

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Mooney Case Now 16 Years Old

July 26 was the date of the close of the sixteenth year of Mooney's imprisonment. It closed another chapter of the foulest frame-up in the long and black record of American capitalism. It marked another milestone on the longest road a man has ever trod. After sixteen years of agony Mooney still stands forth as the dauntless symbol of working class militancy. His spirit is unconquerable. In spirit he stands in the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard. He has never said in so many words that he is a Communist but his spirit matches ours and of late he has begun to talk our language, and think as we do. He is ours.

This places on us all the more directly the great task of forcing his release from the prison in which capitalism is determined he shall end his days. This places squarely on the shoulders of Communism the task of removing from the banner of the working class the stain of its failure to free Mooney. For our success or failure in this task we shall have to answer to the working class.

Again we say, that as we have said so many times in the past, that the workers the world over no longer have to be convinced of Mooney's innocence. They are profoundly convinced of that. Not out of doubt did they fight in demonstration after demonstration to demand that capitalism open its ravenous maw and let Mooney go.

If today they are not to be found in the streets battling for Mooney's freedom, it is not because doubt of his innocence has entered their minds. Their conviction is as firm as ever.

### Lull in Fight Is Temporary

The lull in the fight is temporary. Tomorrow the agitation and the fight will rise to new heights. Great battles are on the order of the day for the American working class. Not the least of these will be the fight to free Mooney.

Will the fight to free Mooney be conducted as an isolated struggle and thereby insure its own defeat? Or will it follow Mooney's and our advice and be made an integral part of the class fight for relief, and the fight to free all class war prisoners with which it is inseparably bound? That depends on us. We must teach the workers that only such a fight as we project can free Mooney. And we must convince the workers by our deeds that they should follow our leadership.

This requires of us that we break through our isolation and in doing so unite the working class on this issue. For this we need the tactic of the united front of working class organizations. We cannot look to the labor fakers who betrayed Mooney, the Socialists who hate us more than they do capitalism, the liberals, the numerous sects that dot the movement like weeds in a garden—to take the initiative in organizing the united front of the working class. While they speak of unity they live on the division of the working class. Unity will never come from them. They will do all they can to oppose and sabotage it.

The initiative must come from us. In projecting this united front we appear before the workers as the spokesmen for the unity of the whole class. And by our deeds we must prove that we not only advance the idea of unity but fight for it.

That is in the best case. Unfortunately a cancer is eating at the vitals of Communism—Stalinism. Today it is the chief obstacle the Communists have to overcome to take the first step toward unity of the working class. Stalinism has divided the ranks of the Communists. It stands in the way of their unity, the essential prerequisite to unity of the working class. Its record in the Mooney case is all too clear. We have recorded it in previous issues. Stalinism has done much to discredit Communism in the eyes of the workers and is primarily responsible for the failure of the Communists to win the leadership of the fight to free Mooney.

### Opposition's Task

The fight to free Mooney must be fought against the labor fakers, against the socialists, against the Stalinist policy of our party. That is the special task of the Left Opposition in this fight. It must open the eyes of the party rank and file to the crime being committed by the Stalinist leadership. This it has done and will continue to do. With its success are bound up the hopes and future of the whole class and its fight to free Mooney.

So now in the seventeenth year of Mooney's imprisonment we pledge the Left Opposition to renewed struggle, to greater efforts and sacrifices in the fight against capitalism—for the release of Mooney and all class war prisoners.

## Whither England?

BY LEON TROTSKY

We have on hand a limited number of this striking analysis of the social forces at work in old England. If you want a copy order it at once.

Paper Cover

\$75

## MILITANT IN DANGER

Immediate Aid Must Be Sent if We Are not to Suspend

The issue of the *Militant* was printed only as a result of the most desperate measures undertaken by the office. We were able to get it out by over-exhausting our credit in every field and by a last-minute scraping together of every spare nickel we could squeeze. To allow such a situation to exist for even the briefest length of time makes the danger of suspending the *Weekly Militant* a matter to be dealt with immediately. Without exaggerating the situation in the least, we must tell our readers that unless prompt and generous aid is sent us from every part of the country, we shall not be able to bring out the next issue of the *Militant* and in general, the *Weekly* publication of our paper will be seriously crippled.

The cumulative effects of the crisis upon our comrades and supporters, plus the general let-down that occurs in the summer period, have struck the *Militant* heavy blows. We have deliberately refrained from making alarmist appeals based upon momentary difficulties. But now we are compelled to appeal—urgent—

## A Sham Turn On Barbusse

The hammerings of the Opposition on the character of the "World Congress Against War" organized under the direction of Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Upton Sinclair and other muddled pacifists, have finally compelled the Stalinists behind the scenes to break their silence. For months since the announcement that the Congress would be held, the International Stalinist press has either been silent, or has given an unreserved endorsement to the Congress without uttering a solitary word of criticism. So far as the working class readers of the official party papers are concerned, the Communist International has given a blanket support to the pernicious confusion on the question of fighting imperialism war which is inevitably associated with such typically pacifist, petty bourgeois movements as that of Barbusse.

The criticisms made since the inception of this movement, and the Communist position presented by us, the Left Opposition, has finally driven the Stalinists out of their retreat. In the latest issue of the "International Press Correspondence", Maurice Thorez, one of the leading French Stalinists, ventures (for the first time to our knowledge) into a mild criticism of one of the lesser pacifist lights of the Barbusse Congress, Victor Marguerite. As far as it goes, the criticism is, of course, entirely valid. For the proletarian millions to follow the course advocated by such pacifists as Marguerite, who know nothing about the revolutionary struggle against imperialism war, or who oppose it to the extent that they do know about it, would mean to render themselves impotent in the face of a new world slaughter.

But this very article by Thorez shows how the Stalinists are playing an opportunistic game of hide and seek with the whole question. Marguerite is submitted to a gentle criticism, but Barbusse and the other, more prominent spokesmen for the movement, get away unscathed, with the implication left that aside from this or that individual in the "Congress", the movement as a whole is impeccable from the revolutionary standpoint. An article by Barbusse of recent date shows how baseless is such a view. In a "Message to England" (reprinted by the socialist Industrial Democrat of Louisiana, under date of July 2, 1932), he writes: "I thank you and gladly avail myself of the opportunity of confirming to the representatives of a great and noble nation my belief in pacifism and anti-militarism."

The other "leaders" of this movement are generally worthy of their Barbusse. They would not constitute such a dangerous source of befuddlement were it not for the initiative taken by the Communist International in promoting them, in supporting them, and in presenting their pacifist movement as an organizational center for the struggle against imperialism war.

When a similar congress was held under the auspices of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals at the Hague on December 10, 1922, the Communist representatives of the Russian trade unions—the only revolutionary organization invited—made plain from the tribune of the congress the Communist standpoint in clear contrast to that of the pacifists and social democrats. They did not play at opportunist politics, as is being done now. The Left Opposition will seek to fulfill a similar task with the Barbusse Congress. The Communist League has already notified the American Committee that it is sending three delegates to the August 8 conference in the Labor Temple, New York. The revolutionary forces there must unite to present the Communist standpoint against the muddle-headedness of pacifism!

ly and strongly—for the fate of our *Militant*, into which so much sacrifice and energy have gone, is immediately involved.

The suspension of the *Weekly Militant* at the present time would bring with it a stiff set-back to the whole movement. The sharpening of the struggle in the United States and elsewhere in the world, demand the systematic, frequent appearance of the organ of the Left Opposition. Above all, the developments of the civil war in Germany, where the Left wing alone has made a Marxian analysis and advanced the correct revolutionary program, make it imperative that every week the *Militant* shall appear with information and its viewpoint on what is going on.

But for this, a prodigious effort is required. It means that every comrade, every sympathizer, every friend of the *Militant* must immediately raise as much money as possible, from his own resources and those of his fellow-workers, and send it by air mail to the *Militant*.

We are in a crucial position—make no mistake about it. Our financial progress has not kept pace with our political advances. We need aid right away. We need a great deal of it. We are counting upon YOU to send the urgently required assistance. Act now!

Send all funds to the *Militant*, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Martial Law for Indiana Strike

The Governor of Indiana has declared martial law in the vicinity of the Dixie Bee Mine, in Vigo County. He has sent 1,000 National Guardsmen to enforce this order. For what purpose is all this display of martial strength?

Is the governor driving out the gangsters or the bootleggers? No! The National Guard is seldom used in that capacity. As was to be expected the N. G. is used against the workers of the district. 4,000 union miners have been engaged in an attempt to keep scabs from working in the mine. With arms in hand the union miners have driven the scabs from the colliery. In one of the encounters between the union miners and the deputy thugs, one of the union men was murdered and several injured.

The standard of living of the miners has been ground down to the starvation level. Throughout the country, even in the midst of this crisis no section of the American workers are more poverty-stricken than the miners. Every class conscious action on their part is nothing short of a revolt against hunger. The capitalist class counters with bullets, martial law and armed troops. In these small skirmishes of today can be seen the fierce battles of the not far-off future. All support to the fighting miners of Vigo County, Indiana. Down with martial law! Withdraw the National Guards!

## All Eyes on Germany!

A Manifesto of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

The Hitler Danger is a Danger to the Working Class of the Whole World

The working class of Germany is today facing the most serious menace in its history. Preparations are going ahead with lightning rapidity to bring the Fascist heel down upon our German class brothers.

The acts performed by the reactionary Junker government of Colonel Von Papen, the establishment of the military dictatorship over Prussia and its rule by martial law are the grand rehearsal for the bloodcurdling regime of Hitler and his Nazi hordes.

The powerful black forces arrayed for this nefarious objective can be defeated in but one way—by a solid, fighting working class united front.

It is time for thinking workers, for the Communist militants to awaken to a realization of the enormous, catastrophic danger before us. It is time to demand from the Communist party that it sound the alarm. The threat of Fascism in Germany is a threat to the existence of the Soviet Union, the threat of the mailed fist of world imperialism in the face of the international working class.

The events in Germany are a serious warning to the workers everywhere, they are of grave concern to the American workers as well. The alarm must resound throughout the ranks of the party, the party of the revolutionary proletariat. It must resound with tremendous force. It is our task to reach out our hands in solidarity to the German workers in their hour of trial.

Already the military is tramping with hobnails upon the backs of the German toilers. Their elementary political rights are being snuffed, their meetings prohibited, their papers suppressed, the Communist party headquarters raided. The threat of illegality is already hanging over the head of the revolutionary party.

Workers are attacked, beaten and killed in the streets by armed Fascist bands, unemployment is constantly on the increase and misery and poverty are mounting to appalling proportions.

It is to this that the German prolet-

ariat has come since 1918, when the leaders of the yellow social democracy took over the government after the fall of the Kaiser. Step by step they have allowed capitalism to regain its foothold. They have ruled for capitalism. They have permitted the rats' nests of bourgeois reaction—the Hitlerist pest—to spread out, to take root, to infest the nation and to endanger the very life of the organized working class. They have paved the road for Fascism by reformist treachery, by their betrayal of the revolution.

Even today these despicable social reformers are surrendering without a struggle the mandates, which despite all, they have held in the name of the workers, before whom their true character had not yet been revealed. Severing, Braun, Grzesinski—all the social democratic worthies, are dispersed from their posts like so many flies by the military agents of Von Hindenburg—their erstwhile savior.

Not one word of working class unity against Fascism comes from the mouths of the yellow traitors. They still do all in their power to sabotage the proletarian united front. They are like a trapped mouse standing between the menace of Fascism and the increasing pressure for a common workers' front. Both mean destruction for this outlived social reformist organism.

Where is the German Communist Party in this fateful moment? Is it discharging its duty to its class? Has its leadership taken the necessary step to unite the workers for the decisive struggle? It must be said in all frankness: It has not. And it must be added: It has no time to lose.

Wheeled down by the blundering policy of the Stalin regime in the whole Communist International, committing mistakes after mistake, its erroneous course has served only to isolate the Communist workers and to weaken their position by the thoroughly false and confusing theories of "social Fascism" and

## Police, Troops and Vets

Eye-Witness Account of the Wash. Massacre of the Bonuseers

On the morning of Thursday, July 28 about a hundred policemen gathered in Pennsylvania Ave. and 3rd St. (Washington proper) to evict the bonuseers from Federal property comprising four old, moldy, half-torn down, buildings and several adjacent "wreckage lots".

About noon-time there were 800 blue-coats still trying to evict the "squatters" now numbering over 5,000, over 2,000 of whom came over from Anacostia to help resist the eviction.

The tension between veterans and police reached the breaking point about 1:30 P. M., when several fights broke out. One officer, panicky before the rage of the veterans, fired his gun.

The brawl was on. Fists were pounding, bricks came flying at the heads of police. In the turmoil six or seven shots were fired by the police. Police Cavalry, Infantry and Tanks

At 5 P. M. about 200 cavalry and 600 infantry, under orders of President Hoover, came up Pennsylvania Avenue, sabres and bayonets flashing in the sun. Five black tanks equipped with machine guns came rumbling behind them.

The crowds along the walks heckled and jeered the military who proceeded to order the ex-soldiers out of their "dwellings". They were greeted by the bonuseers with a barrage of bricks. Cavalry and infantry quickly adjusted their gas masks, and with little or no warning, cut across the lot, throwing gas bombs in and about the buildings and shacks. The vets were taken by surprise. They scurried to a nearby lot—another bonus encampment—where they stood their ground.

Gas bombs were thrown into their midst, but the men caught them and threw them back at the approaching cavalry so that many of the horses, without gas masks, reared and bolted. A number of the horses came prancing right up on the men. The vets grabbed the reins and jerked the horses around. Several men were pulled off their horses. The cavalry swung their sabres at the vets. Scores were cut about the face, neck, arms and back.

When the soldiers at Camp Marks (Anacostia) received word in the after-

## Communists Gain in Reichstag Elections

Leninist United Front Tactics Vindicated

The Reichstag elections of July 31 were a reflection of the unstable and extremely precarious position of the present German state. They resulted in a political stalemate in so far as government power is concerned and definitely proved that no durable solution can be found for the political crisis of the country on the parliamentary plane. No single party, no bloc of parties exists, capable of ruling along the lines of the Weimar constitution.

The Fascists, of course, rose to the crest of their wave, but showed no appreciable increase in their vote over the amount Hitler received in the runoff elections in April. Both votes stand around the 13,000,000 mark. The resources of popular support for Fascism have thereby been drained. National Socialism, the party of Hitler, if it is not to disintegrate piece-meal, if it is to utilize the following it has amassed by vociferous promises, by tall talk about a radical transformation of the economic

and social life—has but one way out: The immediate and forcible seizure of power.

### On the Eve of a Coup d'Etat

When we remember that the Hitler movement is in a very specific sense indispensable to the further existence of German capitalism we can draw the necessary conclusion? Germany is standing this very day before a Fascist coup d'Etat.

The social democracy fared badly, as was to be expected, in last Sunday's poll. The S. D. P. G. of all parties lost the largest number of votes. This fact is fully consistent with the general decline of this party. Based on a platform of reforms—which have been shown to shreds from day to day in the past few years; and of kowtowing to bourgeois democracy—which the bourgeoisie itself considers outlived, the social democratic betrayers of the working class cannot be expected to continue very long to hold on to the huge mass following which is growing constantly more dissatisfied with it, ever more suspicious of the reformist leaders.

### Communist Gains

The Communist party alone made definite gains in the elections, receiving the highest vote yet cast for Communism in Germany—5,278,004. The small but very significant and heartening parliamentary victory of the C. P. G. is full of lessons, full of indications. According to an International Press Correspondence dispatch to the New York *Daily Worker*, the largest increase in the Communist vote took place in Berlin and the area around it. It must be remembered that it was specifically in the province of Berlin-Brandenburg that the Communist party leadership recently made offers of united front action to the heads of the local social democracy. The S. D. P. leaders rejected the united front proposals of the Communists and it was in Berlin-Brandenburg that the Communists in this manner began to expose the treacherous, splitting character of the social democracy before the workers. The big increase of the Communist vote in Berlin-Brandenburg is a victory for the application of the Leninist united front policy, hitherto disregarded and trampled under foot by the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. G.

### "The Defeat of the Trotskyists"

When the *Daily Worker* (August 1, 1932), greeting editorially the election advance of our German brother party, calls it "a defeat . . . for the followers of Trotsky . . .", it is lying miserably, it is consciously deceiving the Communist workers. The election advance was, on the contrary, nothing more clearly than a confirmation of the correctness of the line of the International Left Opposition headed by comrade Trotsky. For it was the Left Opposition, which by its tireless propagation of the Leninist united front tactic against Fascism, by its unremitting criticism of the harmful, confusing and stupid theory of "social Fascism", by its timely evaluation of the political factors involved in the German scene—it was the Left Opposition, we repeat, which more than anything else contributed to the happy change in the course of the Communist Party of Germany, reflected in the united front actions at Berlin. This, at a time when it was slandered for its criticisms as "counter-revolutionary", when the Stalinists taught everywhere that the social democracy were "social Fascists" and that united fronts cannot be offered to "social Fascists"; when the Stalinists (Remmele-Thaelmann) proclaimed everywhere that Fascism was not really a menace, that the Hitler movement would rapidly fall apart and collapse—But the Left Opposition does not content itself with pointing out the correctness of its policies in the past. Our chief task

(Continued on page 3)

## The New York Picnic

This Sunday, August 7th, the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will hold a picnic at Tibbets Brook Park. As at the last picnic a large group of comrades and sympathizers are expected to attend. Readers of the *Militant* who have attended the previous picnics of the organization do not have to be agitated to come to this one.

Attend the picnic this Sunday (August 7). Bring your friends and fellow-workers. Food, refreshments, and games will be on hand. Here is a chance to meet the members and sympathizers of the Left Opposition.

The place is Tibbets Brook Park, Plot 2. Take the I. R. T.—Woodlawn-Jerome Ave. train to the last stop, Woodlawn. At 10:30 A. M. comrades will meet there and walk to Plot 2. You can take a street-car or bus to the park.

The Communist Party of Germany must tell the working class in all frankness that its policies of the recent past were wrong. The party must show the workers that it is sincere and earnest in the attempt to correct, in the race to make up for lost time. Only in that way can the C. P. prove to the masses that it is their genuine leader, their trusted revolutionary vanguard.

The Communist party must hammer away persistently at an appeal to the followers of the social democracy and the reformist trade unions to put their leaders to the test, by demanding of them that they join in a united front of all the proletarian organizations in the fight against Fascism. This alone will reveal the truly treacherous face of the socialists misleaders before their adherents. The masses can only learn through the tests of struggle.

Already the demands of the Left Op-

(Continued on page 3)



# Letters From the Militants

## A Scandal in the Red Food Workers' Union

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Last week, the Left wing workers of New York witnessed a sorry spectacle. There was a "picket line" formed in front of the Foodworkers Industrial Union on 28th Street. The men were picketing their own collective organization! Placards, slogans appeared along the line.

An investigation of the whole matter shows, as we suspected, that the initiative for this action came from shady elements within the union, men with a doubtful record like Kenessey. It is also more or less established as a fact that these people sought and got the aid of the yellow fakers from the S. P.—types as notorious as Angie Claessens. The latter, of course, did his darndest to turn the affair into a campaign of vile slander and calumny against the Left wing as a whole and against Communism.

The "picket line" of the dissatisfied and restless workers within the Foodworkers Industrial Union was an ill-starred attempt, an action which only drives water to the mill of the disreputable "socialist" racketeers and which, in the last analysis, can only harm their own cause—the interests of the working class. As class conscious workers, who know the treacherous role of the S. P. and who realize how eager and anxious these bosses' lackeys are to take advantage of disagreements between militant unionists for purposes of betrayal, we must categorically condemn the "picketing" of the union headquarters as an act detrimental to the working class. The militant industrial unionist rejects and disdains such methods.

At the same time, we must take into account that there were sincere if misled militants participating in this anti-union action. It is necessary patiently to explain to them how false, how harmful their conduct was. They have to be made clear, that no matter what their grievances against the industrial union leadership may be, no matter how wrong this leadership may act, a fight against them must be confined to the limits of the union itself, if it is to be effective, if it is not to play into the hands of the bosses and their yellow agents.

And we must admit that the food clerks who took the altogether false road of "picketing" the F. W. I. U. headquarters did have genuine grievances. Much as we have to condemn their hasty and thoughtless behavior, we cannot overlook the fact that the Stalinist leadership of the union bears a good share of the responsibility for this disgraceful incident.

We have time and again pointed out in *The Militant* that the bureaucratic and high-handed manner in which the F. W. I. U. functionaries deal with the membership, in the distribution of jobs, in the suppression of the elementary rights of union democracy, in overriding the decisions of the rank and file can only lead to such uncontrollable and disastrous outbreaks on the part of the workers.

The "picket line" incident has its roots in the past. It is a direct result of the non-Leninist policies of the Stalinist leadership in the union. Mechanical control, the subordination of the elementary interests of the workers—which caused the workers to join the union—to the needs of the party and the T. U. I. apparatus (as was the case in the Con-Coops, in the Cooperative Camps, etc.) can only stir up dissatisfaction and unrest among the rank and file. These facts cannot be dismissed by the Stalinists merely by calling those who raise them—stool-pigeons and counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. This method of the Stalinists only helps the real stool-pigeons, the real disrupters in our midst to cover themselves up and to strike a blow against the union at the critical moment—as was the case with the "picket line". It only confuses the rank and file workers and makes them unable to distinguish between the actual disrupters and those sincere militants who oppose the leadership on matters of policy because they want to help their union make progress.

The "picket line" is a dangerous symptom. It should be a warning to the leadership of the union and to the Stalinists in control of the party. If they look at it objectively, they will see the grave dangers it indicates.

It is high time now for the Communist workers in the F. W. I. U. to wake up, if they have the interests of the union at heart, if they want to fulfill their tasks as revolutionists. We must prevent the recurrence of such "picket lines" in the future.

There is only one way in which to do this: By demanding the restoration of workers' democracy within the union. By fighting for an open and frank correction of the party line of mechanical control in the union, by making the union a genuine class struggle union, devoted to the broader interests of the class. A

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turn must be made in the policy within the union, not by picking out scape goats, not merely by a lot of talk about "cliques"—but by admitting openly the mistakes of the past and by steering the course of the union back to the Leninist trade union line.

—FOODWORKER.

## A Run-in With the Party in Duluth

DULUTH, MINN.

A rousing open air meeting was held Sunday night by the Communist League on the Court House Square. Listening attentively to an excellent speaking program, 600 workers applauded vigorously the fight of the Left Opposition for the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Leninism. For the first time on the streets of Duluth the truth about the Chinese revolution and the crisis in Germany was told. Comrades Dunne and Skoglund, respectively, clarified these questions and demonstrated the international basis for the struggle of the Opposition, especially the menace of Fascism in Germany, which now constitutes the main danger to the Soviet Union.

Comrade Bloomberg's analytical report of the four national conventions of the political parties held in Chicago was frequently interrupted by stormy applause. In a speech filled with fighting exposure of the Republican and Democratic platforms, and satire and scorn for the Socialist party platform, he called on the workers to rally behind the Communist party candidates in the coming elections.

It was not until the collection that the party bureaucrats became concerned. Some minor functionary called out to the audience that the money collected was not going to the Communist party. We can sympathize with the anxiety of one who makes a living from such collections on the street, but, as comrade Bloomberg immediately pointed out, the chairman, Miles Dunne, had openly announced the meeting under the auspices of the Communist League. All funds are to be used for our publication and organization work. The audience responded splendidly.

Comrade Cowl then made an appeal for the unity of the Communists in the name of the Communist League. He urged all class-conscious workers to demand of the party bureaucrats a cessation of their splitting tactics concealed under pseudo-revolutionary slogans of social Fascism and their slander against the Left Opposition. He challenged the hecklers to debate the disputed questions then and there or any other time or place they might designate. Workers who accept our program for reform of the party should not hesitate to support our press and join our ranks.

Instead of rushing to the defense of the position of the party as self-respecting Communists should, the Stalinists proceeded to start another meeting in the center of the crowd, amidst boos and angry shouts of the workers, who saw that the issue at stake in this instance was clearly the attempt of the party to break up the meeting, after they had been invited to participate.

One Stalinist bureaucrat, with the bureaucrat's contempt for the wishes of the working class, sneeringly launched a tirade of mud-slinging and personal slander against the character of Trotsky and the record of Bloomberg and Cowl. All of which, as is to be expected, left the audience cold. So that it was not difficult, in the midst of comrade Sara Avrin's speech on the "Washington Massacre" to bring the entire audience, with the exception of the few faithful, to the other side of the monument which served as our platform. Here our meeting continued with greatly increased interest and closed with a number of questions and discussion. We called on all the workers present to participate in the anti-war demonstration the following night.

As these lines are written for the current issue of the *Militant*, a public challenge to the Communist party to debate the proposition: "That Trotsky is An Enemy of the Working Class" has been issued in the capitalist press by the Communist League for Tuesday night on Court House Square. The results of this meeting and other organization work in Duluth will be reported in the next issue of the *Militant*.

—C. C.

## Extracts from Earl Browder's Autobiography

Discerning readers of the official party press will have noticed that Earl Browder, the present leader of the party, has been presenting us his autobiography (or his confessions, if you like) in guise of this or that political report. Shyness alone has prevented him from naming himself, but even the dumbest reader can see whom he means when he talks. One extract from a recent confession will show what we mean:

"I have noted a widespread opinion that if a party or trade union functionary speaks in a loud, sharp tone, this is bureaucratic, but if he speaks gently and softly then this is a good, non-bureaucratic approach. As for myself I am all for the soft voice as opposed to harsh speaking, but I object to this being put forward as the essence of the question of bureaucracy. In fact, some of the worst bureaucrats that I have bumped into in my life were the softest speakers." (*The Communist*, July 1932, page 305.)

Always boasting about his gentle tongue!

## Opposition Progress in Africa

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of the 30th May last and the 50 *Militants* has provoked some life amongst the Stalinist bureaucrats of the Communist Party of So. Africa. Private meetings are now being held to discuss the best methods for killing the Trotskyist views, before penetrating into the minds of the opposed people of Africa, to these meetings only those who are known to be anti-L. Trotsky have been privately invited. Expelled and unexpelled anti-Trotskyists are now united on an anti-Trotsky campaign. Some of our members (of the group, I sent you the names) have also been privately invited and since then the man that acted as chairman and treasurer of our meeting held on the 22 April last, has now completely taken quite a different attitude towards the Communist League of Africa (Opposition). They sing to the tune of anti-Trotskyism, and the first two lots of the *Militants* have been purposely held up, not to be sold, better to be returned to your League, but the last lot has been disseminated amongst the African Negro workers with good results.

### Stalinist Threats

It is perfectly clear to us that those who oppose the formation of the Communist League of Africa (Opposition) do so with a specific object that the Stalinists in So. Africa might value them so as to be reinstated into the C. P. S. A. Since I started this Opposition I am told of various things that would happen to me if I was in U. S. S. R. That I have committed an unpardonable crime by propagating the views of the International Left Opposition. I am asked why do you write to a group of men who oppose the leadership of the Communist Party of U. S. S. R.? Then they give as a kind of reasoning that L. Trotsky has tried to oppose the leadership of the party and has completely failed. You, too, will fail and you shall be condemned for life never to be reinstated into the C. P. S. A. Again I replied to all this talk that I do not see any mistake in the views expressed in the *Militant*. I see no crime that L. Trotsky has committed. I see nothing that might be styled a blunder but as to Stalin I can only come to the conclusion that he is an opportunist of the worst type the world has ever produced. In support of this conclusion let me say Stalin is the stumbling block of the world revolution. He should not have expelled and exiled comrade L. Trotsky from the C. P. S. U. and from the U. S. S. R. He knows quite well that if Trotsky is given complete freedom in the U. S. S. R. he (Stalin) would no longer be at the head of the Soviet Union; some one else would be. The International Left Opposition must see that comrade L. Trotsky is given the necessary freedom and returned to the U. S. S. R.

On the 2nd of July I was taken by surprise. The chairman and treasurer referred to above threatened to hand me over to the police for having sent their names to the Communist League of America (Opposition) applying for membership, and I was dragged at about 8 P. M. of the same day to Doornfontein Police Station but no charge has as yet been laid against me, so they threatened to murder me in the street. Comrades, this is just the beginning. I expect quite a lot of trouble from the Centrists, but we must not be down-hearted. The International Left Opposition must penetrate into the minds of the mine, town, and agricultural workers of Africa whether the Stalinists like it or not.

In following the instructions of the Stalinist bureaucrats there are serious blunders that have been and are being committed in the Communist Party of So. Africa and I have not doubt that it shall be the duty of the Communist League of Africa (Opposition) to induce the C. P. S. A. to follow the correct line and never ignore their mistakes.

### The African Opposition

In reply to your question. The Communist League of Africa (Opposition) is newly constituted. It is not a section of the Communist Party of So. Africa and has not been in touch with the Communist International. It is organized by an expelled Negro foundation member of the Communist Party of So. Africa (T. W. Thibedi). Although many of the expelled members expressed sympathy with the formation of the Opposition there is quite a lot of hesitation on their part to come forward like real revolutionists. They are in the main afraid that if they join the Opposition they would be condemned and never again be reinstated into the Party. We have been carrying on open air meetings and nuclei have been formed at these places. Kringsdorp, Vrededorp, Prospect Township, and Pretoria and we are also reorganizing the trade unions of native workers which in 1928 had 10,000 membership but has since 1930 been left by the Stalinist bureaucrats of the Communist Party of So. Africa to collapse. We have behind us the "Laundry Workers Union", 1,000 members strong, and the "Baking Employees Association" is speedily coming up. Amongst the Negro miners, nuclei have been set up at these mines: "City Deep Mine" and "Crown Mines." I must say this is the first time in the history of the revolutionary party in So. Africa that Negro miners are seriously being taken up. Again, a nucleus has been set up against the "Municipal Employees" at the "Doornfontein City Power Compound."

For many years T. N. Thibedi was the only Negro member of the C. P. S. A. and during this time succeeded in organizing the following branches of the

C. P. S. A. most of which were left to collapse after his expulsion from the party: Vereeniging, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Paaredskop, Evaton, Blomfontein, Nabein Location, etc., etc. At present the only branch that still survives is the last mentioned.

### The Party Slogan

In 1928 the Centrists forced this slogan on the C. P. S. A.: "Native Republic" as a stage towards the "Workers' Republic". Almost all the Negro members opposed this slogan as it tended to create a racial feeling and national hatred. I believe in "Workers' Republic", not in the native or European Republic, but I do not hind any one to come to the same conclusions. After that slogan was adopted at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International no one tried to propagate it with the exception of those who opposed it. The Stalinists were silent on this slogan in all public meetings. All the history of the C. P. S. A. is full of blunders that have been made particularly since comrade Lenin died.

There is not a single white or black trade union at this present time that the C. P. S. A. can boast of. One thousand members of the Laundry Workers Union left the C. P. S. A. in disgust; so did even the "Clothing Workers Union". Those were the only two Trade Unions which constituted the Federation of Trade Unions (A. F. T. U.).

We desire to have a complete set of the literature published by you but you should also not lose sight of the fact that we are a much poorer lot than you are, and do not forget sending also complete volumes of the *Militant* from No. 1 to the latest. From now onward I shall be writing you fortnightly.

Non-Europeans are the most unorganized of the South African Trade Unions.

Yours for a speedy Revolt,

—T. W. T.

Johannesburg, So. Africa  
July 6, 1932.

## German Left Will Issue Weekly

The latest issue of *Die Permanente Revolution*, official semi-monthly organ of the Left Opposition in Germany announces that beginning with its next number our German brother organ will appear as a weekly. The terrific poverty existing throughout the German working class, and particularly among the revolutionary militants, has for some time stood in way of imperatively needed advance. Now, the growth of the ideas, influence and strength of our German section has succeeded in surmounting even this great obstacle. The appearance of *Die Permanente Revolution* as a weekly paper will enable our comrades to intervene more frequently and powerfully in the struggles of the German proletariat, bringing to them the ideas and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which the Stalinists throughout the world have so violently prevented or ignored and the Left Oppositionists have borne aloft.

The American Oppositionists send their German comrades warmest wishes in the success they have already attained and are convinced that the immediate future is rich with even greater progress for our cause.

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The advance of *Die Permanente Revolution* comes a few weeks after the similar success obtained by our Bulgarian comrades who have been battling mightily not only against the stream of Stalinist abuse and violence, but the persecutions of the Bulgarian reaction. Their organ, *Osvobozhdenye* (Emancipation), which commenced as a monthly paper, is now appearing every week.

Our Swiss comrades, with the great traditions of internationalism associated with their land, have succeeded in a brief span of time in converting their mimeographed organ, *Bolschewik*, into a well-printed, well-edited monthly.

Finally, our Spanish comrades have just issued the first number of *Joven Espartaco* (Young Spartacus), a 16-page monthly magazine of the Opposition Youth. This step forward is a reflection of the gratifying progress our Spanish comrades have been making among the young revolutionists of the country, increasing numbers of whom are being organized into the ranks of the Left Opposition. *Joven Espartaco* makes the second paper in the International Left Opposition devoted to the youth, the first having been *Young Spartacus*, our own youth paper in the United States.

To *Osvobozhdenye*, *Bolschewik*, *Joven Espartaco*, go our heartiest revolutionary salutations. The International Left Opposition is invincible!

## MILITANT BUILDERS

We're under way. Subs are coming in. They're not exactly rolling in but they are coming in a little bit faster than in the past month. And that's something. But seriously! A real effort must be made on the basis of the great timeliness and importance of our literature to bring in even more subs.

All the articles by comrade Trotsky and the other leaders of the International Left that we print in the *Militant* will not sell the paper. We must do that by getting subs and placing it on newsstands. Right now we must place a great emphasis on getting subs. You see, comrades, we need money, desperately. One of the best ways of getting it is by getting subs.

Now, who is going to come out on top at the end of the month? Will it be that headliner from Minneapolis, com-

## American Foreign Trade and the Question of Credits to the Soviet Union

Some figures on the decline in the foreign trade of the United States since the crisis set in, published in the *New York Times* of July 31, tell heavily in support of the slogan of the International Left for large scale, long term credits to the Soviet Union. According to the *Times* the decline in volume has been drastic. It arrives at this conclusion on the basis of the facts that the decline in the wholesale price level of commodities since June 1929, is 33.7 per cent; while the decline in value is 67.8 per cent. "These heavy losses" says the *Times*, "amounting in several cases to more than 80 per cent, are not the result merely of a decline in prices, but also of a sharp contraction in volume."

### MACHINERY DECLINE

Among the commodities which the United States is exporting in diminishing quantities are plows, which declined from 105,958 in 1929 to 8,204; and grain harvesters, which declined from 11,871 to 213. In the first five months of 1932 the United States exported 60 million dollars of agricultural machinery; whereas in the first five months of 1932 this figure fell to four million seven hundred thousand. Similar figures obtain for industrial machinery. Included in this decline is a precipitate decline in Soviet purchases of agricultural and industrial machinery. In a statement issued by the Amtorg in October of last year the value of Soviet purchases was shown to have declined by 51 per cent.

But the years 1929-32 are the period of the great growth and expansion of Soviet industry; of the growth of its inter-relation with the world market. From August 1930 to June 1931, to take but one example, the Soviet Union doubled its exports to Italy and increased its imports sevenfold. So said Commissar of Foreign Trade, P. Rosengoltz, to a delegation of 32 Italian industrialists, who visited the Soviet Union in June a year ago.

What is the cause for the decline in the purchase of what the Soviet needs to build its growing industry? The Amtorg statement of last October says, "The drastic decline in purchases is due to the lack of favorable credit facilities in this country as contrasted with long term credits extended to Soviet organizations by European countries." (Our emphasis.)

Credits are what the Soviet Union needs, long-term credits. But the Stalinized Comintern, hamstrung by the fatal theory of socialism in one country, dares not call on the working masses to demand credits from their capitalist governments for the workers' fatherland. It would be an open admission of the impossibility of building a socialist society in the Soviet Union with the efforts of the Soviet Union alone. And this admission Stalin cannot make.

He seeks to attain the same end—not through the class struggle; but by diplomatic maneuvers. That the Soviet Union has made diplomatic approaches to various capitalist governments for credits is no secret. The *Times* of July 15, 1931 reported the discussion between the Soviet delegation to Paris and the French negotiators in the following words: "The discussions center around a plan by which the Russians would obtain two to four year credits from France."

In fact trade treaties have been signed. One was signed with Italy last June. Duranty reported it from Paris. "The chief Soviet benefits from the trade agreement are credit for buying Italian machinery, aid from Italian specialists, use of the Italian merchant marine for shipping exports and a convenient market for grain, oil and coal." (*N. Y. Times*, June 20, 1931.)

But, the Stalinists have argued, the Soviet Union gets its credits by treaty. What need is there of making a mass fight of it? ! ! As comrade Trotsky pointed out in his *World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan*, the interest of the workers all over the world, in the Soviet Union and its socialist construction remains an abstraction unless it is concretized, in the present situation of world unemployment, by mobilizing the masses to fight for long term credits upon the basis of their understanding that the resulting orders would go some way toward relieving unemployment by opening up a number of factories.

In the United States it would mean that the index of employment in the agricultural machinery industry, for example, would rise from 22.1 at which it stood in June of this year. A similar rise would take place in every branch of industry with which the Soviet would place orders. An identical result would, be achieved in all capitalist countries in which the Soviet was able to place orders.

The volume of imports the Soviet would be able to command would be many

times in excess of its present volume, including the volume embraced by its present trade treaties. The result in the construction of socialist industry is too apparent to need elaboration. As one result the volume of exports could be increased with a further increase in imports. So the whole cycle of imports and exports could be increased.

The prestige of the Soviet Union would be increased in the eyes of the workers by its ability to work out large scale plans pivoted on its export and import relations with the world market, and its ability to meet its obligations.

An organized fight for credits is a lever to set the masses in motion against their class enemies. It creates the basis for a united front with the socialist workers against their leaders should they, as is most likely, oppose the united front.

The opportunities such a struggle affords to Communism to appear before the class as the leader in the fight for relief, and the opportunities for class education are enormous. To pass them by and call the slogan counter-revolutionary, as the Stalinists have done, is not the least of their crimes.

The Stalinist idea of diplomatic maneuvering for credits without calling on the masses who are vitally interested in the question rests upon a lack of faith in the masses. But the masses, learning from the Left Opposition, will force the Comintern to place this slogan in the forefront of the fight for relief. In the United States the workers under the pressure of the deepening crisis will force the party to translate its paper turn of half a year ago into a real class fight for long-term, large scale credits to the Soviet Union.

—T. S.

## New York's Aug. First Meet

Between 13,000 and 15,000 workers answered the call of the Communist party in a demonstration on Union Sq. against Imperialist war. In comparison with the two previous "Red Day" demonstrations, this year's meeting was one of the best—but only numerically.

The intensification of the economic crisis and the more recent attack on the veterans in Washington has served to awaken thousands of workers from passivity. But if the N. Y. demonstration was large in numbers, it was low in spirit. The meeting followed a stereotyped plan. The speakers were poor. The speeches of Sheppard, Trumbull and Amer in no way made the impending world slaughter clear to the assembled workers. They rambled on incoherently, discussing practically everything else. The war danger came in for the usual cut-and-dried slogans.

Germany—the key to the whole international situation, scarcely a mention. Only in the speech of Amer, did he make some vainglorious boasts about the large vote of the C. P. G. in the recent elections. Only one placard carried by the Y. C. L. called for the smashing of Hitler's Fascist hordes. But this was obscured by the multitudinous slogans which helped to confuse and mask the importance of the war danger.

If the placards of the 1929 demonstration against the war danger reflected the mad adventurism of the "third period", those carried in this year's meeting bore witness to the opportunism of the "new turn". One of the slogans read: "Hoover is responsible for the riot in Washington. We demand his impeachment". The S. P. must have turned green with envy when they saw this placard.

Amer, of course, did not fail to attack the "renegades from Communism"—the Lovestonites and the Trotskyists". While the crowd booed and jeered any mention of Hoover, Roosevelt and the socialists, they greeted this attack on the L. O. with an icy silence. Apparently they did not see its connection with the war danger. If words can't do it perhaps silence might penetrate Amer's thick bureaucratic skull. We have our doubts.

The struggle against the war danger must not end with this demonstration, which is only a small beginning. The party must awaken the masses to the dangers awaiting the Soviet Union if Hitler seizes power. Only in this way will it fulfill its duty to the American and international proletariat. The L. O. has sounded the alarm. What is your answer, party members?

## Pioneer Publishers Notes

### MARXIST CLASSICS

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

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

rade Hedlund? Or will some other comrade take his laurels away from him? And what branch will come out on top? Will it be the old stand-bys, New York and Minneapolis? Or will our younger branches dispute the title with them?

It is too early to say. All we can do is point to the record of the staff to date which we give below:

A. Weaver	1 1-2
L. Goodman	1
H. Schwartz	1
J. Edwards	1
W. Wynne	1
The record by branches is as follows:	
New York	4 1-2
Minneapolis	2 1-2
Chicago	1
Philadelphia	1

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN is out of print and is available only in the BOUND VOLUMES of comrade TROTSKY'S pamphlets.



# Great Britain and the U. S. at Ottawa

The Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa, Canada, for the past few weeks is of the deepest significance. Gathered here are the representatives of the domains comprising the British empire. The ostensible purpose of the gathering is to unite in closer bond the King's "minions". But as the conference progresses its object becomes clearer and all the more decisive. It is necessary to seek the driving force of the conference and for this we will divert for a moment from the actual proceedings.

The post-war period witnessed profound changes in the world economic and political situation. Upon the debris of the war arose unforeseen a new power, fresh and vigorous, unexhausted by the conflict. The United States of America became transformed then from a debtor into a creditor nation to whom the entire capitalist world is today indebted. In the course of a few years she dominated the European scene and opened war upon the world markets. Today America is the dominant world power.

## America's Rise to Power

American capitalism, through her own enormous resources, without experiencing the long winding road from feudalism to capitalism but building fresh upon a capitalist structure, her industries the most modern in the world, her technique of the highest, drove ahead to the top-most pinnacle of capitalist development. She displaced England as the financial baron of the world. In the field of militarism she has also surpassed the Empire. World politics is now dominated by the United States. And most important of all, in the field of foreign trade she has also displaced Great Britain. It is only necessary to cite the relative changes in the world market to understand fully what this displacement has meant. Prior to the World War the United States had 12% of the world export trade and Great Britain 18%. Toward the close of the past decade the figure was reversed with America in England's place and England where America once stood.

Great Britain has not kept pace with this development of America. Her industrial technique for years remained unchanged. 19th century England could not keep abreast of the industrial apparatus of Uncle Sam. Her markets were grasped from her. Even her own dominions cast loving eyes to the United States. America invaded her South American markets seizing them one by one. Europe was already under the heel of Wall Street. In Asia the dollar penetrated deeply, ripping big holes in the British trade structure. And as has already been cited, in her dominions this same process took place.

It must be borne in mind, that the tremendous rise of American capitalism comes at a time when world capitalism is in decline. The hegemony of the United States exists at the expense of the rest of the world. Only by crushing Europe and putting her on rations has she been able to dominate there. By carrying on an intense assault upon the world market was she able to replace England. And there the conflict rages. The United States, seeks to perpetuate itself in power on the basis of domination of the world markets, made all the more necessary through her huge productive apparatus and by the contraction of the home market. England stands ready to defend her fortresses of world trade. Jarred and groggy she cannot stand many more steady blows.

## Britain's Demands

The stage is set; the play goes on. Great Britain is seeking closer ties with the dominions. The industrialization of the dominions brought them in constant conflict with the mother country. They

## The Struggle Between the Two Imperialisms

challenged the seniority rights of England. To avoid open rifts, the Imperial Conference in 1926 established and recognized full equality of the dominions. That conference diminished their subordination to Great Britain. But it hardly solved anything. While politically holding the Empire together, it could not and did not solve the hard economic problems. They exist today. Represented by Stanley Baldwin, Britain demands that the dominions establish greater trade within the Empire. It demands that the dominions give preference to British-made goods for which in turn preference will be given theirs. Britain will charge no duties on dominion goods if the dominions will likewise remove all tariffs on British goods. They plan to solve the crisis in that manner. But more than that the Imperial Economic conference is a direct challenge to the United States.

To establish a balance of trade within the Empire means to strike a blow against American capitalism. At present Canada is principally involved. The same condition however exists in the other dominions and in discussing Canada we speak for the general trends elsewhere. Of foreign capital in Canada, the share of Great Britain fell from 77% to 39% while that of the United States rose from 16% to 57%. The U. S. finds an outlet market here for 40% of her exports. On the reverse side of the picture 68% of Canadian imports come from the United States, as against 15.2% from Great Britain. Of 100 principle import items in 1930, Canada was supplied in the following ratio: The United States 79%, Great Britain 14%, and the rest of the world 7%. The following table of Canadian imports supplied by the United States is of extreme importance because of the key character of the industries:

### Ratio of imports supplied by the United States to Canada in 1930:

91% Electrical products
90% Steel and iron.
90% Machinery.
99% Automobile parts.
98% Automobiles.
90% Coal.
98% Farm implements
76% Crude petroleum
99% Gasoline.
98% Raw cotton.

Great Britain exceeded only in textiles. In money values the relative import trade in 1930 was as follows:

<b>Total Imports:</b>	<b>\$1,248,273,582</b>
United States	\$847,442,037
Great Britain	\$189,179,738
Dominions	\$63,523,066
Foreign	\$148,127,841

In addition it must be stated that of Canadian exports, 45% went to the United States. The aims of the conference become clear now. The conference aims at a general diminution of American trade within the Empire so as to allow for a general increase of Great Britain's trade as one of the steps leading out of her severe crisis. The steps already taken to curb American products such as steel, machinery, electric will fall however from reaching their mark. There are 1400 branch factories of American concerns in Canada. Any encroachments upon American trade will result in increased production of the Canadian plants to offset such restrictions as result from the conference. Almost the entire electrical industry in Canada is dominated or influenced by the United States. As soon as the announcement was made of an increase in the steel

trade between Canada and Great Britain, which would necessarily result in a fall of American steel trade, the U. S. Steel Corporation declared its intention of expanding its Canadian mills at Ojibwa. Similarly this would take place with the automobile industry, electrical supplies and machinery.

### Effects of Crisis

Thus Britain's attempt to offset American trade in the dominions will be met with a powerful opposition. The crisis has had terrific effects on both nations. While America is adjusting herself for a big drive, Great Britain has already girded itself for battle. She is driving her first blow through the Empire. In the midst of the present crisis Canadian imports declined 27%. In this general decline American imports receded to 64.5% while that of Great Britain rose to 16.5%. The figures themselves while expressing the general effects of the crisis show the efforts of Britain to pull itself up by its bootstraps while the United States is acutely involved in the worst crisis of her history.

The loss of the immense Canadian market comprising 40% of American exports would indeed be a severe blow to the United States. While heretofore foreign markets absorbed only 10% of the surplus production in the United States, the present crisis has established this all-important fact: Imperialist America will open a planned and concerted drive upon the foreign markets of an immense character reinforced by the greatest military activity heretofore witnessed. There is no other way out for her. Her huge industrial apparatus which during the "prosperity days" functioned at only 60% of capacity, needs a far greater outlet than the shrinking home market. The absorption of surplus production must be sought elsewhere. It can find no place except in the field of foreign trade. The world markets continuing in a state of contraction are already divided. The United States arrived on the scene late: the division of the earth had already taken place. She must now win these from the other imperialist powers. And foremost of these is England.

In Europe she has already replaced her to a vast extent. She is dominant in Britain's own dominions. In South America the trend is toward the United States. During the years 1913-27, the U. S. share of South American imports showed an increase from 24% to 38%, while that of Great Britain declined from 25% to 16%. In the rest of the world the same trend. At the expense of Great Britain the United States has gained hegemony. To maintain this it will be necessary for her to expand even more. But further expansion can come only in continued struggle with Great Britain. That involves a deep conflict. It has been raging for almost a decade. It will become more tense now. The Imperial Economic Conference is an example of this fierce antagonism. Here lies its significance.

To transform this into the language of politics is the task of the Communists. Even today the Stalinized Communist International, warped by its nationalist orientation, fails to grasp and fully understand the changes in post-war capitalism. In 1923 L. D. Trotsky, already established this fundamental change. In his brochure *Europe and America*, a few years later, he explained these new factors, tracing the decline of Great Britain's power and its replacement by the United States. He pointed out that this significant change demanded the application of a policy on the part of the Communists concentrating specifically and orientating around this new situation. Had this been understood, it would perhaps in part have prevented such a mis-

erable debacle in recent Comintern history as we have seen.

The dollar displaces the pound. America versus Britain. That is the tune of the world struggle. And therein lies the importance of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

## The Vets in Washington

(Continued from page 1)

noon, of the fighting with the Hoover army on Pennsylvania Ave., they started in a body to the scene of trouble. But they were cut off when the bridge over the Potomac was raised.

But if they were impatient to meet their enemy, the enemy was still more impatient to meet them.

At 11 P. M. cavalry and infantry, a thousand strong, hove into sight. Several army planes zoomed above the camp. In the camp, the women and children had already "retired"; the vets themselves were "turning in", when Federal planes and soldiers came to disturb their peace. It took them by surprise. It was a day of surprises.

Whistles were blown as an alarm. "Victorious" officers ordered immediate evictions from Government property. The vets didn't move fast enough. They were baptized with a shower of gas bombs. The sweet-smelling, smothering, blinding gas put the vets on the move. Women and children ran screaming and weeping: the men followed cursing.

"Victorious" General MacArthur was weeping from the gas. The whole field was covered with gas fumes. Soldiers lit torches and were applying them to the shacks.

The next morning you could see a charred and ashy field, filled with twisted and crushed-in sheets of tin, burnt-down autos, broken, soot-black bottles of glass, broken, burned beds, sooty pots, pans, black heaps of tin cans, unburned heaps of stinking garbage, several half-burned dolls and even a plaster bust of Geo. Washington, "Father of his country", lying in the ashes with his nose, lips and chin knocked off.

The work was done against defenseless half-starved workers in the name of law and order, in the name of private property, so that Hoover and the bosses could continue their work of receiving "fair and legitimate return on their money."

### Some "Strange" Facts

The work was done. But there were strange facts which cannot be overlooked.

Why could not the police, of whom there are 1400 in Washington, cope with the situation? Was there a shortage of tear gas bombs for them?

It is a fact that of the 1400 policemen, 1200 are ex-servicemen. They did not care for the dirty work. They passed the buck.

Not only the police. About 600 sailors were ordered to be ready for duty. They replied that they were sea fighters: if the authorities would get a warship alongside of the camp, (which was out of the question), they would carry out the orders. In this way they passed the buck.

The sentiment of the marines at Quantico was similar.

One more thing. Why were the troops ordered to the main camp at night? Here it is a question of psychology. It was feared that if the vets and soldiers met in the daytime face to face, eye to eye, there might result a serious breach of discipline.

Here we see indications of the coming breach in the strongholds of the bourgeoisie. Hoover and the bosses have something to be uneasy about!

—JERDICK.

## Opposition Delegates for United Front at Party's Anti-Injunction Conference

The Anti-Injunction Conference called by the Provisional Committee of which John Steuben is secretary (appointed), held its first meeting at the Manhattan Lyceum, July 28. The new "turn" in the party's method of approaching the masses was much in evidence. Neither the Communist party nor the Young Communist League sent a single delegate to the conference! This was indeed to be a broad conference including particularly A. F. of L. locals and general working class organizations. Yea, the chairman (appointed) introduced the main reporter as BROTHER Steuben. All through the conference it was "fellow workers and friends", "brother so and so" and "I tell you, friends, and fellow workers". A most disgusting and nauseating spectacle of attempts to fool oneself into believing that this was actually a mass conference.

The comrades of the N. Y. Branch of the Communist League, Saul and Weber, and Ruth Cannon and Herbert Capelis of the Spartacus Youth Club attended the Conference as delegates. They were unable to get the floor and make concrete proposals of work such as (1) immediate printing of 50,000 leaflets to be distributed by the organizations represented; (2) immediate sending of speakers to trade unions, political and fraternal organizations in a real attempt to broaden the conference through the united front tactic; (3) each organization to send delegates to assist the strikers on the picket line; (4) each organization to hold at least one open air meeting per week and popularize the fight against the injunction.

The meeting and discussion turned out to be, as usual, organized beforehand. The chairman seemed to know every speaker, even motioning to them individually to come to the fore as he called their names. When the report of the Credentials Comm. (appointed) came in, it was announced that there were 267 delegates representing 12 A. F. of L. locals, numerous trade unions and fraternal and mass organizations. All the organizations were read off, a long list of them; but when it came to reading the list of thirty "mass" organizations the reporter said it was too long and unnecessary. In this way they spared themselves the embarrassment of announcing that the Communist League (Left Opposition) and the Spartacus Youth Club had their delegates and were ready to support the conference with all the means at their disposal.

Then came the election of a Permanent Committee to build the Conference. To "facilitate" matters, the Provisional Comm. already had its list of thirty recommendations to compose the Permanent Comm. The chairman asked for additional nominees from the floor, and comrade Weber and Capelis were nominated. A vote was taken and many hands went up for their being added to the committee. Steuben, somewhat nonplussed at this showing, took the floor and said this would invalidate the committee of thirty, which was already proposed and elected. Comrades from the floor objected and pointed out that this merely meant adding two.

Although we are not on the official committee, the Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club intend to support fully the activities of the Conference. The proposals enumerated above will be carried out and plans are already under way. The club will send as many members as possible down to the picket line and there demonstrate our solidarity with the striking workers. We hope the near future will witness a real unity of our forces with the fighting Left wing workers and the advanced revolutionary

workers of the party and its auxiliary organizations.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

## League Manifesto on the German Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

position have brought positive results. In the province of Berlin-Brandenburg, the Committee of the C. P. G. after months of pressure from the ranks, made offers of united front demonstrations and action to the leadership, the Social Democratic Party there. The yellow socialists refused to accept the offers. The result was a tremendous increase of the Communist vote in Berlin-Brandenburg at the expense of the social democracy in the Reichstag elections of July 31.

Now is not the time to gloat over election gains. The struggle is proceeding in the streets. The lessons of Berlin-Brandenburg show the absolute correctness of the Left Opposition's demands. The Communists must repeatedly and constantly put the social democratic leaders on the carpet. They must push them to the wall on every available occasion. Their masks must be torn from their faces at every new step! The Communist Party of Germany must concentrate all its attention upon this task, it must speak out loudly in correction of the past mistakes. It must gain the full confidence of the workers by a frank and open change in policy from the top to the bottom. That is the way to establish the fighting, united front on the class for revolutionary action.

The silence of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International, of the American party must be broken. Workers, revolutionists, bombard your Communist party and revolutionary organizations with demands that the Comintern speak out, that the Soviet leadership give its message in this hour of need to the working class of the world that the Communist Party of Germany act decisively!

Demand the complete and open adoption of the Leninist United Front! Demand that the Communist Party of Germany put the reformist leaders to the test in action! The day of big battles is right at hand.

United working class action of the Communist and social democratic organizations must be posed in an international manner: a most intimate and concrete collaboration between the German working class and the U. S. S. R.

Upon such a basis the working class of the world will be rallied against reaction. Unity in action will make the workers' front invincible. There is the way to defeat Fascism. There lies the road to proletarian victory.

Workers, show your international solidarity!

Long live the World Revolution!

Communist League of America (Section of the International Left Opposition)  
NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

## After the German Elections

(Continued from page 1)

still lies ahead of us.

The Fascist bands are murdering workers, revolutionists in the streets of Germany. Raids are taking place on the Communist headquarters in town and hamlet. The leading proletarian militants are massacred by Hitler's Brown Shirts assassins (remember Koenigsberg!). The white terror is in full swing. From his Munich citadel, the German Mussolini is planning the march on Berlin.

The economic crisis tears on unabated. The ranks of the unemployed are still swelling. The productive apparatus of German capitalism is choking in its own vise. Utter subjugation of the wage slaves—that is the slogan of the German bourgeoisie. That is why capitalism in Germany depends for its life on the daggers of Fascism, directed against the German proletariat.

### Fascist Demands

The Fascists are demanding the suppression of the Communist party already. Von Schleicher, the de facto dictator of the Reich, the man who controls its military, is reaching out a hand to his Fascist friends, to help them into power. Civil war, war against the working class is on already. Fascism in power can and will only legalize it, unfurl it in full and extend it to the borders of the Soviet Union with the aid of the world imperialists.

The Hitlerite coup d'Etat—the form, whether "legal" or open, is of secondary importance—is the threat of the hour. The establishment of the fighting unity of the German proletariat is a question of do or die. United working class action against Fascism can and must be achieved. The task of achieving it rests upon the shoulders of the German Communist Party alone.

The lesson of Berlin-Brandenburg forebodes success for the Communists in the application of the Leninist united front tactic. The Leninist tactic must be carried out in full. Not partially, not in isolated cases, but all over and everywhere. Not only in Berlin-Brandenburg, but on a national scale. Not once, but at every step and stage. The social democratic betrayers only last week urged "order and discipline" upon their followers, urged them to "concentrate upon the elections". The elections have solved nothing for the workers and they know it. The influence of social democracy in the German working class has been shaken as never before. For the workers realize that determined class action, militant and forceful, is the demand of the hour.

—S. G.

## Nine Years of Struggle of the Left Opposition

## The Burning Questions of Bonapartism and Thermidor

History is rich in analogy and analogy is rich in instruction. The events of the day have their roots in the events of yesterday and the one can best be understood by understanding the other and making comparisons. And while events do not repeat themselves in the same manner, but under new conditions and with new social forces and people working to produce them, it is nevertheless true that only by knowing how to utilize the method of analogy can the processes of historical development be best understood.

In utilizing this method, one must of course know not only its great scope but also its limits. That it is sometimes abused is an argument only against the abuse of it. If it is rejected out of hand, then history has only the most narrowly academic significance. Every event must then be approached as if it were entirely unique, entirely dissimilar from anything that ever went before it, entirely disconnected from our yesterday, approached as if we were blind men groping for something without the benefit of the light thrown upon out of the past. Not only does such an approach make today unnecessarily difficult to understand, but it renders impossible an analysis of what tomorrow will bring.

### Two Great Revolutions

An analogy, invaluable for an understanding of the powerful forces at work in the Soviet Union, is offered us when the Russian revolution is compared to the great French revolution of the eighteenth century. It is true that we live in a different epoch, that the Russian revolution is proletarian, that it has at its disposal far more vigorous and substantial forces to maintain its victory to the end than did the revolution of 1793-1794. But history, observed Lenin, shows degenerations of all sorts, and

there is no mystic, automatic guarantee that the Russian revolution cannot meet with the same tragic defeat that was suffered by the Jacobins in France. To proclaim such a religious doctrine, which is foreign to the objective Marxian spirit, is in reality to drug the revolution into a spirit of false security and to facilitate the operation of the forces inimical to its preservation.

The Ninth of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) was the day on which the revolutionary Jacobins, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, Lebas—"the Bolsheviks of the French revolution"—were overthrown by a combination of the Right wing Jacobins, the vacillators and the royalist reaction. The guillotine which sent the 21 Jacobin intransigents to their death the next morning amid the insubling cries of the counter-revolutionary mob, thenceforth bit no longer into the reaction. On the contrary, the epoch of the Thermidorian Reaction was opened up, climaxed five and a half years later by the triumphant ascension to power of Bonapartism, the Eighteenth Brumaire of the ex-sansculotte, Napoleon.

The whole Thermidorian epoch is one of such sterility, such degeneration, such shame, that it is generally skipped over by historians, both revolutionary and conservative. Michelet as well as Kropotkin bring their histories of the revolution to an end with the Ninth of Thermidor. Yet this epoch of degradation is replete with illuminating lessons.

Thermidor is not the counter-revolution as it is ordinarily referred to—the naked, open counter-revolution of Napoleon, of Chiang Kai-Shek, of Kornilov. The Thermidorian transference of power to another class was accomplished by Jacobins, in the name of "true" Jacobinism, of the true revolution, presumably to save the revolution from its foes.

It was accomplished to all external appearances virtually under the same old flag, with the old watchwords scarcely altered. No claim was laid by the renegade Jacobins to any fundamental change; they pretended only—and many of them, no doubt, in all sincerity—that they were purging the revolution of a "few isolated individuals", of a "few aristocrats" who were undermining the united fatherland. In fact, the wretched Jacobins who had moved far away to the Right, ever closer to the Girondins, to the "Marsh", continued to write on the morning after the execution of Robespierre that "we have exterminated a handful of individuals who disturbed the tranquility of the party; now that they are dead, the revolution will finally triumph."

In its manifesto to the people of the revolutionary fatherland, issued after the execution of Robespierre, the Convention declared: "Citizens, in the midst of the brilliant victories gained over the foreign foe, a new peril threatens the Republic. . . . The work of the Convention will remain fruitless, the valor of the army will lose all its meaning, if the citizens hesitate to choose between the fatherland and a few isolated individuals. Hearken to the voice of the fatherland, do not take your place in the ranks of the malevolent aristocrats and the enemies of the people, and you shall once more save the fatherland!"

The "isolated individuals" to whom they referred were those who sought to preserve the real essence of the revolution, who responded the interests of the nethermost social classes against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, the royalists, the counter-revolution.

"Their enemies," writes the historian, Aulard, "were not content with having killed Robespierre and his friends; they calumniated them by depicting them to the eyes of France as royalists as people who had sold out to the foreigners."

The unwitting Thermidorians, the Right wing Jacobins who were blazing the trail for the genuinely counter-revolutionary Bonapartist dictatorship, denounced the men they executed, impris-

oned and banished, as "counter-revolutionists". Could an analogy be more startling? In a report he made on the Convention which condemned the Left wing Jacobins, Brival, one of the Right wingers, said:

"The intriguers, the counter-revolutionists who covered themselves with the toga of patriotism, sought to destroy liberty, the Convention has decided to put them under arrest; these representatives are Robespierre, Couthon, Saint-Just, Lebas, Robespierre the Younger."

Do not all these one hundred and fifty year-old words and acts have an astoundingly modern ring? The "counter-revolutionists" the "few individuals", the "malevolent aristocrats", the "royalist agents" (in those days they were the "agents of Pitt" just as they are today the "agents of Chamberlain")—do these designations require much change to become identical with the slanders directed against the Left Opposition today?

### Reasons for Thermidor

The Thermidorian reaction in France was made possible by a degeneration and corruption of the revolutionary party of that time—the Jacobin clubs. It was facilitated by the yearning for "peace and tranquility" of certain sections of the people and above all the politicians, wearied of revolutionary struggle, who were moving away to the Right. It gained impulsion from the pressure of royalists and reactionaries who had adapted themselves to revolutionary customs and speech to just the extent required by the times to save their hides from the wrath of the rising classes. The weak-kneed among the revolutionists yielded to the social pressure of the cunning among the reactionaries. The latter staked their cards upon the Right wing of the Jacobins to destroy the Left wing, and in the period of reaction which followed, all that remained of Jacobinism was destroyed and the Directory gave way to the naked and frank dictatorship of Napoleon. . . .

Such a process has been at work in the Soviet Union for many years now. The pedant who seeks an analogy of personalities, who identifies the execu-

tion of Robespierre with, let us say, the exiling of Trotsky, who hunts for identical occurrences and individuals in the two revolutions, will not only hunt in vain but will have missed the point entirely. At the head of the Russian revolution stands a proletariat, not a petty bourgeoisie mixed with artisans and a still amorphous working class. In the leadership stands a revolutionary Marxian party, steeped in proletarian revolutionary traditions, not an immature motley of Jacobin clubs. After the French revolution, a counter-revolutionary class took power which was able to rise and even to play a progressive role. The Russian revolution takes place in an epoch of the decay of world capitalism, when the leadership of the proletarian alone is progressive and can bring humanity forward. Factors like these form the limits of the analogy. But they do not eliminate it.

The Bolshevik party today is not the party which took power in October 1917. It has experienced a period of social and political reaction since the revolutionary wave broke on the defeat of the German October in 1923. Its doctrine has been sapped at the foundation, distorted and corroded. It has been swollen into a vast, shapeless mass by having hundreds of thousands of indiscriminately commanded workers and peasants poured into its ranks until it lost that distinctness and independence essential to a revolutionary party. It has been deprived of its principal functions by a usurpatory, bureaucratic apparatus, which raised itself above it and replaced it. Its revolutionary wing has been torn from it violently by the Thermidorian expulsions of the Left Opposition. For the free interplay of forces which can be controlled and checked by a trained party mass, has been substituted the manipulations of the apparatus which is itself manipulated, helplessly at times, by alien social forces pursuing their reactionary class aims through the channels of this apparatus. A Thermidorian corrosion has been eating away the vital organs of the party, and paralyzed it. (To be continued)

—MAX SHACHTMAN.



# Hands off Rosa Luxemburg

by LEON TROTSKY

Stalin's article, "On Some Questions in the History of Bolshevism" reached me after much delay. After receiving it, for a long time I could not force myself to read it, for such literature sticks in one's throat like saw-dust or mashed bristles. But still having finally read it, I came to the conclusion that one cannot ignore this performance, if only because there is included in it a vile and barefaced calumny about Rosa Luxemburg. This great revolutionist is enrolled by Stalin into the camp of Centrist! He proves—not proves, of course, but asserts—that Bolshevism from the day of its inception held to the line of a split with the Kautsky Center, while Rosa Luxemburg during the time sustained Kautsky from the Left. I quote his own words, "Long before the war, from about 1903-1904, when the Bolshevik group had formed in Russia and when Lefts first made themselves heard in the German social democracy, Lenin took the course toward a break, a split with the opportunists both at home, in the Russian social democratic party, and abroad in the II International, and the German Social Democracy in particular." That this, however, could not be achieved was due entirely to the fact that "the Left social democrats in the II International, and first of all, in the German social democracy composed a weak and impotent group . . . that was fearful even of uttering aloud the word, break, split." Such is the basic formulation of the article. Beginning with 1903, the Bolsheviks stood for a break not only with the Right but also with the Kautsky Center; while Rosa was afraid even to mention openly the word "split".

## STALIN'S IGNORANCE OF PARTY HISTORY

To put forward such an assertion, one must be absolutely ignorant of the history of one's own party, and first of all, of Lenin's ideological course. There is not a single word of truth in Stalin's point of departure. In 1903-1904, Lenin was, indeed, an irreconcilable foe of opportunism in the German social democracy. But he considered as opportunism only the revisionist trend, which was led theoretically by Bernstein.

Kautsky at the time was to be found fighting against Bernstein. Lenin considered Kautsky as his teacher and stressed this everywhere he could. In Lenin's work of that period, as well for a number of years following, one must find even a trace of criticism in principle directed against the trend of Bebel-Kautsky. Instead one finds a series of declarations to the effect that Bolshevism is not some sort of an independent trend, but is only a translation into the language of Russian conditions of the trend of Bebel-Kautsky. Here is what Lenin wrote in his famous pamphlet, "Two Tactics", in the middle of 1905, "When and where did I call the revisionism of Bebel and Kautsky 'opportunism'? When and where did any divergences come out into the open between me on the one hand and Bebel and Kautsky? . . . The complete solidarity of the international revolutionary social-democracy in all major questions of program and tactic is an incontrovertible fact." Lenin's words are so clear, precise, and categorical as to entirely exhaust the question.

A year and a half later, on December 7, 1906 Lenin wrote, in the article "The Crisis of Menshevism", ". . . From the very first (see 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Backwards') we affirmed that we are not creating any special sort of Bolshevik tendency; we only take our stand everywhere and at all times in defense of the point of view of the revolutionary social democracy. And within the social democracy, right up to the social revolution, there will inevitably be an opportunistic and a revolutionary wing."

Speaking of Menshevism, as the opportunistic wing of the social democracy, Lenin compared the Mensheviks not with Kautskism but with revisionism. Moreover he looked upon Bolshevism as the Russian form of Kautskism, which in his eyes was in that period identical with Marxism. The passage we have just quoted shows, incidentally, that Lenin did not at all stand absolutely for a split with the opportunists; he not only admitted but also considered "inevitable" the existence of the revisionists in the social democracy right up to the social revolution.

Two weeks later, on December 20, 1906, Lenin greeted enthusiastically Kautsky's answer to Plekhanov's questionnaire on the character of the Russian revolution, "What we have claimed—that our fight for the position of revolutionary social-democracy against opportunism, is in no manner whatsoever the creation of some 'original' Bolshevik tendency—has been completely confirmed by Kautsky. . . ."

Within these limits, I trust, the question is absolutely clear. According to Stalin, Lenin, even from 1903, had demanded a break in Germany with the opportunists, not only of the Right wing (Bernstein) but also of the Left (Kautsky). Whereas in December, 1906, Lenin as we see was proudly pointing out to Plekhanov and the Mensheviks that the trend of Kautsky in Germany and the trend of Bolshevism in Russia were identical. Such is part one of Stalin's excursion into the ideological history of Bolshevism. Our investigator's scrupulousness and his knowledge rest on the same plane!

## LENIN AND LUXEMBURG

Directly after his assertion regarding 1903-1904, Stalin makes a leap to 1918 and refers to Lenin's sharp criticism of the war pamphlet by Junius, i. e., Rosa Luxemburg. To be sure, in that period Lenin had already declared war to the finish against Kautskism, having drawn from his criticism all the neces-

## Reply to the Slandering of a Revolutionist

sary organizational conclusions. It is not to be gainsaid that Rosa Luxemburg did not pose the question of the struggle against Centristism with the requisite completeness—in this advantage were entirely on Lenin's side. But between October 1918, when Lenin wrote about Junius's pamphlet, and 1903, when Bolshevism had its inception, there is a lapse of thirteen years; in the course of the major part of this period Rosa Luxemburg was to be found in the Opposition to the Kautsky and Bebel C. C., and her fight against the formal, pedantic, and rotten-at-the-core "radicalism" of Kautsky took on an ever increasingly sharp character.

Lenin did not participate in this fight and did not support Rosa Luxemburg up to 1914. Passionately absorbed in Russian affairs, he preserved extreme caution in international matters. In Lenin's eyes Bebel and Kautsky stood immeasurably higher as revolutionists than in the eyes of Rosa Luxemburg, who observed them at closer range, in action, and who was much more directly subjected to the atmosphere of German politics.

The capitulation of the German social democracy on August 4 was entirely unexpected by Lenin. It is well known that the issue of the Vorwärts with the patriotic declaration of the social democratic faction was taken by Lenin to be a forgery by the German staff. Only after he was absolutely convinced of the awful truth, did he subject to revision his evaluation of the basic tendencies of the German social democracy, and while so doing, he performed that task in the Leninist manner, i. e., he finished it off once for all.

On October 27, 1914, Lenin wrote to A. Schliapnikov, ". . . I hate and despise Kautsky now more than all the rest, the filthy, vile and self-satisfied brood of hypocrites . . . R. Luxemburg was right, she long ago understood that Kautsky had the highly developed 'servility of a theoretician'—to put it more plainly, he was even a dunkey, a dunkey to opportunism." (Leninist Anthology, Vol. II, page 200, (my emphasis).)

Were there no other documents (and there are hundreds), these few lines alone could not unmistakably clarify the history of the question. Lenin deemed it necessary at the end of 1914 to inform one of the colleagues closest to him at the time, that "now", at the present moment, today, in contradistinction to the past, he "hates and despises" Kautsky. The sharpness of the phrase is an unmistakable indication of the extent to which Kautsky betrayed Lenin's hopes and expectations. No less vivid is the second phrase "R. Luxemburg was right,

she long ago understood that Kautsky had the highly developed 'servility of a theoretician' . . ." Lenin hastens here to recognize that "servility" which he did not see formerly, or which, at least, he did not recognize fully on Rosa Luxemburg's side.

Such are the chief chronological guideposts of the questions, which are at the same time important guide-posts of Lenin's political biography. The fact is indisputable that his ideological orbit is represented by a continually rising curve. But this only means that Lenin was not born Lenin full-fledged, as he is pictured by the slandering daubers of the "divine", but that he made himself Lenin. Lenin ever extended his horizons, he learned from others and daily drew himself to a higher plane than was his own yesterday. In this perseverance, in this stubborn resolution of a continual spiritual growth over his own self did his heroic spirit find its expression. If Lenin in 1903 had understood and formulated everything that was required for the coming times, then the remainder of his life would have consisted only of repetitions. In reality this was not at all the case. Stalin simply stamps the Stalinist imprint on Lenin and coins him into the petty small-change of numbered adages.

## LUXEMBURG'S STRUGGLE AGAINST KAUTSKY

In Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against Kautsky, especially in 1910-1914, an important place was occupied by the questions of war, militarism and pacifism. Kautsky defended the reformist program, limitations of armaments, international court, etc. Rosa Luxemburg fought decisively against this program as illusory. On this question, Lenin was in some doubt, but at a certain period he stood closer to Kautsky than to Rosa Luxemburg. From conversations at the time with Lenin I recall that the following argument of Kautsky made a great impression upon him: just as in domestic questions, reforms are products of the revolutionary class struggle, so in international relationships it is possible to fight for and to gain certain guarantees ("reforms") by means of the international class struggle. Lenin considered it entirely possible to support this position of Kautsky, provided that he, after the polemic with Rosa Luxemburg, turned upon the Rights (Noske and Co.). I do not undertake now to say from memory to what extent this circle of ideas found its expression in Lenin's articles: the question would require a particularly careful analysis. Neither can I take upon myself to assert from memory how soon Lenin's doubts on this question were settled. In any case they found their expression not only in conversations but also in correspondence. One of these letters is in the possession of Karl Radek. I deem it necessary to supply on this question evidence as a witness in order to attempt in this manner to save an exceptionally valuable document for the

time to come. In any case there cannot be even the shadow of a political reason for the concealment of a letter written two decades ago on a question that holds now only an historical interest. But it is precisely the historical value of the letter that is exceptionally great. It shows Lenin as he really was, and not as he is being recreated in their own semblance and image by the bureaucratic underheads, who pretend to infallibility. We ask, where is Lenin's letter to Radek? Lenin's letter must be where it belongs! Put it on the table of the party and of the Comintern!

If one were to take the disagreements between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg in their entirety, then the historical correctness is unconditionally on Lenin's side. But this does not exclude the fact that in certain questions, and during definite periods Rosa Luxemburg was correct as against Lenin. In any case, the disagreements despite their importance, and at times—their extreme sharpness, developed on the bases of revolutionary proletarian policies common to them both. (To be concluded).

## The Socialist Party and Unemployment

The Socialist party has written in some forty planks into its election program. Its promises run all the way from the abolition of child labor to "planned production and social control". The Socialist party is the party of gradualism. According to this conception they expect to gain all their demands, excluding the very last one, and then the capitalist system will have been so greatly reformed, that its abolition will be a mere triviality. In this, the Hill-quits claim, resides the "realism" of their program as opposed to the "fanaticism" of the Communists. But the very "realistic" German social democracy, the blood relations of the party of Thomas, Oneal and Lee have pursued their realistic program to the very end. And where has it led them? Into the camp of the road makers for Hitler's brown shirted hordes.

### The S. P. Program

The Socialist party has a "bold" program on unemployment. They advocate social insurance, the six hour day—five day week, as measures to relieve the suffering of the jobless. And they say further that the cause of unemployment is due to the capitalist system and will not be eradicated until the system itself is done away with. The economic crisis works wonders on the physiognomy of political parties. It gives the democratic party marks of resemblance to the socialist party, and makes the socialist party look somewhat like the Communists. But this is more apparent than real. All these parties have their specific place and specific function. The Communist party is the party of the working class, of the proletarian revolution. The socialist party is the third capitalist party which the bosses call upon when their old standbys have proven unequal to the task. This is easily proven, not by the radical-sounding words in their platform—the treacherous leaders of the S. P. are past masters at this trade—but by their deeds which always hurl the lie right back into their very glib mouths.

How are the unemployed to attain social insurance, and the shorter work week, according to the S. P.? By struggle? By mass action to force the capitalist class to grant them these burning necessities? No, heavens no! That's a Bolshevik method, and we Americans disdain to use imported Russian tactics. We stand by the constitution of the U. S., vote for us, and you, the workers, will get everything that your heart desires. Thus the Socialist party throughout its history—in place of action, the holy paper of the ballot box. This, in itself, constitutes outright treason to the working class. It is a trick to lull the workers into satisfied slumber all year round and to rely solely upon the

franchise on election day.

When, in the history of the labor movement in this or any country, has the capitalist class granted the workers one single thing except where they have been forced into it by mass pressure? The ballot box did not get even one iota of consideration. Why, the very right to vote for the expropriated masses was achieved through the force of working class power. The eight hour day was not attained by voting one party in and another out. The struggles that finally secured the eight hour day for the American workers, (one of the brightest pages in U. S. labor history) constitute the greatest denial of this fake teaching.

### Measuring of Ballot Box

The capitalist class well understands the significance of the ballot box. Votes are a clue to the strength of a party, but they do not indicate that the voters are anything else but a discontented, passive mass. It is strikes, demonstrations and huge movements that make the capitalist class sit up and take notice. The S. P. fears to embark upon this course. Thus, as an avowed party of reform, it can never gain any reforms at all.

But, if one wants further proof as to the real meaning of the promise of the S. P. for unemployment insurance and relief, he has only to look to Europe. There the Socialist parties have already had the honor to serve the bourgeoisie, in governmental capacity.

In Great Britain the last act of the late "labor" government is indicative of this fact. Faced by a growing deficit in the budget, the MacDonald-Henderson cabinet decided to save the capitalists from bankruptcy. How? By eliminating the allowance to the parasitic royal family? Oh, no! The Labour party leaders are the 'umble servants of his Majesty George V. No, their method was to place this burden on the shoulder of the proletariat, by cutting their already paltry dole.

We have even a more glaring instance in Germany. There the criminal leaders of the German S. D., on pretext that Brüning was preventing the advent of Fascism slashed the unemployment insurance several times, in the notorious emergency decrees. Thomas is shouting aloud about Fascism being prepared for America today. This is laughable. But the workers can rest assured that when Fascism actually threatens, he will bow his knee before the American Brüning.

But the Socialist party says that capitalism is the cause of unemployment. They propose the abolition of the system—by the ballot box. No forcible confiscation of property—they promise to the fearful petty bourgeoisie. When will they "abolish" the capitalist system?

theoretical biography of Lenin. In the autumn of 1926, at the time of our collective work over the platform of the Left Opposition, Radek showed Kameney, Zinoviev and myself—probably also to other comrades as well—a letter of Lenin to him (1911) which consisted of the defence of Kautsky's position against the criticism of the German Lefts. In accordance with the regulation passed by the C. C. Radek, like all others, should have delivered this letter to the Lenin Institute. But fearful lest it be hidden, if not destroyed in the Stalinist factory of fabrications, Radek decided on preserving the letter till some more opportune time. One cannot deny that there was some foundation to Radek's attitude. At present, however, Radek himself has—though not very responsible still quite an active-part in the work of producing political forgeries. Suffice it to recall that Radek, who in distinction to Stalin is acquainted with the history of Marxism, and who, at any rate, knows this letter of Lenin, found it possible to make a public statement of his solidarity with the insolent evaluation placed by Stalin on Rosa Luxemburg. The circumstance that Radek acted thereupon under Yaroslavsky's nod does not mitigate his guilt, for only despicable slaves can renounce the principles of Marxism in the name of the principles of the rod.

However the matter we are concerned with relates not to the personal characterization of Radek but to the fate of Lenin's letter. What happened to it? Is Radek hiding it even now from the Lenin Institute? Hardly. Most probably, he entrusted it, where it should be entrusted, as a tangible proof of an intangible devotion. And what lay in store for the letter thereafter? Is it preserved in Stalin's personal archives alongside with the documents that compromise his closest colleagues? Or is it destroyed as many other most precious documents of the party's past have been destroyed?

## WHERE IS LENIN'S LETTER TO RADEK?

In any case there cannot be even the shadow of a political reason for the concealment of a letter written two decades ago on a question that holds now only an historical interest. But it is precisely the historical value of the letter that is exceptionally great. It shows Lenin as he really was, and not as he is being recreated in their own semblance and image by the bureaucratic underheads, who pretend to infallibility. We ask, where is Lenin's letter to Radek? Lenin's letter must be where it belongs! Put it on the table of the party and of the Comintern!

If one were to take the disagreements between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg in their entirety, then the historical correctness is unconditionally on Lenin's side. But this does not exclude the fact that in certain questions, and during definite periods Rosa Luxemburg was correct as against Lenin. In any case, the disagreements despite their importance, and at times—their extreme sharpness, developed on the bases of revolutionary proletarian policies common to them both. (To be concluded).

Only when they get a parliamentary majority. The nearest the S. P. will get to this "revolutionary" act is to hold the reins of government for the bosses. Today they are already in the saddle in the city of Milwaukee. The same elections and police terror against the unemployed reigns in Milwaukee as in any city controlled by the democratic and the Republican parties. This is a signpost for the future. If the Republican and Democratic parties are outspoken representatives of Wall St., the Socialist party is its concealed, demagogic, radical-tongued servant. And as such it is all the more dangerous to the working class in its struggle for emancipation. A vote for the Communist party is an indication that you are aware of the heinous role of the S. P.

—CLARKE.

# Fascism-U. S. & German

It Was Discovered in U. S. and Ignored Where It Really Was

It is not correct to assume that the petty bourgeoisie, which formed the bulk of the troops of Fascism in Italy and Germany at its inception, are automatically guaranteed to support such a movement elsewhere, always and from the very outset. Fascism, attaining power in Italy, very swiftly demonstrated that the desperate hopes placed in it by the petty bourgeoisie as a defense against the big bourgeoisie, were grounded in nothing substantial. Mussolini very soon revealed the elementary political truth of the present epoch in particular: the petty bourgeoisie can play no independent role: it follows either the big bourgeoisie or the proletariat. In Italy, Fascism is the instrument of naked rule by the sword of the industrialists and the large landowners. Nor could it be otherwise. This disappointment of the illusions of the petty bourgeoisie causes many of them, particularly in other countries, to develop a certain hostility towards Fascism, which they envisage, and with a certain justification as the betrayer of their hopes for relief from the upper and nether millstones of the class struggle.

This hostility we see manifested in a small measure by the cries of fear uttered in this country by typical spokesmen for the petty bourgeoisie. In the United States, so thoroughly dominated by monopolist capitalism, the crisis has been extremely severe for the middle class citizen. The goliath of bureaucratic government, arch-representative of big capital, looms before him like some monstrous nightmare. At every repressive measure taken by the executive committee of the sovereign class, our petty bourgeois burgher utters a shriek of terror: "Fascism is growing in the United States! The government is turning Fascist! There is a Mussolini in the White House!"

## Dewey's Theory

The extent to which this "mistake in identity" has unfolded is surprising. John Dewey, the pathetic figure who is seeking to organize a third party of liberalism, rarely misses an opportunity to give vent to his theory about the growing movement of American Fascism. The Nation and the New Republic echo him along the whole scale of their feeble tones. The plagiarist par-excellence from the ideas of liberalism, social democracy and Stalinism, A. J. Muste, sings the same song of dread. Norman Thomas and the other member of the American socialist priesthood are of course also found in this motley chorus.

But this inability to make a distinction between the growth of repressive measures against the working class, violence and brutality used against it, on the one hand, and on the other hand Fascism, that is, the naked rule of the bourgeois dictatorship in which every fragment of the democratic raiment of capitalism has been ripped off completely, including the most elementary rights of the working class movement—does not originate with Dewey, Muste and Thomas. In this country, it is the contribution to political science made by the Daily Worker and its party directors.

The announcement that there is not merely a powerful Fascist movement already in existence in this country, but that it has virtually taken over the government, is an extravaganza originally displayed for the instruction of the American workers by Stalinism. In the light of the uninterrupted series of blunders made by the German party leaders in relation to Hitlerism in Germany, the theory of the American party leaders stands out in all the bolder stupidity—a striking revelation of the studied incompetence of the present-day leadership (save the mark) of the International.

Almost three years ago, with the outbreak of the crisis which was immedi-

ately followed by the futile conferences held by Hoover, the big industrialists and labor leaders, the Daily Worker suddenly announced that "the Communist Party and the most conscious sections of the working class—much more and more recognize the Communist party as their leader in all present-day struggles—accept the challenge of Hoover's National Fascist Council" (November 28, 1929). This in the leading editorial. And to make clear the extent to which the Stalinists considered that Fascism had already established its sway in this country, it was announced four days later, under the headline "Big Fascist Body Aimed at Workers—Act as Government", that "Out of the White House crisis conferences has grown a powerful Fascist organization . . . Hoover and his cohorts find the usual 'democratic' machinery of the capitalist state inadequate to meet the onrush of the growing crisis and have created this new, more facile machine to take over the most important functions of the capitalist government at the present time . . . The Fascist nature of the agrarian-imperialist-labor body makes it more useful to the capitalists than their existing state machinery" (November 30, 1929.)

## Fascism Is the Government in U. S.!

If the English language has any meaning at all, the Daily Worker was seeking to convey to its readers the idea that the "ordinary democratic" state machinery of the bourgeoisie was no longer serviceable to it and that a Fascist council was now acting as the government.

Another few days later, a headline announced that "Congress Takes Back Seat For Fascist Council", and the article read: "Congress, which meets next week, will be merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping. Hoover will act as the executive of the Fascist economic council, and attempt very little through Congress in the present crisis" (December 2, 1929). "Organization is rapidly growing," boasted the Worker on December 5, "to meet the threatened drives of Hoover's Fascist state apparatus."

Plainer speech could not be asked for. A Fascist council had been organized in America. It was already the state apparatus. The "usual democratic" Congress was "merely an appendage to the new Fascist, capitalist grouping". Triumphant Italian Fascism has not achieved very much more than this in order to establish the dictatorship of the Black Shirts.

## In England Too!

But not merely in the United States, with the boldness of conception and sweep that characterizes genius and insanity alike, the Daily Worker proceeded to overrun Great Britain as well with its brand of Fascism-turned-out-on-the-editorial-typewriter-while-you-wait. On December 5, 1929, a news story announced "the swift transformation of MacDonald's government into Fascism thinly disguised as a 'Council of State' to meet the economic emergency". The editorial writer on the first page of the same issue (about three years ago, remember! What foresight! What prophetic gifts!) : "Following the example of its world-rival, the United States, the British capitalist class has begun organizing for an open Fascist dictatorship to replace the famous British 'democracy' . . . Ramsay MacDonald and the 'Labor' party's function is precisely to prepare the way for the open Fascist dictatorship in England."

But enough is enough. Even an ordinary doctor, not to speak of an intelligent Communist, knows that the stomach can stand just so much and no more. In November-December 1929, the American Stalinist crystal-gazers had hoisted Fascism into power in the United States and were swinging it into the same seat in England. Outstripping the wildest phantasmagorias of fear which possess the frightened soul of John Dewey, they saw the monster of Fascism (to say nothing of "social Fascism") in the United States, in England, in Abyssinia, in Iceland, everywhere, in short, except where it really was: Germany!

## And Germany?

In Germany, where Fascism was on the march, where it was growing stronger by leaps and bounds, where it was unfolding into a hideous menace to the working class—the Stalinists at first denied it altogether, then they ignored it with a wave of the hand, then they proclaimed that it had reached the heights of its strength, then they entered into a vulgar competition-in-nationalism with it—to the present day, when they are still ignorant about how to crush it, after having allowed it to assume the proportions it has. Fascism was not a danger in Germany; no, only in the United States and England. Fascism was not the danger in Germany; no, only "social Fascism", the "specific form", according to the gifted Bela Kun at the 10th Plenum, which Fascism assumes in the highly developed industrial countries.

Isn't this little contrast a dazzling tribute to the wisdom, the foresight, the perspicacity, the discrimination, the infallibility of the present Stalinist leadership, nationally and internationally? A meteorologist who persistently predicted snowstorms in the Sahara Desert and hot spells at the North Pole, who announced squalls for a sunny Tuesday and sunshine for a rain-drenched Friday—has a place set aside for him as a member of the Political Bureau of the party. He will fit it like a glove.

—S.

## LEON TROTSKY

# WHAT NEXT?

### Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

BRANDLER?

NATIONAL SOCIALISM?

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY?

RED STRATEGY?

SEYDOWITZ?

SOVIET UNION?

PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION?

HILFENDECK?

RED ARMY?

CENTRISM?

FASCISM?

STALIN?

HINDENBURG?

LEFT OPPOSITION?

ULTIMATISM?

THAERMANN?

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