharply the need for immediate governmental relief.

The Party's Duty Is Clear

Illusions held of help coming from other sources outside of what the movement itself, by its pressure, can obtain, should soon be completely dispelled. The force of necessity will more positively propel the American working class into motion. The logic of coming developments will emphasize its community of interests and give it expression in the unemployment movement. From this point of view the position of the party assumes ever more importance which its leadership must not dare to fritter away.

Its duty should be clear. It is from the elementary needs and objectives that it must take its starting point. The genuine united front offers such a real starting point. It is a necessary prerequisite for the working class today without which it cannot hope to unify its forces for the greater revolutionary tasks. It is a necessary prerequisite for putting the misleaders of labor to the test and of finally separating them from their control and influence over large sections of the working class. It is the starting point to prevent their designs of sell-out and betrayals and to advance the class struggle to a higher level. The Left Opposition will fight with the party for these objectives.

—ARNE SWABECK.

FORGOTTEN WORDS

Lenin and the War Danger

Instructions to the Hague Anti-War Conference Delegation

On the question of combating the danger of war in connection with the Hague Conference, I think that the greatest difficulty is to overcome the preconceived idea that this question is quite simple, clear and comparatively easy to solve. "Our reply to war will be a strike or a revolution," say the reformist leaders when addressing the working class. And very often the apparent radicalism of this statement satisfies and appeases the workers and peasants.

Perhaps the most correct approach to this problem would be to begin with a sharp refutation of all such opinions; to declare that especially now, after the recent war, only the most hopelessly stupid or confirmed hypocrites can believe that such an answer to the question of the struggle against war would have the slightest effect anywhere; to declare that it is impossible to "answer" war with a revolution, in the simplest and most literal meaning of the term.

It is necessary to explain the circumstances and the secrecy in which war is hatched and the helplessness of the ordinary workers' organizations, even though they may call themselves revolutionary, in the face of the actual approach of war.

It is necessary to explain concretely over and over again just what happened during the last war, and why it could not have happened otherwise than it did.

"Defense of Fatherland"

Particularly it is necessary to explain the circumstance that the "defense of the fatherland" becomes the inevitable question which the great majority of the workers will inevitably answer to the advantage of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, the elucidation of the question of "the defense of the fatherland" in the first place, in the second place the explanation in this connection of the question of "defeatism," and finally, the explanation of the only possible means of struggle against war, namely, the formation and conservation of an illegal organization of all revolutionists participating in war—for a prolonged work against war, all these things must be brought to the front.

The "boycott of war"—is a stupid phrase. The Communists must be ready to enter any reactionary war.

It is desirable, through, let us say, examples of German literature before the war, and in particular, through the examples of the Basle Congress of 1912 to point out very concretely that mere theoretical recognition of the fact that war is a crime, that war is not permissible for socialists, etc., means nothing, that these prove to be empty phrases because there is nothing concrete in such a presentation of the question. We give to the masses no really vital presentation of the question as to how war may break out and does break out. On the contrary, the press of the dominating class obscures the issues by spreading lies about it in vast numbers of copies against which the weak socialist press is entirely powerless, the more so, that in the time of peace they maintain a radically wrong attitude toward this very question. The Communist press in the majority of countries also disgraces itself.

I think that our delegates at the international conference of co-operators and trade unionists should divide these questions among themselves and examine all those sophisms with which it has attempted to justify war at the present time, in the most careful detail.

It may be that the most effective means of attracting the masses to warfare are just these sophisms with which the bourgeois press operates on them, and the most important circumstance explaining our own powerlessness against war consists in the fact that we either have not examined these sophisms beforehand, or that we ourselves have spent our energy getting off cheap, boastful and empty phrases to the effect that we will not allow war, that we fully understand the criminality of war, etc., in the spirit of the Basle manifesto of 1912.

Task at Congress

It seems to me that if we will have a few people who are able to make speeches against war in various languages at the Hague Conference, then our most important job will be to refute the idea that those participating in the conference are real opponents of war, that they understand how war may and can burst upon them at the most unexpected moment, that they have the least comprehension of the means of combating war, or that they are in any way capable of undertaking an intelligent and effective course in combating war.

In connection with the recent experience of the war we must clear up that great mass of theoretical and practical questions which arose the day after the declaration of war, and which made it impossible for the great majority of those summoned to apply themselves to these problems with clarity of judgment and without prejudice.

I think that the elucidation of this question demands exceptionally detailed consideration, and from two angles:

In the first place, relating and analyzing what happened during the recent war and declaring to all those present that they do not know or that, they pretend to know it, and at the same time shut their eyes to the very core of the question without the knowledge of which there can be no talk of any struggle against war. On this point I think we must examine all the points of view, all the shades of opinion which arose at that time among the Russian socialists in regard to the war. It must be pointed out that these viewpoints arose not by chance, but were generated in the very

nature of war. It must be proved that without an analysis of these opinions, and without an explanation of the inevitability of their arising and of decisive importance in any consideration of the question of the struggle against war, there can be no discussion of preparation for war or even of any intelligent attitude towards it.

In the second place—we must take examples from conflicts now going on even though they may be of the most insignificant nature, and point out from these examples how war may break out any day from the sport of England and France over some details of the treaty with Turkey, or between America and Japan over some nonsensical disagreement on some question about the Pacific Ocean, or between any of the great powers over some colonial quarrel or from some dispute over their customs or general trade policy, etc., etc. It seems to me, that if there is the slightest doubt as regards the possibility of completing an entire speech against war at the Hague, then it is necessary to invent a whole series of clever devices in order to include at least the most important things in the speech and then to print in brochure form what has not been included in the speech. We must be prepared for being cut short by the president.

I think that for this purpose there must be invited to join the delegation not only capable orators pledged to make speeches, setting forth the entire case against war, that is, developing all the important arguments and all the necessary conditions for the struggle against war—but in addition there must be people speaking all three of the most im-

portant languages who will devote their time to conversations with the delegates clearing up just how far they have understood the basic arguments and, in so far as there is any necessity, in bringing up other arguments or in pointing out the necessary examples.

It may be that in certain questions only actual examples drawn from the last war will have any serious effect. It may be that in certain other questions only the explanation of the present conflicts between the governments and their connection with a possible armed conflict will carry any weight.

Errors of Communists

On the question of the struggle against war, I am reminded that there are a whole series of declarations by our Communist deputies, both in Parliament and in speeches outside of Parliament, which contain the most amazingly mistaken and superficial ideas on the subject. I think that we must take a decisive and relentless stand against all declarations of this nature, especially if they have been made after the war, mentioning the name of every such orator. You may soften all you like, when it is necessary, your denunciation of such an orator, but it is impossible to pass by a single such instance in silence, because a light-minded attitude toward this question is so mischievous that it permeates everything else, and must on no account be treated with indulgence.

There have been a succession of unpardonably stupid and hare-brained decisions of workers' congresses. We must gather at once all the material on this question and consider in the greatest detail every part and particle of this material, and prepare our "strategy" for the congress.

Not only will no mistakes be permissible, but we shall refuse to tolerate any substantial defects in the handling of this question.

December 4, 1922.

—LENIN.

The Stalinists and Barbusse

The invaluable document from the pen of Lenin which we publish above is the most timely contribution of the day to the movement for the struggle against war. When it was first made public several years ago, shortly after the death of Lenin, it was just characterized as a historical document which constituted one of Lenin's last and most mature words to the party. Its timeliness is emphasized particularly by the confusion which prevails at the present moment in the ranks of the revolutionary movement in connection with the anti-war fight. The grossest example of this confusion is the so-called "Congress Against War" which has been called by an international committee of petty-bourgeois pacifists and liberals, together with unofficial representatives of the Communist International, to be held in Geneva on August 28.

The C. I. and Barbusse

The collusion of the Stalinists in this venture—judicious at best and pernicious at worst—is beyond dispute to anyone with the slightest knowledge of the apparatus mechanism employed in similar affairs. The mere presence on the Barbusse Committee of Sen Katayama, the Stalinist leader of Japanese Communism and at least formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, is already sufficient indication that the initiative and behind-the-scenes backing for the whole affair comes from the laboratories of Stalinism.

In the United States, this admixture of Communism and petty bourgeois pacifism—or more accurately, this disgraceful subordination of Communism to pacifism—is represented by the so-called "Dreiser Committee," the American section of the Barbusse venture. It has called a conference in the Labor Temple for August 8 which is to elect delegates to the world congress at Geneva.

In the New York Herald-Tribune of July 15, we read the announcement that "the purpose of the world congress, Mr. Cowley (the secretary of the Dreiser Committee) said yesterday, was not merely to arouse articulate opinion but to try to get some definite, practical, realistic methods of stopping the war which seems imminent in the next year."

The composition of the American Committee is already sufficient for an understanding of what is understood by "definite, practical, realistic methods of stopping the war." On the Committee are to be found not merely confused Communist sympathizers like Dreiser and Lamont, but ex-war patriots and reformists like Upton Sinclair, out-and-out bourgeois reformers like Lillian D. Wald, of the Henry Street Settlement; petty bourgeois liberals like Harry Elmer Barnes, Robert Lovett and Franz Boas, plus a number of sars from the world of art and letters. What the vast majority of these people have in common with a struggle against imperialist war, except to contribute a dose of erroneous ideas and confusion, is an enigma that must remain unsolved to all but those who understand the policy of the Stalinist faction.

For the latter, the struggle against war is some special task disconnected from the general struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. With this treacherous approach to the problem, Stalin and Bukharin conceived the notorious Anglo-Russian Committee as the "organizing center of the struggle against war and imperialism" only to have it fall with a crash that inflicted a series of deep wounds upon the Soviet Union and the Communist International. The hope that the petty bourgeois labor leaders like Purcell and Cook would conduct a "definite, practical, realistic" struggle against war, was shattered out on the rocks of the class struggle. The similar hope entertained for the "world

League against Imperialism," which became a stamping ground for every discredited and discreditable political adventurer who need a momentary protective coat of "revolutionary" coloration, suffered a like fate. By fostering the Barbusse adventure, the Comintern is preparing another debacle this time perhaps more disastrous in view of the growing need for clarity and action in the struggle against war and reaction.

Lenin's brilliant contribution to the subject of the struggle against the danger of war, in connection with the periodic conferences of pacifists and their allies, demands the widest popularization at the present moment. The Left Opposition, true to its duty, will carry on a fight for the victory of these revolutionary views even inside of the Barbusse Congress movement, both in Europe and the United States. That, our readers will take as a foregone conclusion, for the past of the Left Opposition is an index of its stand in the present case.

The question is: **WHAT POSITION WILL THE OFFICIAL PARTY TAKE? WILL IT SUPPORT THE VIEWS OF BARBUSSE OR THE VIEWS OF LENIN?**

«WHAT NEXT?»-the Book of the Hour

(Continued from page 1)
their theoretical confusion—"social Fascism"; their disastrous slogans—"For National and Social Emancipation of the German People"; "People's Revolution"; "Down With Versailles"; their self-discrediting actions—the support of the Fascist referendum in Prussia during July of last year; their hapless policy of the "Red United Front" under the leadership of the Communist party—all of which have kept the German Communists from measuring up to the tasks imposed by the needs and possibilities of the hour, from uniting the working class for a victorious struggle against Fascism—all these are traced through the zigzag course of the post-Leninist Comintern to their roots, to the principle political character of the Stalin faction and its basic tenet: socialism in one country. The why and the wherefore of the Stalinist policies, their flesh and blood expression stands out as clear as daylight after a reading of **What Next?** These sharp and penetrating lenses of historical research and theoretical analysis are all focussed on the present German scene:

"The contradictions within German capitalism have at present reached such a state of tension that an explosion is inevitable. The adaptability of the social democracy has reached that limit beyond which lies self-annihilation. The mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy have reached that limit beyond which lies catastrophe. Such is the threefold formula that characterizes the situation in Germany. Everything is now poised on the razor edge of a knife."

The Leninist Program Unfolded
In this poignant, epigrammatic rhythm, the leader of the International Opposition unfolds the Communist program for the German crisis in full. His criticism is positive as well as negative. There is not a trace of pessimism in his words. Every line breathes an inspiring, optimism. And if his negative criticisms have the effect of stinging needle points, his positive proposals react like hammer blows. We read:

"... Involuntarily the question arises: Won't it be altogether too late? And each time one answers oneself: No! The armies that are drawn up for battle are too colossal that one need fear a simultaneous settlement of the issues at the speed of greased lightning. The strength

«The Foundations of Socialism»

by LEON TROTSKY

The German liberal newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*, dedicated a special number, in May, to the economic construction in U. S. S. R. The political article was written by Radek. To the question as to which direction the development of the Union is taking, Radek answers as follows, "In the fourteen years, which separate us from the October revolution, in Russia have been created the foundations of socialism. In monstrous struggles, in unceasing labor, a new society is being born." In such a general form these words, of course, can evoke no objections, particularly since they are published in the columns of a bourgeois paper. But Radek does not confine himself to this. Spurred on by an insatiable need to prove the sincerity of his repentance, he goes on to write, "This situation is denied not only by outright enemies of the Soviet Union, but it is also impugned by Leon Trotsky; as he puts it, at such a time when in Russia there is a scarcity of milk, he who talks about the creation of the foundation of socialism compromises socialism." This remark shows only, continues Radek, "that the author has lost those scales which formerly he was capable of applying to evaluate historical events." Radek, who renounced his own platform, is accusing others of losing their historical scales! However, of what should these consist? We quote the answer verbatim, "Milk is the produce of cows, and not of socialism and in truth, one must really confuse socialism with the picture of that land where flow rivers of milk in order not to comprehend that a country may rise to the highest stage developments without temporarily thereby raising materially the condition of the national masses."

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF "FOUNDATIONS"

For the moment let us put aside the clownish tone of the discussion. And let us try to extract from it the serious kernel. There is, first of all, in Radek's answer the theoretical subterfuge, to which, in truth, Stalin resorted more than once when he was pressed to the wall. The matter concerns the tiny word, "the foundation" of Socialism. The present leaders of the Soviet Union have officially proclaimed that the country "has entered into socialism." This assertion we called and continue to call criminal bureaucratic charlatanism. Radek keeps mum on the entry into socialism. Instead he advises us that in the Soviet Union there have been created the foundations of the foundation of Socialism. One can agree with this or disagree, depending upon what one understands by "foundation."

Radek does not leave us without an answer on this point, "If we are convinced—says he—that the foundation of Socialism has already been laid in Russia, it is because our judgment rests, in the first place, upon the fact that the possessing classes have disappeared and that the means of production are concentrated in the hands of the proletarian state." In this sense the foundation has been indubitably laid. But in such a formulation the subject of the dispute disappears altogether. Radek reduces his proof to the fact that Russia has passed through the proletarian overturn. There is no harm in reminding

the honored readers of *Berliner Tageblatt* about it. Unfortunately, however, the proletarian overturn and the expropriation of the possessing classes took place as early as 1917-1918. And in the meantime the entry into socialism was made public in 1930-1931. We were advised about it not on the basis of the expropriation of the expropriators (we knew about this fact even formerly) but on the basis of the 100 percent collectivization, and the elimination of the kulak as a class. Why then, does Radek surrender without a blow the first line of trenches, "the Stalin line"? Why, while so bravely assuming military activities against Trotsky, does he immediately retreat far, far to the rear, and intrench himself in the line of 1918 that is threatened by nobody?

There is no gainsaying it, in the first years after the October overturn, all of us said tens and hundreds of times, "the foundation of socialist construction is laid with us." And that was correct. But this meant only that the political, and the legal property pre-requisites for the socialist transformation were created. And that is all!

SOCIALIST FOUNDATION IN 1921

If it were possible to speak in any manner seriously with Radek on serious subjects, we would have made an attempt to explain to him that it is impossible, in 1932, in answer to the question whether does the development of U. S. S. R. lead to refer to the political "foundation" of the socialist construction. The insufficiency of this reference alone was exposed for the first time on a major scale in 1921 when the question of the reciprocal relations with the peasantry was posed point blank. The creation of the economic jointure between the city and the village was then proclaimed to be the creation of the genuine foundation of socialist construction. Of such nature was the basic task of the N. E. P. The theoretical formula of the jointure is very simple: the nationalized industry must provide the peasantry with products indispensable to it, in such quantity, of such quality and at such prices as would entirely eliminate or reduce to a minimum, in the reciprocal relations between the state and the basic mass of the peasantry, the factor of extra-economic force, that is, the administrative seizure of peasant labor. The discussion concerns of course not the kulaks, in relation to whom a special task is posed; to limit their exploiting activities and not to allow them to turn into the dominant power in the village. The establishment of a reciprocal relationship of voluntary "barter" between industry and rural economy, between the city and village would impart an immutable firmness to the political interrelation between the proletariat and the peasantry. To socialism, of course, in such a case, there would still remain a long and a difficult road. But on this foundation—on the foundation of a jointure between the city and the village acceptable to the moujik, the economic work could be confidently pushed ahead, without rushing space or dropping back, by maneuvering on the world market and in accordance with the tempo of the development of the revolution in the Occident and the Orient. Not only would the road not have led to national

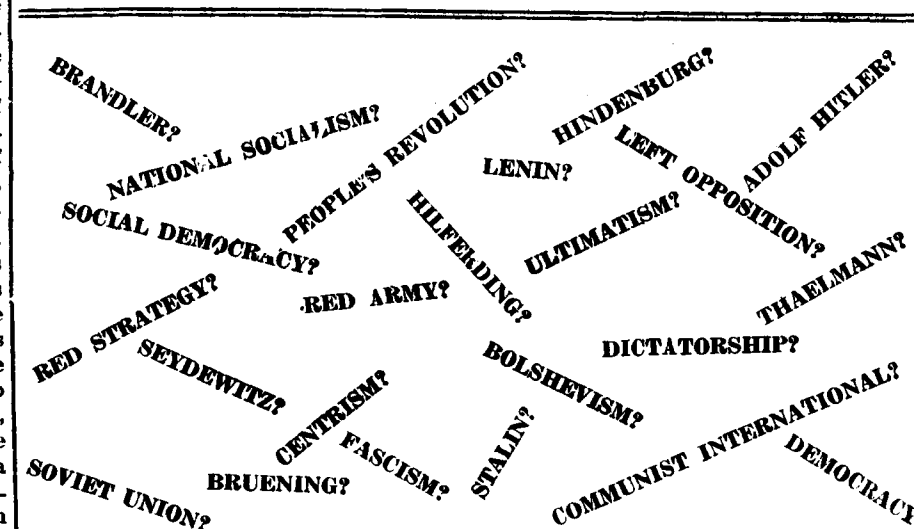
socialism, but it would have been of use to nobody. It would suffice, if the still isolated economy of the Soviet Union became one of the preparatory elements of the future international socialist society.

He who talks about "the foundation of socialism" in 1932 has no right to retreat to the line of 1918, without even making an attempt to hold to the line of 1921; i. e., without giving an answer to the question: Did we succeed, during the 12 years that elapsed since the introduction of the N. E. P. to realize the jointure, in the Leninist sense of the word? Did the 100 percent collectivization assure such reciprocal relations between the city and the village as would reduce the extra-economic force, if not to zero, then clearly approximately to it? In this is the whole question. And to this fundamental question one is still compelled to give a negative answer. The 100 per cent collectivization has come about not as the crowning and the fruition of an achieved jointure, but as an administrative screening of its absence. To keep mum on this question, to circumvent it, to beat around the bush with words, is to call the greatest dangers upon the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . But of course, it is not from Radek that one should expect an analysis of the problem of the jointure.

LENIN ON RADEK

From Radek one can only expect journalistic piquettes. One cannot without some squeamishness observe those capers, let me say in conclusion, that Radek cuts on the question of the substance of socialism in the pages of a liberal paper. Socialism is not the land of rivers of milk. Do not demand milk from socialism. "Milk is the produce of cows." If one takes into consideration that precisely around cows in the Soviet Union at present a battle is occurring, which takes on at times tragic forms, then Radek's grimaces become utterly unbearable. One cannot but recall the merciless, reserved as it is, evaluation which Lenin placed on Radek at the VII party Congress, at the time of the controversy over the Brest-Litovsk peace. In reference to a remark of Radek that Lenin "conceded space in order to gain time," Lenin remarked, "I take notice of comrade Radek, and I want to make note here that he has succeeded accidentally to say a serious thing. This time, it has so happened that comrade Radek has come out with an entirely serious statement."

Lenin meant unequivocally to make clear that serious statements could emanate from Radek only accidentally, and in the guise of the rarest exceptions. With the years, matters on this score have no whit improved. There is less hair outside, and more light-mindedness within. Stalin proclaimed, "We have made entry into Socialism." Don't boast prematurely, objected the Opposition, for the babes still lack milk. A jester takes the spotlight, and jingling his bells announces that milk is the produce of cows and not of socialism. In Radek's tone, one might answer with the Russian proverb, "Bide a day, bide till you're gray, you can't get milk from a buck-goat." Even a buck-goat grown bald is capable only of prancing, not more. That is why we prefer to return to serious questions on more serious occasions.

LEON TROTSKY
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