



! MUST SPEAK OUT.

## Warns Party on Germany

Leading C.P. Member Appeals for United Front against Hitlerism

To the Members of Unit 2, Sec. 3  
To the Party Members of Dist. Two  
To the Central Executive Committee  
of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.  
Comrades:

The latest events in Germany make it impossible for me to remain silent any longer. The coming into power of Von Papen, the dictatorial action of Hindenburg in Prussia, the direct aid given by the government to the Fascists ("National Socialists")—lifting of the uniform ban, special permits for demonstrations, suppressing of the working class press, etc., in their attacks against the workers—are unmistakable danger signals for every conscious revolutionist.

### At the Brink of the Abyss

The ruthless military dictatorship established by the reactionary Junkers is pushing Germany to the brink of the Fascist abyss. A disunited German working class is facing an increasingly arrogant and confident army of Fascism marching to power. Germany is already in the midst of a civil war. The bloodthirsty hordes of Hitlerism are on the streets, shooting down the militant workers, creating an atmosphere of terrorism, while behind the scenes the final preparations are being made to drive the Communist party underground and—for the seizure of power by Fascism. The government of Von Papen is only a stop-gap. It is there only to clear the path for the triumph of Hitler.

The victory of Fascism is a horrible event to contemplate! We know already from the tragic experience of the Italian working class what it has meant in the past. If it comes to power in Germany, the consequences would be much greater. Hitler in power means the crushing of the Communist movement. It means the wiping out of every other working class institution. It means a set-back for the whole proletarian movement, throughout Europe and the rest of the world. It means the beginning of a new and lengthy period of reaction everywhere, the strengthening of the bourgeoisie in every country. It means that our proletarian fatherland, the Soviet Union, is directly and immediately menaced by the strangulating bloc of reactionary nations all along its western frontiers.

In a civil war, in a fight between the classes in Germany, all of the imperialists will undoubtedly take the side of Hitler against the workers. They will extend the fight against the German workers to a struggle against the international working class, and in the first place—against the U. S. S. R. Hitler would be the outstanding military agent of world imperialism in a war to crush the workers' republic.

### Arouse the Working Class!

To arouse the working class of Germany and of the rest of the world to the imminent danger of Fascism immediately, to crush Hitler before he comes into power—that is the task of the hour, if the revolutionists are to defend the interests of the world proletariat, and above all—to defend the Soviet Union.

But this is just where the tragedy lies at the present moment. When Fascism threatened in Italy, Lenin and the whole C. I. left no stone unturned to arouse the working class of the world against the danger. Now, when far greater dangers to the proletariat are involved, our world leadership, the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, are silent. No burning appeal—one that would stir the Communists into action—has come from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Our press, particularly our central organ, the *Daily Worker*, has maintained a virtual silence on the threatening developments in Germany, bringing only scant news reports. The party has not even attempted to awaken the American working class to the terrible danger that impends. Not a single leaflet has been issued on the subject of Fascism moving toward power. Not a single mass meeting has been arranged to arouse the interests and activity of the American workers. Not even the party membership has been awakened!

### "I Must Speak Out Now"

That is why I feel that I must speak out now as loudly as I can in an attempt to arouse my party comrades to the danger that threatens, so that we may be able to fulfill our duties as international revolutionists. In this declaration, I am moved only by the deep interests of the proletarian revolution and of my Communist party, to which I have belonged and which I have served loyally for many years, and in many struggles. The first obligation of an internationalist is to arouse the active interest and participation of the workers in the life and struggles of the comrades in the other countries.

Trotsky first indicated in his pamphlets "The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation" and especially "Germany—The Key to the International Situation"—the great seriousness of the Fascist danger, the mistake of looking upon Fascism as a movement that will swiftly disintegrate. He and the Left Opposition pointed out the

serious danger of confusing the workers by throwing the Fascists and the reformists into one pot under the theory of "Social Fascism". They correctly restated from the first the Leninist policy of the united front in the struggle against Fascism.

My studies and observations have brought me to the following serious conclusions: The viewpoint of Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the German situation has been fully confirmed by the events. It is now absolutely necessary to give full attention to this viewpoint and to discuss it, so that our party and our international may draw immediately and without delay the greatest benefits from it.

### The Party's False Course

Our party leadership in Germany and the C. I. have been following a false and dangerous course toward the danger of Fascism on the one hand, and the social democracy on the other. While the Fascist danger was minimized for a long time, the party continued to set up a wall between itself and the socialist workers by the theory and practice of "Social Fascism". Instead of proposing a united front of all the workers against the onward march of Hitler's bands, our party compromised itself with the slogan of "National and Social Emancipation" and by its active support to the Hitlerite referendum (July 1931) in Prussia. Our party played into the hands of Fascism by this policy and made it possible for the social democratic traitors to continue their murderous policy (Continued on page 3)

## Seb. Pappas Expelled

As we go to press, we learn from the *Daily Worker* of the expulsion of Sebastian Pappas, leading Communist militant and strike leader in many of the battles of the Food Workers Industrial Union. Pappas is expelled from the Communist Party of the U. S. A. "as a Trotskyite and a disruptive element".

The specific charge against him is that he "recently issued a letter to the party, hundred of copies of which were printed and distributed to party and non-party workers. In his letter he not only disavowed but attacked the line of the party. He accused the Party leadership and the Comintern of following a false and dangerous course toward Fascism and social democracy. He proposes that the Party and the Comintern make an open demand for united front with the social Fascist leaders and disavows with the party's estimation of the social democratic leaders as social Fascists." (*Daily Worker* of Thursday August 18, 1932.)

### Stalinist Silence Broken

The expulsion of Pappas follows upon a whirlwind change in the attitude of the party leadership toward the German situation. It is only today, on Friday, August 19, that the party is first calling a mass meeting on the danger in Germany at the Central Opera House in New York. The change has undoubtedly been brought about by the intense campaign on Germany of the Left Opposition and particularly by the response this campaign is receiving inside the official Communist party itself, as evidenced by the Pappas letter. Not only has this mass meeting been called, but more than that, the apparatus of the Stalinist bureaucracy has been thoroughly alarmed and has seen itself forced to call special functions meetings to take up the German situation.

The statement announcing the expulsion of comrade Sebastian Pappas does not, as will be observed, even make an attempt to take up any arguments, it does not even mention the word Germany, the word war danger, which run through the Pappas letter like a red thread. The Stalinist bureaucrats mean to suppress the revolutionary alarm cry sounded by comrade Pappas and to drown it out with filthy catcalls and by hasty, insincere and half-way concessions to the demand made in the letter.

The Left Opposition greets the action of comrade Pappas as a courageous and important step in support of the revolutionary reawakening of the Communist party and the Comintern, as first aid within the American official party to the cause of the German revolution and proletarian internationalism.

The party document of comrade Pappas, which the bureaucrats of the Stalinist apparatus are attempting to hush up, is in the first column. Let the Communist workers judge for themselves!

## THE ONLY ROAD VON PAPEN & HITLER BONAPARTISM AND FASCISM

By Leon Trotsky

Let us endeavor briefly to realize what has occurred and where we stand.

Thanks to the social democracy, the Brüning government had at its disposal the support of the parliament for ruling with the aid of emergency decrees. The social democratic leaders said: "In this manner we shall block the road to power of Fascism." The Stalinist bureaucracy said: "No, Fascism has already triumphed, it is the Brüning regime which is Fascism." Both were false. The social democrats palmed off a passive receding before Fascism as the struggle against Fascism. The Stalinists presented the matter as if the victory of Fascism was already behind them. The fighting power of the proletariat was sapped by both sides and the triumph of the enemy facilitated and brought closer.

In its time, we designated the Brüning government as Bonapartism ("caricature of Bonapartism"), that is, as a regime of the military-police dictatorship. As soon as the struggle of two social strata—the haves and the have-nots, the exploiter and the exploited—reaches its highest tension, the conditions are given for the domination of bureaucracy, police, soldiery. The government becomes "independent" of society. Let us once more recall: if two forks are stuck symmetrically into a cork, the latter can stand even on the head of a pin. That's precisely the schema of Bonapartism. To be sure, such a government does not cease being the clerk of the property-owners. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, (Continued on page 4)

## Opposition Campaign On Germany

With the rising tide of Fascism in Germany and the enormous crime being concocted in the Stalinist kitchens the Left Opposition has been struggling to discharge the great tasks imposed on it by the historic situation. The League has opened a national campaign of mass meetings in an attempt with the forces at its disposal to reach the masses of workers who are instinctively watching the development of the German situation with the greatest interest. We have printed and are distributing thirty-two thousand leaflets stating our position on the German situation.

### Yorkville Meeting

In New York City we have increased the number of our street meetings in addition to our other activities. Recently we have broken into new territory where we have shown the face of the Left Opposition for the first time and delivered our message. In Yorkville which has a large German population we have held a number of successful meetings. The last one was attended by between three and four hundred workers. They listened attentively to the speakers' analysis of the German situation, the unspeakable, despicably treacherous role of the degenerate social democracy, the fatal policy of the central committee of the German C. P., the cowardly and treacherous silence of the Stalinist Comintern, and what must be done if the workers are not to be deluged in a frightful blood bath.

They found nothing "counter-revolutionary" in what we said, asked a number of questions which revealed their intense interest in the German situation and their slowly growing grasp of the nature and role of the International Left. So systematic were they that when late-comers, party members on their way home from other meetings, tried to disrupt our meeting by heckling they warned the misguided party members to keep quiet and listen.

### Brownsville Meeting

More recently we broke new territory in a section of Brooklyn, the outskirts of Brownsville. We spoke to an interested audience of about a hundred workers who appeared to be impressed by our position on the German situation, asked

many questions and bought our literature.

Not all of our meetings have been as successful as the two just reported. Last Saturday, August 13, our meeting at Avenue A and Seventh Street was broken up by an organized gang of party members and members of the local Unemployed Council which is situated a few doors away. From the account which follows it can be seen that they were whipped into a lynch spirit by the party bureaucrats in retaliation for the powerful blows we have dealt them at the Anti-War Conference and in connection with the German situation. Not since the battles in the Labor Temple in the early days of the Opposition and the tours of comrade Cannon and Shachtman has an Opposition meeting been broken up with such premeditated and organized violence.

The meeting was one organized by us in our regular schedule of speaking activities. Comrades Milton, Carmody, Glee and Wynne attempted to open the meeting with comrade Milton on the speaker's stand distributing our leaflet on the German situation. In a few minutes a crowd of more than one hundred workers gathered around the stand to listen to the speaker. Across the street a party bureaucrat mustered his misguided gang. Suddenly they rushed across to the stand, snatched our literature, hurled comrade Milton from the stand and overthrew it.

To the credit of some party members it must be said that they protested verbally against such gangster tactics, and a few even attempted to assist our comrades physically. One Y. C. Ler said in the heat of his indignation that he was going to resign from the Y. C. L. Our comrades retired to another corner with the platform to await help for which one comrade was sent. When all the comrades that could be mustered on short notice had assembled, a short meeting among themselves was held to organize the defense of the meeting. Our comrades then returned to the corner from which they had been driven, in a second attempt to hold the meeting.

They set up the platform unmolested amid an ominous silence. By this time the crowd has grown to more than five

## Illinois Miners Revolt Spreads Thru State

Thousands of Miners on Strike against Lewis Machine and Wage-Cuts

The Illinois miners' struggle has sustained its first victim. Joe Colbert, president of Local 303, Orient, Illinois, was murdered in cold blood by Lewis Walker gunning from an automobile in front of his home.

Joe Colbert was known as one of the staunchest militants. He held a long record of fight against the corrupt Lewis machine. He acted as chairman of the miners revolt mass meeting at Benld, Ill., at which the present strike found its organizational initiation. Colbert held his post in the ranks to the last. He died fighting. All honor to the fallen militant!

The Illinois coal fields are again seething with revolt spreading throughout the various sections and directed against the most brazen official treachery yet recorded. A powerful rank and file move-

ment has sprung up in which the young militant miner Gerry Allard is one of the leading spirits, gigantic mass meetings have been held from which marches are being organized to close down the mines which reopened under the operators' reduced scale of wages.

Since April first, the Illinois miners have been on strike refusing to return from the basic wage scale of \$6.10 per day formerly obtaining. The operators called it a suspension and meanwhile prepared to have their trusted agents in control of the union, John L. Lewis and his handmaid, "weeping" Johnny Walker, make all arrangements ready for the treacherous sell-out. A new contract with a reduced basic wage scale was offered. It was submitted to a referendum and defeated by a vote of more than 20 to 1. But this did not at all deter the official leeches. They had more ways than one to attempt to defeat the will of the rank and file and pursue their deadly work of destroying the union. So they arranged to have the tabulated tally sheets of the referendum vote stolen, declared an emergency, signed a new contract providing for a \$5.00-a-day basic wage scale and manipulated a counterfeit referendum vote, which they now "confidently expect to be carried."

### Life of Union At Stake

It is this new outrageous action which gave the signal for the present revolt movement. The rank and file is once more taking matters into their own hands. They know only one method and when set into motion they do not hesitate. Their method is the one of militant fighting fully recognizing their class enemy. In that lies their strength. They have learned from many bitter experiences that the union officials have long ago become part and parcel of the enemy class, ready, at every favorable opportunity, to do its bidding and yet, these officials, skillful in the art of treason, have succeeded again and again to circumvent their militancy and to inflict heavy defeats upon them step by step reducing the union. Now it is the very life of the union itself which is at stake.

The Illinois coal fields harbor the last stronghold of the United Mine Workers of America, and practically the last of the organized miners' movement which, thoroughly proletarian in composition, has established such a glorious tradition in American labor history. It is due to the indomitable spirit of the rank and file, despite wreckage of treason inflicted upon them, that they have been able to preserve an organization. But the biggest job still lies ahead of them. There can now be no thought whatever of further preserving the union until that job is finished, until the whole crew of corrupt officialdom is completely cleaned out. In this sense the movement must be clear on its double aim, viz: To defeat the attempts of the operators to further reduce the now miserable standard of living prevailing and to clean out, root and branch, their agents in the official union positions.

### Extent of Present Movement

There are good indications that such is actually the aim of the present movement. Despite the great confusion deliberately provoked by the whole method of defeating and betraying the referendum vote, the opposition to the sell-out is rapidly organizing. Reports at this stage of developments are still somewhat unclear, but it appears that everywhere the local unions are meeting and deciding to reject the put-over agreement and to prevent the mines from resuming operation by throwing strong picket lines around them. In rapid succession the locals are falling in line with most of the sub districts remaining solid on strike.

A mass meeting in Benld had an at- (Continued on page 3)

## New York Tailors on Strike

This article was written a few days after the stoppage was declared. At the present moment when we are going to press most of the workers are back in the shops. Hillman has carried out his program completely. Wage cuts have been foisted upon the tailors in most shops. In addition a 5% and 10% tax has been levied on them. Hillman has thru this stoppage strengthened his hold on the New York organization. The tailors have suffered another defeat and gained a little more experience with Hillman's treachery.

A stoppage has been declared in the New York Clothing shops. The ostensible purpose of this stoppage, as presented by the A. C. W. officialdom, is the enforcement of the following demands: (1) stop wage cutting; (2) stop the exodus of bundles to sweat shops; (3) re-establish union control of labor conditions in plants in which such control is now lacking.

After the experience of the New York clothing workers with last year's stoppage, called for similar purposes, and ending in a general wage cut and worsened conditions, the tailors had no reasons to believe that the present stoppage will bring them any improvement in their conditions. Moreover, the whole atmosphere surrounding the preparations for the stoppage are extraordinarily peculiar. Only a couple of weeks ago the New York Joint Board of the A. C. W. decided to give the officialdom a free hand in granting reductions to the manu-

facturers, considering the situation unfavorable and even disastrous for a strike.

### Hillman Grants Cuts

The biggest shops of the Clothiers' Exchange received considerable wage cuts amounting in some cases to 25%. What is the purpose, then, of this sudden general stoppage? Despite these suspicious circumstances, the masses of tailors left their shops, manifesting tremendous courage on the picket lines, conducting a heroic fight against the scab expressmen and the police, exposing their bodies to the police clubs and bullets. Only their intolerable conditions and their desperation can explain this fact. The tailors in this stoppage, just as in last year's, looking for a way out of their misery, have clutched at this stoppage as a drowning man grasps at (Continued on page 3)

## August 22: Fifth Anniversary of the Murder of Sacco-Vanzetti

Five years ago, at midnight of August 22, 1927, two revolutionists of immortal memory were martyred in the electric chair in Boston at the hands of the bloodthirsty bourgeoisie of the United States. The legal murder of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti was relentlessly executed after millions of workers throughout the world had raised their voices in behalf of the two Italian anarchist workers. Supremely contemptuous of these protests, the executioners

took their toll of these workers who had dared commit the crime of loyalty and devotion to their class.

Five years afterward, another legal murder is being prepared, this time against the Negro boys in Scottsboro. The voices of Sacco and Vanzetti, which are not still even in death, call out to the working class of the world to join hands in a ring of solidarity around these boys which will break the death clutch reaching out to assassinate them. The scores of

militants still imprisoned are the blood-brothers of Sacco and Vanzetti and a heavy obligation lies upon the working class to free them: Mooney, Billings, the Centralla men, the Communists throughout the country.

Remember Sacco and Vanzetti, shining martyrs of the proletariat!

Unite in millions to save the Scottsboro boys from murder!

Join hands to liberate our political prisoners!



## Stalinists Split Trade Unions in Spain

### Third T. U. Center Formed

We reproduce below extracts from the circular issued by our Spanish comrades relative to the creation in Spain of a third "trade union center."

Comrades:

Against the will of the existing trade union centers, against the will of the Spanish workers, against the interests of the Spanish proletariat and even against the very interests of the trade union unity of the Spanish working class—just as we foresaw and forewarned—the criminal act has been perpetrated of creating a third trade union center, which will even more divide the forces of the Spanish proletariat precisely at the moment when it is more necessary than ever to achieve the unification of all workers. The Stalinist bureaucracy has realized its arbitrary aim.

It will be said that the Conference of Madrid has been an enormous success, it will be claimed that it was not a matter of creating a new trade union center. But in reality, underneath the words, we have seen the culmination of a split in the name of unity, in order to give satisfaction to the ambitions of some and in order to secure their positions. No matter what name is given to what has been perpetrated at Madrid, the fact remains that the conference created an organism called the "Unitary General Labor Confederation."

#### Conference a Swindle

The Madrid Conference was a swindle carried out on the working class. In the first place, why was it proclaimed that it would be held with the aim of making a decisive step toward trade union unity? Secondly, why, in order to justify a splitting act (which has been realized) have thousands of adherents been invented which have never existed and do not exist today? Two or three examples will clarify the matter. The Association of Commercial Employees of Madrid figures on the list of those that attended at the conference with 900 members. The Spanish Tobacco Workers Federation, with 18,000. It is quite certain that both of these organizations, after the conference, will break off all relations with the splitting elements. The Unitary Federation of Asturian Miners, of which it has been said at the conference that it represented close to 10,000 members, in reality does not number more than 2,000 ever since it has come under the leadership of elements from the official party. In this manner all the figures have been puffed up to prove that numerous unions with thousands of members belong to the new trade union center.

All argumentation attempted against these facts is futile and false. What the Left Opposition has warned against from the first has been confirmed by the acts. The trade union split has become a reality. The conference was an obvious organizational defeat. The workers were not represented at it because they knew what was going to be brought about. All this, which should have sufficed for some of the leaders more conscientious about their responsibilities to change their attitude, has, on the contrary, given our Stalinists the pretext to consider this conference as a success unprecedented in the history of the Spanish labor movement.

#### Opposition Fights in Trade Unions

We have said what in our opinion constitutes the correct manner of arriving at the unification of all the Spanish trade union forces by normal means—by beginning with the penetration of the unions for the purpose of propagating our revolutionary and unitary points of view. That is why, in spite of the splitting action of the elements who convoked the conference in question, the militants of the Communist Left will remain within the trade unions and will fight inside of

them for the unification of the trade union forces in the only possible manner, that is, by bringing the autonomous unions into the C. N. T. (the class struggle trade union center) and by fighting that all the expelled militants, whether expelled through the sectarianism of the anarchists or through the adventurous policy carried on by the official C. P., be readmitted.

The Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Left knows that in the future the struggle inside the trade unions will become sharper and will be made even more difficult and painful, precisely because of the state of split of which we have been speaking. The Stalinist elements bear the principal responsibility in this question insofar as they have contributed more than anything else to exhaust all spirits and all efforts, especially within the C. N. T.

The working class must be aroused against the maneuvers of those who place above the interests of the proletarian organizations the interests of their jobs and servile obedience to those who hand out the pay. A fratricidal struggle is being started in the trade unions. In order to achieve the thing which the masses mock at as a miserable abortion of a new trade union center, the trade union movement is to be enfeebled and the working class disarmed before the enemy!

In the struggle to prevent these consequences, the Spanish Communist Left will occupy the first place, by demonstrating that we have nothing in common with those who in this case have proved to be the avowed enemies of trade union unity.

Against the splitters! Against this new trade union center, created and dressed up in a hypocritical mask! For the revolutionary trade union unity of the Spanish proletariat! For the consolidation of the C. N. T. and for the struggle to change the orientation which still remains the same—inside of the organization. Madrid, July 5, 1932.

## Letter to the Zurich Workers

(Continued from page 4)

democracy is concealing its task of treachery with calumnies against the proletarian revolution. It is undermining the authority of the workers' state to the great profit of the authority of the bourgeois state by placing on the same level the violence of the revolution and the violence of reaction.

I hope that every Zurich worker, the social democratic worker included, will deeply reflect upon these events and upon the role which the social democratic leaders have played in them in order to draw the necessary political conclusions. Only then will we be able to say that the June victims will not have been sacrificed in vain.

LEON TROTSKY.  
Prinkipo, June 25, 1932.

#### BOUND VOLUMES OF COMRADE TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS

So many comrades and sympathizers come in and write in for comrade Trotsky's brilliant pamphlet, "The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany", that we want to announce again that this pamphlet together with "The Draft Program of the Comintern" and "World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan" are out of print and available only in the bound volumes of Trotsky's pamphlets.

The number of these bound volumes is small and slowly diminishing. We watch them go with mingled feelings: happy to see them reach workers who will study them and carefully weigh their contents; sorry to realize that with each one we are getting closer to the point of being unable to supply what we consider the texts of the future cadres of the revolutionary movement. But we have no choice and since we must strike a balance we advise all our readers and sympathizers who have not done so yet to buy their copies at once before it is too late.

# Bolshevik-Leninists Head Miners Strike in Belgium

## Left Oppositionists on the Charleroi Firing Line!

#### Bulletin:

Our heroic comrades Lesoli, Huet, Vanderborcht, Henin and Lebrun are languishing in the jails of Belgian capitalism. Mad with fury over the success of the strike, the bourgeoisie is seeking vengeance, in an attempt to enfold our comrades in one of its infamous "conspiracy trials".

But they will not stop our advance. The meetings of the Left Opposition are packed to the doors. The circulation of our Belgian paper, *La Voix Communiste*, has been quadrupled. The Left Opposition which has showed its ability to create the united front of the striking workers is on the lips of all and sundry.

In Belgium, in Spain, in China, in Hungary, in Greece, everywhere the Left Oppositionists are in the forefront on the firing line, facing bourgeois repression. This is the true face of the Bolshevik-Leninists, whom the miserable mercenaries of the Stalinist bureaucracy characterize as "the vanguard of the counter-revolution!"

#### A Letter from our Charleroi Comrades

Dear comrades:

As you have possibly seen from the press reports, we have passed through some very significant events in the history of the Belgian labor movement. Mainly—in Hainant, Mons, Le Centre, Charleroi.

We wish to report here as briefly as possible but with all desirable clarity several essential details of this battle, which has superseded in its energy all the struggles of the past. In this report we will naturally describe the circumstances which brought the Communist Left Opposition to the head of the column in the struggle of the unions.

#### The Miners' Situation

The situation of the Belgian miners had sunk to a level of misery and deprivation which they could no longer endure. For some time great dissatisfaction has been current without finding any means of expression. The diplomacy of the trade union leadership succeeded to the last day in suppressing this need and in carrying through all of the proposals of the employers for wage cuts, one after another. In Le Borinage, the presumptuousness of the bosses gets its first shock. The poor standard of living, the spreading strike and the newly planned wage reductions serve to stir up unrest among the miners participating in an isolated strike. The social democratic leaders maneuver desperately to localize the conflict, which in spite of everything, expands over the entire region. In this manner, the leaders of the district center of the reformist miners are forced to declare a strike. The militant spirit rises swiftly. The miners of the Borinage, who know that, isolated, without the support of the miners in the rest of the country, they will be defeated, occupy Le Centre, march forward toward Charleroi, to call upon all for solidarity in the struggle. The federation of the Chevaliers du Travail (Knights of Labor) quickly issues a call on the evening of July 8, appealing to the miners in all the pits to show their solidarity and to establish a program of action. Monster mass meetings are called. The immediate declaration of the general strike is decided. The miners in every pit prevent the transport of coal right in the middle of the night—a thing that has never yet happened in the Belgian labor movement. The miners demand lamps, go down into the shafts, persuade their comrades to lay down their tools and proclaim the general strike in the places of work. In the morning the strike is universal in the mines, in the metal industry and in all the other labor unions. The worker has had enough of misery, he wants to banish it by struggle.

The activity of the working masses rises everywhere, monster demonstrations take place, calling for the stoppage of all work and for a drive to victory. The leadership of the movement in the Charleroi district lay in the hands of the Chevaliers du Travail, led in its entirety and completely under the influence of the Communist Left Opposition.

#### The Bourgeoisie Acts

Against the militant zeal and will of the masses to go through to the bitter end, the bourgeoisie employed radical

means—prohibition of all demonstrations, of gatherings of more than five persons, of all vehicular traffic. In spite of the police apparatus, equipped with machine guns and supported by the military, the proletariat declared its will to demonstrate. But unfortunately, the provocations of the police did not permit this to go on very long. And soon fierce battles ensued, barricades and little forts were erected against the armed forces. Everywhere, our Opposition comrades stood at the head of the struggle.

The socialist leaders of the trade unions had shut themselves in, in their *Maisons du Peuple*, their citadels, in fear of the wrath of the thousands of workers who wanted to confront their leaders. Even Vanderveelde could not get their attention and called for the police, fleeing shamefully under the protection of the bourgeois powers. Then police were posted in front of the reformist citadels, to guard them against the workers who had wanted to storm them. In the *Maison du Peuple* at Gilly, the center of the revolutionary forces, the police forced their way through to the bureau, to chase out the workers and had the soldiers clear the nearby buildings.

Signs of the times! The workers awakening! A new stage begins. The socialists beat a retreat. The influence of the Communist Left Opposition is on the increase in the region of Charleroi.

#### Opposition Progress

Under this threat to the bourgeoisie—it is not over yet—numerous arrests were made among the Communist elements. From the ranks of the Oppositionists, our comrades Lesoli, Huet, Vanderborcht, Henin and Lebrun were arrested. At the present moment, that is quite an unsavory bargain. But we shall do all that is necessary to see that our paper, *La Voix Communiste* (The Communist Voice) appears twice a week.

Now, when the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the social democrats, demand the heads of the active elements, who for the most part belong to the federation of the Chevaliers du Travail (miners), the socialists are coming out of their cellars. They are returning to the strikers and are attempting to get the workers under their control. They are making parliamentary maneuvers with the bourgeoisie, achieving only wretched promises, which in the last analysis can change nothing in the situation of the proletariat. Above all, they are attempting to instigate the strikers to return to work. It still remains to be seen what the workers will do about these new proposals of capitulation which are being made by the three big parties, the Catholics, the Liberals and the Socialists.

But these are only plasters on a wooden leg which will break again and once more reveal the really deep contradictions of a regime which can never satisfy the demands of the working class.

The winds in our sails and although we have momentarily been weakened by the many arrests, our activity will go on as always. We are counting upon a serious strengthening of our group after this battle.

In the course of the skirmishes, we have had to mourn the loss of the dead and of the numerous wounded. On the other hand, class consciousness has risen tremendously. An irreconcilable hatred has been sworn to against the police hordes. To the soldiers a fraternal hand has been extended.

#### Need for Revolutionary Leadership

We can openly say that this struggle, which is not ended yet, arose from the depths of the proletariat. We could sense that the workers wanted more than the programs proposed. The workers have realized more than ever the necessity of creating for themselves a revolutionary leadership. It is lacking in the present action.

This struggle is a precious experience for the working class youth of Belgium, which had already forgotten the history of the struggles of 1883. The year 1932 is a new stage for the entire Belgian proletariat.

—The Left Opposition of the C. P. B. The Charleroi Group.  
July 16, 1932.

## Who Was Actually "Caught"?

Under a sensational headline "Caught!" the *Daily Worker* about ten days ago exposed a flagrant swindle practised by the well-known socialist mountebank, Mr. E. Haldeman-Julius, editor of the socialist weekly, the *American Freeman*, and Socialist party candidate for Senator in Kansas. This respectable elder had simply taken the official acceptance speech of William Z. Foster, the Communist party candidate for president, copied it word for word, and presented it to his readers as the platform of the Socialist party. Virtually the only change made in the whole text was where the word "Communist" was replaced by the word "Socialist". The two texts, Foster's original and Haldeman-Julius' bald plagiarism, were published side by side in the *Daily Worker* and the merest glance at the two reveals one of the most despicable pieces of political fraud that has been practised in recent times.

But in its rightful indignation, the *Daily Worker* fails to note a feature of this theft which we cannot refrain from indicating. Mr. Haldeman-Julius is a fairly notorious social reformist, who does not even enjoy that distinction of dubious "radicalism" to which the shoddy "Left wing" of the Socialist party pretends. We are hardly inclined to believe that he felt obliged to decorate himself with a revolutionary-Communist plat-

form because of a wave of revolutionary radicalism sweeping over the fields and mines of Kansas. Is it, then, possible that he found Foster's speech, an official Communist party declaration, of such a nature that as a social reformist he could adopt it—words, commas, exclamations and all—without altering a line. Is it possible that the C. P. platform is cut, trimmed and styled by the Honorable Socialist Candidate for Senator from the State of Kansas? We find it hard to believe.

The *Daily Worker* has been asking Norman Thomas questions concerning the plagiarism which must undoubtedly be very embarrassing for him to answer; nor has he answered. May we be permitted to put our question to the *Daily Worker*?

Was it Haldeman-Julius alone who was caught? Wasn't somebody else caught too, or almost caught? . . .

#### A REMINDER

This is to remind our comrades that we have on hand a number of pamphlets that are very useful in our daily propaganda work. These are the Communist Manifesto; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific; Wage-Labor and Capital; Value, Price, and Profit. We still have a number of Whither England by comrade Trotsky. The amounts that we get are small and they move fast. Comrades who want them should order at once.

#### PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

The second wave of sales of Problems of the Chinese Revolution is about to break. A number of publications like the Nation, the New Republic and the Labor Age have undertaken to review it. The Modern Quarterly which is edited by Schmalhausen and to which Sidney Hook contributes will review both Problems of the Chinese Revolution and hat Next? in their next issue?

#### THE KEY—OUT OF PRINT

As we warned in the last issue, Germany—the Key to the International Situation, is out of print. The only way to get a copy now is by buying a copy of the Bound Volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets of which we still have a dwindling number.

We have a very few of the Key in German and Greek.

## French Opposition's German Campaign

### Bureaucrats Resort to Violence

After months of intense agitation by our French comrades inside and outside of the Communist Party of France, and under pressure of the events themselves as well as the alarm of the party membership, the Stalinist bureaucrats in Paris were forced to call a meeting on the situation in Germany at the Salle Bullier.

The French Left Opposition immediately welcomed this important step and announced by placards all over the city that representatives of the Opposition would be on hand to present the Leninist point of view.

On the date of the meeting, July 28, our comrades took their places in the hall. Immediately upon entering, they were intimidated by the bureaucrat Reynaud, who called out to our comrades in his wrath:

"You had better make sure you've some iodine and bandages on hand."

From that moment on our comrades were subjected to an uninterrupted barrage of provocations, which they met with fearless discipline, marching in group formation to the center of the meeting room.

The chairman, one Arrachard, opened the meeting under the sign of Anti-Trotskyism and declared that the Left Oppositionist would not be granted the floor. Gabriel, Perl, one of the parliamentary creatures of French Stalinism was the main speaker and restricted himself almost entirely to an attack full of slander and calumny against the Bolshevik-Leninists. Pierre Semard, the general secretary of the C. P. F. and one of the most corrupt of the international Stalinist bureaucrats followed along the same lines.

After a whole series of insults and epithet-slinging, Semard finally said a few words about the united front. Applause greeted these remarks. That was all—And Semard picked this very moment to give the signal! "Throw them out!", he shouted.

About fifty of the bureaucrat's henchmen immediately pounced on the Opposition comrades. At their head was the whole bureaucracy of the Paris district. A disgraceful and repugnant scene ensued. Oppositionists were thrown to the ground, kicked in stomach, in the head, one youth comrade was beaten till he lost consciousness. All this time, Semard and the chairman were excitedly applauding the attackers and egging them on right from the platform. After about a quarter of an hour of this pogrom, our comrades were bodily ejected from the hall.

The bureaucrat Thorez took the floor after this incident. He raised his foot demonstratively and pointed to it: "This is the method to deal with them!" and then proceeded to spout his share of insult and venom.

Numerous party comrades in all parts of the meeting room protested and some even left the place in protest. The spectacle of the Salle Bullier has not gone without effect. Letters from party members and militant workers are streaming in daily to *La Verite*, the central organ of our French comrades, declaring their sympathy with us and their disillusionment with the Stalinist bureaucracy, subscribing to our journal and enclosing donations. Whole columns of the current issue of *La Verite* are filled with these letters.

#### Bureaucratic Impotence—All over the World

As in New York, in Athens, in Shanghai and everywhere, so in France too the bureaucrats of the Stalinist camp express their bankrupt despair, their utter political impotence by violent physical assault against the Left Opposition. But these arguments will not hold. The Communist workers very well know the meaning of this argument with the fist, from their struggles against the bosses and against their yellow reformist agents. They will not fail to draw their conclusions—in France and internationally.

Our French comrades have only intensified and accelerated their campaign for the German revolution—the key to the international situation—with even greater determination since the incident of the Salle Bullier. Fresh from battle with our own—American Stalinist bureaucrats, we send them our revolutionary salutations. The Left Opposition is driving ahead with invincible force. The cause of Proletarian Internationalism, of the world revolution, will pierce its way through.

"Bolshevik-Leninists, Forward!"

**LEON TROTSKY**

# WHAT NEXT?

**Vital Questions for the German Proletariat**

BRANDLER?  
NATIONAL SOCIALISM?

PEOPLES REVOLUTION?

HINDENBURG?  
LEFT OPPOSITION?

ADOLF HITLER?

RED STRATEGY?  
SEYDEWITZ?

RED ARMY?

ULTIMATISM?

THAELMANN?

SOVIET UNION?

BRUENING?

FASCISM?

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL?

DEMOCRACY?

With Germany on the edge of the volcano that threatens to erupt at any moment, Leon Trotsky's penetrating analysis of what is next on the order of the day in Germany is the most timely revolutionary document of the moment. It is priced so low for a quick sale. Order your copy now!

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**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

## A Conversation With a Party Member on the Question of the German Situation

**Party Member:** There you are! . . . You Trotskyites gathered gloom and predicted disaster in Germany, and instead we won a glorious victory, polled a tremendous vote, and smashed the Fascist advance.

**Oppositionist:** We predicted and still predict disaster for your tactics, but not for Communism. How was your victory won?

**P. M.:** First by fearlessly exposing the social Fascists, and then by resolutely applying the correct party line: the united front from below.

**Opp.:** What do you call a united front from below?

**P. M.:** Calling upon all Socialist and other workers to unite and to follow the Communist leadership and thus create a real united front against the enemy.

**Opp.:** How have the workers of Germany responded to your tactics? Did they accept them? Not at all. The union between the Socialist and Communist workers takes on an entirely different

and a spontaneous form. Workers all band as workers without in any way accepting one or the other leadership. The Communists support a Socialistedemonstration and join them in fighting the Nazis; the Socialists in turn help and support the Communists in the same way. That is not the tactic of the united front from below, but an inevitable step toward the program of a true united front, as it was outlined in the Opposition program; real unity without forcing party leadership upon Socialist workers.

**P. M.:** You would twist it around. That is the way we always understood the united front.

**Opp.:** Yet curiously enough, you never applied it as such. In fact the changed attitude of both Socialist and Communist workers was quite unexpected by the leadership of both parties. The workers feel the urgent need of uniting their forces—and Trotsky's thundering voice aids them in finding the correct ways of bringing it to real-

ity at once. The only way to destroy Fascism is by bringing about the true united front.

**P. M.:** United front with the workers, not with the leaders and the traitors. We are going to gain more and more Socialist workers, until there will be nothing left of the social Fascist organizations.

**Opp.:** Comrade, you must wake up, and stop mumbering in your sleep. If there were years before us, perhaps what you say can be accomplished. But then there would be no need to speak of any kind of a united front. At the present moment, we have reached the danger mark. The only place where you will find Fascism smashed is in the columns of the *Daily Worker*. But in Germany the Nazis are now at the height of their power. The stage is set for their coup. In the government they have secret or passive allies. It took over the police force of 90,000 from the Socialists in Prussia and it restored to the Nazis the right to their

military organization. They have the direct support of 13 1-2 million voters and can expect support from another 1-2 million. Who opposes them? A divided working class. Five million Communist voters alone cannot stop the Nazis. To lull the Communists now with the fable that the Nazis are stopped or smashed—is to commit a crime against the proletariat of Germany and of the world. Only the united efforts of Communist and Socialist workers will save Germany from Fascism. The workers of Germany are doing it themselves, and this action spells the doom of the Nazis. Trotsky's correct application of Marxian tactics may save the situation for the party leadership. The Communist party will have to accept a united front from above, from below and from all the other sides—the onset of events and the pressure exerted by the workers will force it.

—A. K.



# Revolt of Illinois Miners

Miners on Strike against Lewis Machine and Wage-Cuts

(Continued from page 1)

tendency of 10,000 revolting miners, similar big meetings have been held in Springfield and elsewhere. At the time of this writing miners are marching upon Taylorville where the Peabody Coal Company is making desperate efforts to reopen its four mines. Though the miners march without arms this company has already succeeded in making a virtual armed camp out of their little community. One press dispatch says: "Businessmen and members of the American Legion were recruited into a hastily formed home guard to repel any invasion." This town was also the scene of military forces moving in rapidly during the ill-fated strike of the National Miners Union in 1929.

The rebel movement is feverishly organizing its forces knowing that quick and decisive action is imperative. It has entrusted the leadership to an elected policy committee. Petitions have been placed in circulation among the local unions calling for a special state convention to abrogate the put-over agreement, and, as inevitably must follow, to clean out the traitorous officials. Meanwhile John L. Lewis is doing his bit for the operators sending proclamations to the miners' locals that "picketing and mass meetings must cease," and that opposition leaders are to be penalized. In this he is in complete accord with the agencies of the capitalist forces, including the government. It is reported that the young militant leader Gerry Allard was "quickly cut off the air by radio station WEBQ, when he launched into a vehement attack on union officers who supported the \$5.00 agreement."

This was under date line of Aug. 12th. The reports are that Gerry Allard and his wife, Irene, have been arrested in West Frankfort. Such, of course, are the celebrated capitalist methods—to strike the heavy blows at the militant leaders. There need be no doubt that a powerful answer will be given by the rebel movement.

## Illinois, Scene of Many Revolts

The history of the Illinois coal fields is replete with rank and file revolts dating back to the days of the Verdun battle and even farther. Here was often found the backbone of the fight to break the stranglehold of John L. Lewis upon the union. But this is yet an unfinished task because of the various ways in which the miners were time and again switched off the path by their resistance being insufficiently organized, by leadership which faltered in the decisive moments or by other groups of corrupt elements capitalizing on the situation leaving the miners to suffer new disillusionment.

In the above is contained a serious Howatt combination, ostensibly in opposition to Lewis, proved a disastrous deception and illusion. The revolt led by the Edmondson-Musteite combination, which lacked backbone and a clear progressive program, failed utterly. But the results in both of these instances is to be accounted for in large measure by the failure of the Left wing under the official party leadership to penetrate these movements and its subsequent complete isolation.

Now the Illinois miners are marching again. The deep-seated discontent is again flaring into a mighty flame. Tenacious struggles against the lowering of the standard of living are in progress also in the Indiana coal fields and the Mahoning Valley, Ohio.

In the above is contained a serious lesson of what the revolutionary forces must not do. It is the policy pursued by the official party which led to isolation and impotence of the Left wing. Its mistakes in this respect began with the stupid boycott of the revolt movement which found its expression in the Walker-Fishwick-Howatt combination, and repeated toward the Edmondson-Musteite revolt. The serious consequences of these stupid tactics are not to be measured alone by the shortcomings and failures or betrayals of the revolt movements but more so by the isolation and final disappearance of an organized Left wing movement.

## Duties of the Revolt Movement

It is yet time, however, to make good in a measure on the mistakes made and to regain the time and opportunities lost. The present revolt movement has a very serious duty to perform for the

success of which the Left Opposition supporters in the Illinois coal fields will bend all their efforts.

To make the present strike state-wide is, of course, imperative. That is the direction of the present movement. In this the Illinois miners are now carrying the brunt of the burden of leading the working class as a whole forward in resistance upon the attacks on their standard of living. Closely bound up with this must be the completion of the long overdue task of cleaning out the treacherous officials and saving the union from destruction.

## Hillman «Leads» the New York Amalgamated in a Stoppage

(Continued from page 1)

Hillman and his assistants, the local officials of the New York organization, have been utilizing the situation created by the economic crisis to justify the policies of betrayal they have been pursuing in all these years. They have been throwing sand in the eyes of the members and the general public, covering up the fact that their present concessions to the employers are only a link in the long chain of betrayals which they began to practise several years before the crisis had set in. They want the tailors to forget all the crimes up till now and to allow themselves to be caught by the new swindle which the present stoppage constitutes.

What do the above-mentioned demands in the present stoppage (?) signify?

### Hillman's Points

The point about stopping wage-cuts is highly deceptive. Hillman has not made it clear that this means the return of the last wage-cuts which he granted the manufacturers in recent weeks, since the last decision of the union to that effect. The tailors are deluding themselves that this is what the point means. They will be bitterly disappointed.

The other two points on stopping the exodus of bundles to sweat-shops and the re-establishment of union control over labor conditions in the shops, do not have the same significance to Hillman as they have for the general public. To him, union control means an agreement with the bosses to collect dues and assessments from the workers and not union conditions in the shops. Such agreements have been made by him with manufacturers and employers in numerous towns around New York. The conditions there are just as rotten as in the non-union shops. But for the tailors, he seeks to create the impression that he aims to keep the work inside genuine union shops. This is how he practises the swindle with success.

The true aim of Hillman's call for the present stoppage is the strengthening of the considerably weakened union machine. The financial situation is close to bankruptcy. For weeks and months, the officials have received no salaries. The bosses are seeking to evade the payment of unemployment (?) insurance. The work sent out of New York slips into new shops, out of town, not under Hillman's control, that is, from which Hillman draws no dues. By the present stoppage Hillman hopes to tighten up the machine, oil it and put it into faster operation, in order to squeeze out a little more sustenance for the impoverished bureaucrats. This is the aim of the present stoppage in so far as Hillman is concerned. The near future will clearly reveal this aim and the cause which led to the sudden stoppage after Hillman's declaration not so long ago that a strike or stoppage is impracticable.

As for the tailors, they have been drawn into this stoppage, first of all, as I mentioned before, because of their deplorable conditions, and second because of deceptive slogans. Were there a well-organized Left wing in the Amalgamated, it would be possible to convert the stoppage into a genuine strike struggle against wage-cuts and for the smashing of Hillman's plans.

### A Vicious Combination

Hillman's machine supports itself upon the Clothiers' Exchange, the Contractors' Association and certain trucking express companies which carry the cut work and piece goods into the clothing shops. This combination brings in enormous profits,

however, as once more a situation exists of the miners battling separately in several territories with their several organizations struggling alone for their life preservation, the creation of a united front is more pressing than ever. There is now an opportunity for the Illinois revolt movement to perform a real duty by leaving no stone unturned to endeavor to unite their immediate aims and their immediate struggle with those of the National Miners Union, with the Miners Union of West Virginia with the battling miners in Indiana and Ohio.

But these are objectives the complete fulfillment of which can be conceived of alone on the basis of creating a strong Left wing, conscious of its task within this movement. This is the duty of the hour for all revolutionary miners.

—A. S.

when it is working harmoniously, for all the partners in question. They all live at the expense of the workers, tailors, who are gripped in their vise. The tailors can liberate themselves only by breaking this combination, smashing the Hillman bureaucratic machine and thus releasing their own organized forces in the struggle for better conditions.

In the present hour, the tactics of the Left wing must be turned in this direction.

The Left wing in the Amalgamated, under the control of the Communist Party (the Rank and File Committee) has up to now not made clear its tasks in the Amalgamated. It continues to swing between the tactic of isolation of the "Third Period" and the recently altered new tactic which is far from being clear and comprehensible to the broad masses.

Up to the present stoppage, the Rank and File Committee has adhered to the policy that there should be no participation in strikes and stoppages of the Amalgamated because it is a "company union". Although the old policy has been changed, the Left wing has stood on the side-lines, ridiculing and disparaging any real activity in the A. C. W. This attitude gained them the result that the tailors regard them as light-minded babblers. Their influence among the tailors has considerably diminished in recent years.

### The Rank and File Committee

In the present stoppage, the Rank and File Committee has adopted a different position. It has made the decision to participate in the picket lines together with the other tailors and to seek to convert the stoppage into a genuine strike. This is the best means of unmasking the Hillman bureaucracy and smashing its plans in the stoppage, to strengthen the influence of the Left wing in the Amalgamated.

## The Opposition and N.Y. «United Front» Unemployment Confab

The "conference" called by the Unemployed Council of New York under the direction of the Communist party at the Manhattan Lyceum, August 15 "to work out a plan to further advance the fight for immediate relief and unemployment insurance" was a pure brew of opportunism. From beginning to end it was saturated with the spirit of reformism. Every speech was devoted to the fakery of the relief agencies, the collusion of the city government with the real estate sharks and landlords, etc., etc.

In themselves these exposures are in order—provided they are linked up correctly with the revolutionary goal of the working class and the Communists. This was nowhere apparent. In fact its absence made it impossible to distinguish the ideological approach of the conference from a Left wing socialist meeting.

Winters, the reporter by appointment, worked himself into a minor heat over the "insult the city offered the unemployed by allowing the Board of Estimate to take a four month's vacation." He made an "analysis" of the failure of the unemployed movement to build organizationally, to build a stronger movement from which he deduced the necessity of building a movement strong enough to wring from them tens and hundreds of millions of dollars for relief.

### Insurance Relieved

Even unemployment insurance was relegated to the background. It was men-

# Who Is Leading the Barbusse Congress

The window-front of the "World Congress Against War" organized by the Communist International, is composed of a number of shining lights from the literary and scientific world. The initiative for organizing an international gathering to mobilize the working class for a struggle against imperialist war has been handed by the Stalinists to a group of pacifists. Behind them, the Stalinist apparatus maneuvers with its opportunistic line of policy. The open Leninist fight against the war danger is replaced by a mélange of pacifism and confusion directed by individuals largely disconnected from the live stream of the class struggle who, moreover, in most

cases have in no way stood the test.

The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky alone embodies the traditions of the revolutionary anti-war struggle. The pacifists of all shades embody the miserable tradition of treachery during the last war and opium peddling to the people in between wars. A glance at the records and standpoints of some of the leading figures chosen by the Stalinist apparatus to lead and organize the struggle against war will indicate, first, what reliance can be placed by the proletariat in such a leadership, and second, what a sinister masquerade of opportunism the Stalinists themselves are engaged in.

### The Case of H. G. Wells

Among the members of the "International Committee" of the Barbusse-Stalin-Rolland Committee, we find the name of H. G. Wells. Wells is a notorious petty bourgeois philistine who has covered himself with a thin socialist veneer throughout his literary career. During the last World War, Wells was to be found on the side of British imperialism, adding his voice to the howl of the jingoist mob that drove the proletariat into the trenches for the greater glory of the ruling class. An inkling of his position during those crucial days, an insight into the political and social outlook of this latter-day assistant of Stalinism, may be gained from the following excerpt from his article, "The Question At Issue", written at the height of the war:

"First let us deal with that postcard (on which, according to Wells, the gist of the war dispute could be written—Ed.) and say what is the essential aim of the war, the aim to which all other aims are subsidiary. It is, we have heard repeated again and again by every statesman of importance in every allied country, to defeat and destroy military imperialism, to make the world safe forever against any such deliberate aggression as Germany prepared for forty years and brought to a climax when she crossed the Belgian frontier in 1914. We want to make anything of that kind on the part of Germany, or of any other power, henceforth impossible in this world. That is our great aim. Whatever other objects may be sought in this war, no responsible statesman dare claim them as anything but subsidiary to that; one can say in fact this is our sole aim, our other aims being but parts of it. Better that millions should die now, we declare, than that hundreds of millions still unborn should go on living, generation after generation, under the black tyranny of this imperialist threat.

"There is our common agreement. So far at any rate we are united. The question I would put the reader is this: are we all logically, sincerely, and fully carrying out the plain implications of this war aim? Or are we to any extent muddling about with it in such a way as to confuse and disorganize our allies, weaken our internal will and strengthen the enemy?"

"Now the plain meaning of this supreme declared war aim is that we are asking Germany to alter her ways. We are asking Germany to become a different Germany. Either Germany has to be utterly smashed up and destroyed or else Germany has to cease to be an aggressive military imperialism. . . .

"But do we as a nation stick closely to this clear and necessary, this only possible meaning of our declared war aim? That great, clear-minded leader among the Allies, that Englishman who more than any other single man speaks for the whole English-speaking and western-thinking community, President Wilson, has said definitely that this is his meaning. America, with him as her spokesman, is under no delusion; she is fighting consciously for a German revolution as the essential war aim." (New Republic, February 9, 1918.)

Isn't it quite clear that Wells is a logical choice for the leadership today in the struggle against war? Doesn't his whole record speak in his favor?

Ay, to speak in favor of peace during times of peace—that costs nothing. Nobody is "in favor" of war during peace times. Even the most rabid militarist is usually to be found expressing his horror at war, his opposition to it. At the same time he systematically prepares the ground for imperialist war. The softest pacifist is always opposed to war in peace times. When it breaks out, his love for peace is so strong that he urges his fellow-countrymen to support the war of the fatherland in order that it may, you understand, be brought to a speedy conclusion at the end of which, isn't it logical?, peace may prevail again. Wells is one of these pacifists in "Reinkultur" as the Germans say—in a chemically pure state. He is the man to whom Stalin is sending the class conscious workers for leadership in . . . the struggle against war.

### The Case of Romain Rolland

The case of Rolland is somewhat different from that of most of the pacifist witch doctors who seek to exercise war by mystic incantations Rolland's sincerity and devotion to the cause of the under-takings is beyond question. His allegiance to the Soviet Union is not of that base metal whose counterfeit ring clanks from the speech of the bought-and-paid-for intellectual henchmen of Stalinism. During the World War, he opposed the hideous slaughter and fled chauvinistic France to take refuge in Switzerland.

We have no reason to believe that Rolland, one of the really great intellectual spirits of our time, will ever be found fighting on the side of imperialism, or sink to the level of H. G. Wells and Upton Sinclair, his fellow-member on the "International Committee."

But Rolland is a pacifist, the most honest and sincere amongst them, but a pacifist nevertheless. His profound admiration for Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution is vitiated by his equally ardent admiration for Sun Yat Sen . . . Ghandi. Among these three contemporary figures Rolland gets himself hopelessly lost. He has a fatal inability to distinguish the yawning gap that divides the latter two from the great proletarian revolutionary tribune. In a word, he is unable to distinguish between the treacherous morass of Ghandism and the eminence of Marxism. One cannot be a Ghandist or Sun Yat Senist for Asia and a Leninist for Europe. That impossible combination was attempted by Stalin and Bucharin all during the revolutionary upsurge in China in 1925-1927. The result is commonly known: the Chinese revolution was not only inundated in its own blood but the war danger, particularly against the Soviet Union, was greatly accentuated. This dreadful experiment is a warning against itself.

"I say to the U. S. S. R. of Lenin," writes Rolland, "and I say to the Asia of Sun Yat Sen and Ghandi: Brothers, count on me!" Lenin is a name which means the unrelenting revolutionary struggle of the exploited of the earth against the imperialist slavedrivers. Ghandi is a name which stands for the bartering of the interests of the oppressed masses to the imperialist overlord of the native colonial bourgeoisie. No man can stand for both Lenin and Ghandi.

Lenin means active, organized, militant resistance not only to war but to the whole bourgeoisie. Ghandi's non-resistance is the highest development of the practise of disarming the armies of the people in face of the imperialist forces armed to the teeth. The preaching of Leninism and Ghandism do not simply cancel each other; the latter excludes the former.

The presentation of the leadership of a struggle against imperialist war to a man like Rolland, however eminent, is to build a movement on a slope at the end of which lies defeat.—S.

### THE MILITANT

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 34 East 10th St., N. Y.

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SATURDAY AUGUST 20, 1932  
Vol. V., No. 34 (Whole No. 130)  
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy.

## Pappas Appeals for a United Front Against Hitlerism in Germany

(Continued from page 1)

of restraining their followers from struggle and from unity with the Communists against the advances of the Brown Shirts.

Life itself has proved the best test of the policies. The Hitler party has continued to gain strength throughout Germany. From an insignificant group it has grown to the largest party in the country. The Communist party has also grown, but due to its mistakes, only very little in comparison with the possibilities offered by the situation. It has not been able to break the hold of the social democratic politicians over millions of socialist workers. And at the present moment of acute danger, our party offers no clear program of struggle that can unite the German masses, to sweep out of existence the Fascist gangs of petty bourgeois agents of German and world imperialism.

### For a United Front

The situation cries aloud for action. What is imperative is that our German brother party adopt the policy of Lenin, the policy of the united front. Against the danger of Kornilov's putsch in 1917,

the Bolsheviks made a united front with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists. By this means, Kornilov was crushed, the Mensheviks and S. R.s were weakened and the Bolsheviks enormously strengthened, and the door was opened directly for the revolutionary victory in October. The same problem confronts German Bolshevism today. The party there must make a radical and frank turn in its policy. It must make an open demand for a united front to the Social Democratic party, the socialist trade unions and the Reichsbanner—a united front to crush the Fascist monster, to stamp it out before it reaches power. A united proletariat can accomplish this aim without great difficulty. The interests of the proletarian revolution, the fate of the Communist International, hang upon the achievement in the speediest possible time of this objective.

The defense of the Soviet Union depends directly upon the extermination of the Fascist hordes.

Comrades! Days count now where months counted before. We Communists in America have our part to play. We must help our German comrades tread the correct road. We must awaken the

American proletariat to their international duties just as we awakened them in the early days of the Russian Revolution. The party comrades here must raise the demand: an immediate discussion of the burning problems of the German situation in their units and in the trade unions. Civil war has broken out and we must act before it is too late!

### Remember, comrades:

The victory of Fascism in Germany means a crushing defeat of the working class of the world and a direct threat to the life of the Soviet Union!

The victory of the proletariat of Germany over Fascism means opening of a new era of revolutionary struggles and triumphs throughout the entire world!

We still have time left to choose. The decision lies in the hands of our German brother party! We must help it make the correct decision. We must show our genuine solidarity with it in its hour of need—right now.

Fraternally,  
(Signed) SEBASTIAN PAPPAS  
690 Allerton Ave.,  
Apt 55 W.  
Bronx, N. Y.

August 1, 1932.

tioned only by way of obedience to a discarded but still living god. Relief, any kind of relief, was the note of the conference. This is not a new development of the party's efforts to build a movement or relief from the crisis. It is only the latest phase of the opportunist turn initiated a little more than a year ago by Browder in the Daily Worker of March 6 and 12.

The difference lies in the fact that this conference, as the reporter's speech showed, had a programmatic character. The National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the U. S. A. has issued a "Proposed Draft Program of Fighting Methods and Organization Forms of the Unemployed Councils." Whereas before the party pursued its opportunistic way by twists and turns in the party press it is now definitely committed to a program opportunistic through and through. We will return to this program in the next issue. Time is needed to plough through the swamp and reduce it to its opportunist elements.

The conference was a model of bureaucratic machine control. It ran smoothly on all six cylinders of mechanical control and ideological oil. The conference was opened by Winter who in the name of the arrangement committee nominated Wiseman, organizer of the Unemployed Council. Attempts to make other nominations were ignored and Wiseman rode into the chairmanship on a wave of "ayes". Wiseman introduced the main reporter, Winter, "who will speak for forty minutes". Winter consumed an hour and a half of one of the hottest nights in memory.

He outlined the fakery of the relief agencies, the collusion of the city government with the landlords in evicting workers; he spoke much of "our" failure to embrace masses of workers but failed to explain its causes in the incorrect policy of the party. He also subscribed to the Stalinist article of faith, that the line is correct, benedictum sit, but the execution poor.

Winter reached the pinnacle of Stalinist theory and logic in explaining that the arrangement committee some time prior to the convening of the conference had changed the name of the demonstration on September 10 which the conference was called to organize, from "Bread Parade" to "Relief March". The reason? Shades of Marx and Lenin! Said Winter: This is not to be just another demonstration limited to our members and sympathizers shouting the same slogan for relief and unemployment insurance. It is to be a march of workers already struggling for relief. We are going to indicate that we are going to carry on concrete struggles in every flop house. . . . The words and music as only too familiar to our readers. Winter's little quirk did not make this sort of Stalinist pap any more palatable.

The tasks which Winter imposed on

the movement were no whit different from those which the movement has been struggling to carry out. As these are contained in their entirety in the Draft Program of the Unemployed Councils we will deal with them next week. Here it is necessary to remark only that they did not advance us one step toward uniting the unemployed and employed, toward making a serious approach to the socialist workers and the workers in the A. F. of L. unions. In short Winter left us standing exactly where we were, marking time furiously in a circle from which the Winters, big and little, cannot lead us.

When Winter was through the floor was thrown open for discussion. The procedure was amazingly simple. The chairman announced that the floor was open for discussion and that the first speaker would be comrade so and so from the Gold Dust Lodge. When the comrade was through the chairman informed us that the way to get the floor was to hand a slip of paper bearing the name of the delegate and his organization—"the next speaker will be . . . ." It was beautifully simple. How these people fear and hate the Left Opposition!

It will help them nothing. From such bureaucratic stultification can come nothing but confusion. No serious worker can learn anything more about his problems from such spectacles, then he can from the Corpus Christi processions of the Roman Catholic Church. What the Stalinists must be made to realize is that the ideas of Marxian-Leninism cannot be stifled by bureaucratic machines in the Stalinist era any more than they were by the corrupt and degenerate social democratic bureaucracies in the days when the Leninist tactics of the Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky smashed their way through all obstacles.

We will yet throw down the wall that separates us from the party rank and file. We will, together with them, work out a genuine Leninist program for relief from the crisis. It will be a revolutionary program from which every vestige of opportunism will be rooted out.

T. S.

Due to extreme technical difficulties Young Spartacus, the youth organ of the Left Opposition, was compelled to omit its August issue. The next issue will of course appear in September. This will be the first issue of the 8-page Young Spartacus, and will appear with a new and more attractive mast head. Because of the doubling of the number of pages, new features and richer content, more and better articles are promised by its editorial committee. Bundle orders and subscriptions should be sent in immediately.



## The Only Road

## Bonapartism and Fascism

## An Analysis of the Present Moment in the German Situation

(Continued from page 1)

rub his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his boots into his face.

It might have been assumed that Bruening would hold on until the final solution. Yet, in the course of events, another link inserted itself: the Papen government. Were we to be exact, we should have to make a rectification of our old designation: the Bruening government was a pre-Bonapartist government. Bruening was only a precursor. In a perfected form, Bonapartism came upon the scene in the Papen-Schleicher government.

Wherein lies the difference? Bruening asserted that he knew no greater happiness than to "serve" Hindenburg and Paragraph 48. Hitler "supported" with his fist Bruening's right hip. But with the left elbow Bruening rested on Weis's shoulder. In the Reichstag, Bruening found a majority which relieved him of the necessity of counting on the Reichstag.

## BRUENING AND THE BUREAUCRACY

The more Bruening's independence from the parliament grew, the more independent did the summits of the bureaucracy feel themselves from Bruening and the political groupings standing behind them. There only remained finally to break the bonds with the Reichstag. The von Papen government emerged from an immaculate bureaucratic conception. With the right elbow it rests upon Hitler's shoulder. With the police fist it wards off the proletariat on the left. Therein lies the secret of its "stability", that is, of the fact that it did not collapse at the moment of its birth.

The Bruening government bore a clerical-bureaucratic-police character. The Reichswehr still remained in reserve. Next to the police, the "Iron Front" served as a direct prop of Order. It is precisely in wiping out the dependence of the "Iron Front" that lay the essence of the Hindenburg-Papen coup d'Etat. The Generality moves up automatically to first place.

The social democratic leaders turned out to be completely duped. And it is no more than proper for them in periods of social crises. These petty bourgeois intriguers appear to be clever only under those conditions where cleverness isn't necessary. Now they pull the covers over their heads at night, sweat and hope for a miracle: Perhaps in the end we may yet be able to save not only our necks but also the overfurnished furniture and the small, innocent savings. But there won't be any miracles. . . .

Unfortunately, however, the Communist party has also been taken completely by surprise by the events. The Stalinist bureaucracy was unable to foresee a thing. Today Thaelmann, Remmele and others speak on every occasion of "the coup d'Etat of July 20." How is that? At first they contended that Fascism is already here and that only "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" could speak of it as something in the future. Now it turns out that to pass over from Bruening to Papen—for the present not to Hitler but only to Papen—a whole "coup d'Etat" was necessary. Yet the class content of Severing, Bruening and Hitler, these sages taught us, is "one and the same thing." Then whence and wherefore the coup d'Etat?

But the confusion doesn't come to an end with this. Even though the difference between Bonapartism and Fascism has now been revealed plainly enough, Thaelmann, Remmele and others speak of the Fascist coup d'Etat of July 20. At the same time, they warn the workers against the approaching danger of the Hitlerist, that is, of the equally Fascist overturn. Finally, the social democracy is designated just as before as social Fascist. The unfolding events are in this way reduced to this, that species of Fascism takes the power from each other with the aid of "Fascist" coups d'Etat. Isn't it clear that the whole Stalinist theory was created only for the purpose of gluing up the human brain?

## FINISHING OFF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The less prepared the workers were, the more the appearance of the Papen government on the scene had to arouse the impression of strength: complete ignoring of the parties, new emergency decrees, dissolution of the Reichstag, pressive measures, state of siege in the capital, abolition of the Prussian "Democracy". And with what ease! A lion you kill with a shot; the flea you squash between the fingernails; social democratic ministers are finished off with a filip.

Only, in spite of the appearance of concentrated forces, the Papen government "as such" is weaker yet than its predecessor. The Bonapartist regime can attain a comparatively stable and durable character only in the event that it brings a revolutionary epoch to a close; when the relationship of forces has already been tested in battles; when the revolutionary classes are already spent while the possessing classes have not yet freed themselves from the fear; will not the morrow bring new convulsions? Without this basic condition, that is, without a preceding exhaustion of the mass energies in battles, the Bonapartist regime is in no position to develop.

Through the Papen government, the barons, the magnates of capital and the bankers have undertaken the attempt to secure their wealth by means of the police and the regular army. The idea of giving up all power to Hitler, who supports himself upon the raging and unleashed bands of the petty bourgeoisie, is far from a pleasant one to them. They do not, of course, doubt that in the long

run Hitler will be a submissive instrument of their domination. Yet this is bound up with convulsions, with the risk of a long and weary civil war and great expenses. To be sure, Fascism, as the Italian example shows, leads in the end to a militarist-bureaucratic dictatorship of the Bonapartist type. But for that it requires a number of years even in the event of a complete victory: a longer span of years in Germany than in Italy. It is clear that the possessing classes would prefer a more economic path, that is, the path of Schleicher and not of Hitler, not to speak of the fact that Schleicher himself prefers it that way.

The fact that the source of existence of the Papen government consists in the neutralization of the irreconcilable camps, in no way signifies, of course, that the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and of the reactionary petty bourgeoisie weigh equally on the scale of history. The whole question shifts here onto the field of politics. Through the mechanics of the "Iron Front" the social democracy paralyzes the proletariat. With the policy of brainless ultimatum the Stalinist bureaucracy blocks the revolutionary way out for the workers. With a correct leadership of the proletariat, Fascism would be exterminated without difficulty and not a chink could remain open for Bonapartism. Unfortunately that is not the situation. The paralyzed strength of the proletariat has assumed the deceptive form of a "strength" of the Bonapartist clique. Therein lies the political formula of the present day.

## WHAT PAPEN REPRESENTS

The Papen government represents the imperialist outting point of great historical forces. Its independent weight is next to nil. Therefore it could do nothing but take fright at its own gesticulations and grow dizzy from the voids arising on all sides of it. By this and only by this is to be explained that in the deeds of the government up to now there have been two parts of cowardice to each part of audacity. With Prussia, that is, the social democracy, the government played a sure game; it knew that these gentlemen would offer no resistance. But after it had dissolved the Reichstag, it summoned new elections and did not dare to postpone them. After proclaiming the state of martial law, it hastened to explain: It is only in order to facilitate the capitulation without a struggle of the social democratic leaders.

However, isn't there a Reichswehr? We are not inclined to forget it. Engels designated the state of the armed detachments of people with material auxiliaries in the form of prisons, etc. With respect to the present governmental power, it can even be said that the Reichswehr alone really exists. But the Reichswehr in no way represents a submissive and guaranteed instrument in the hands of that group of people at whose

head stands Papen. In reality, the government is rather a sort of political commission of the Reichswehr.

But with all its preponderance over the government, the Reichswehr can nevertheless lay no claim to any independent political role. A hundred thousand soldiers, no matter how fused and steered they may be (which still requires testing), are incapable of commanding a nation of sixty-five millions, torn by the profoundest social antagonisms. The Reichswehr represents only one element in the interplay of forces, and not the decisive one.

In its fashion, the new Reichswehr does not reflect baldly the political situation in the country which has led to the Bonapartist experiment. The parliament without a majority, with irreconcilable wings, offers an obvious and irrefutable argument in favor of dictatorship. Once more the confines of democracy emerge in all their obviousness. Where it is a question of the foundations of society itself, it is not parliamentary arithmetic that decides. What decides is the struggle.

## PROSPECTS FOR TOMORROW

We shall not undertake to counsel from afar what road the attempts at forming a government will take in the next days. Our hypotheses would come tardily in any case, and besides, it is not the possible transitional forms and combinations which decide the question. A bloc of the Right wing with the Center would signify the "legalization" of the seizure of power by the National-Socialists, that is, the most suitable cloak for the Fascist coup d'Etat. What relationships would develop in the early days between Hitler, Schleicher and the Center leaders, is more important for them than it is for the German people. Politically, all the conceivable combinations with Hitler signify the dissolution of bureaucracy, courts, police and army into Fascism.

If it is assumed that the Center will not agree to a coalition, in which it would have to pay with a rupture with its own workers for the role of a bridge in Hitler's locomotive,—then in this case only the unconcealed extra-parliamentary road remains. A combination without the Center would more easily and speedily insure the predominance of the National-Socialists. If the latter do not immediately unite with Papen and at the same time do not pass over to the immediate assault, then the Bonapartist character of the government will have to emerge more sharply: von Schleicher would have his "hundred days" . . . without the preceding Napoleonic years.

Hundred days—no, we are figuring far too generously. The Reichswehr does not decide. Schleicher does not suffice. The extra-parliamentary dictatorship of the Junkers and the magnates of financial capital can be stood firmly on its feet only by the method of a wearisome and relentless civil war. Will Hitler be able to fulfill this task? That depends not only upon the evil will of Fascism, but also upon the revolutionary will of the proletariat.

—L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, August 2, 1932.

## READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

## A Letter to the Workers of Zurich

In the night of the 15th of June, violent encounters took place in Zurich between the workers and the police. I learned of these events from the cables of the bourgeois press agencies, which were, consequently, very tendentious and hostile to the workers. But even without knowing the details, it is not very difficult to get a general idea of the character of these events. Encounters between workers, especially striking workers or the jobless, and the police are abundant in the whole history of capitalism. The present terrible crisis which is revealing all the rottenness of the capitalist system is stretching the nervous tension of the bourgeoisie to the extreme and is driving it to make use of the police and the army at the slightest alarm. On the other hand, the very just indignation of the workers against the bourgeoisie is growing and is seeking a way out. No matter what political tendency was heading the strike and the demonstration at Zurich, the character of the bloody encounter is one and the same. Capitalism has reduced the workers to starvation, to misery, to despair. Capitalism is throwing them out into the streets. Capitalism is beating them down by armed force. The lackeys of the capitalist press calumniate the workers and the capitalist judges condemn the "leaders" to jail if the bullets of capitalism do not fell them beforehand.

This was the simple and obvious explanation I gave, far from Zurich, to the events of June 15 and 16. Today, on June 25, I have received from friends a leaflet issued by the "Socialist Party of Zurich" entitled "Settling Accounts with the Communists." In this document the Zurich Social Democracy, which is running the municipality in that town, attempts to vindicate itself of all responsibility for the repression against the strikers and the demonstration. According to this document, the fault of the conflict is incumbent not upon capitalism but upon Communism. In defense of its actions against the Zurich workers, the social democracy writes:

"Lenin and Trotsky, in similar situations, were severe against all the ultra-Left syndicalists of the anarchist tendency. They pitilessly crushed in blood all the putschists."

This leaflet has instigated me to address myself by means of the present letter to the Zurich workers. It is the aim of the present letter to denounce this calumny. Lenin and myself have more than one been the objects of calumny. You doubtless know that we were even accused of being in the service of the German general staff. Nevertheless I have never known a more mendacious and a baser calumny than the one cast on us by the leaflet of the Zurich social democracy.

The whole life of Lenin was dedicated to the overthrow of bourgeois society, of its state, its privileges, its laws, its justice, its police, its prisons and its army. How then can anyone employ the name of Lenin to justify the reprisals of the bourgeoisie against the workers. I also protest against the utilization of

## Trotsky Replies to a Calumny of the Social Democrats

my name because during the thirty-five years of my conscious life I have served and continue to serve in so far as my forces permit me, the cause of the emancipation of the working class.

—But the Soviet power, the Messrs. Social Democratic journalists will reply, didn't it employ measures of reprisal against the anarchists of the Left Social Revolutionists who attempted to organize an insurrection? To be sure! But the difference lies precisely in this—an insignificant difference, isn't it, comrades, workers?—that with us it was a matter of defending, not a bourgeois state, but a proletarian state. The Bolsheviks had previously organized the October insurrection (1917) by means of which the proletariat overthrew the bourgeoisie, took possession of its banks and factories, confiscated the land of the rural gentry and turned it over to the peasants, chased out the parasites from their palaces and put up the workers' children in them, deprived the exploiters of their voting rights, concentrated the power and the weapons in the hands of the workers and thus guarded the first proletarian state against its enemies. It is precisely therein that the regime of the proletarian dictatorship consists. Yes, we have defended this regime effectively with guns in hand. For its defense we created the Red Army. Social democracy of the entire world condemned us and hurled all sorts of curses on our heads. The German social democracy supported the Hohenzollerns who tried to strangle the Soviet republic. But the Bolsheviks did not allow themselves to be strangled. With an iron fist they defended the workers' state. The domestic enemies of the proletarian dictatorship were the bourgeois officers and students, gentlemen of the type of Conrad who assassinated my friend Vorovsky. The Russian social democrats (the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists) directly and indirectly supported this struggle against the workers' state. In all instances in which they rose against it with guns in hand, we treated them without mercy.

But the Zurich social democracy is deceiving you when it refers to Lenin and Trotsky to justify its bloody violence against the workers rising against the capitalist state. Violence is used, to be sure, in both instances. Wherever the classes are conducting an implacable struggle, in the last analysis, we always arrive at a point where violence is resorted to. This will always be the case as long as the classes continue to exist. But the whole question is determined by what class exercises the violence.

At one of the sessions of the Brest-Litovsk conference, on January 14, 1918, General Hoffman, the actual head of the German General Staff on the Eastern Front, protested against the violence employed by the Soviet government. I take the occasion to quote verbatim from

the minutes the following extract from my reply:

"The honorable general has remarked that our government rests on force and employs violence against all those who profess adverse ideas which are stigmatized as counter-revolutionary. The honorable general is absolutely correct when he says that our government rests on force. Up to the present, history has not known any other type of government. As long as society will be composed of classes engaged in struggle, the state will inevitably be an arm of compulsion, and will make use of a coercive apparatus . . . That, in our actions, which astonishes and outrages the governments of other countries—is the fact that we arrest not the strikers but the capitalists who lock out the workers, the fact that we do not shoot down the peasants who demand the land but arrest the landed gentry and the officers who attempted to shoot down the peasants."

The leaders of the Zurich democracy have not gone any further than General Hoffman in so far as they speak of violence without defining the class which employs this violence. And for good cause: the social democracy cannot pose this question openly and honestly, since its leaders themselves serve the capitalist regime. In the petty local questions, the secondary ones, for example—the municipal questions, the social democracy attempts to bargain with capitalism for the workers, in order to maintain its authority among them. But wherever it is a matter of the fundamental interest of the capitalist order and of private property, the very foundations of the exploitation of man by man, there the social democracy, in Switzerland, in Germany, in Austria, in France and in the entire world, invariably takes the side of the exploiters. It has once more demonstrated this in a striking fashion by the June events in Zurich.

Since the gentlemen of the social democratic leadership have taken advantage by referring to Lenin and to myself in casting off their guilt, I will say the following in conclusion: although I cannot judge the events in Zurich except through the accounts rendered by the bourgeois journals to which I can hardly accord more than ten percent of credence, I nevertheless declare in all security, since the labor movement is involved, that all my sympathies are without the slightest reserve on the side of those who participated in the strike, who protested against the brutality of the police and who have fallen victims of the new attacks. No matter what the tactical views of the Zurich Communists may be, I will always be found on the same side of the barricade with them. Even if they have committed one mistake or another—I do not know of any—these are the mistakes of our class, these are the mistakes of the proletarian revolution which is raising its head against the capitalist yoke. In spite of all the "democratic" peacock-feathers with which the social democracy is covering itself up, it has acted and it is acting in the events of Zurich as the direct agent of the class enemy. The social (Continued on page 2)

## The Theory of Permanent Revolution and American Imperialism

## The Conflict Between Proletarian Internationalism and Stalinist National Reformism

The United States has held the dominating position in the world chain of capitalism ever since the world war. Prior to the world war American capitalism struggled to obtain this position. Now the American imperialists must wage a constant struggle to maintain and extend this power against the onslaughts of the other capitalist nations. This new position places greater responsibilities upon the United States in the maintenance of world capitalist conditions.

The contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation, between production for a world market, and national boundaries, lie at the bottom of the contradiction between the international responsibilities and internal needs of the American imperialists. The international responsibilities of American capitalism can only be properly fulfilled on the basis of the solution of the internal needs. On the other hand, the American imperialists can only solve the internal difficulties confronting them on the basis of world capitalism.

The solution of this contradiction is not possible under the rule of the American capitalists or any other capitalists. At the bottom, it is the same contradiction which brought on the last world war and now has developed to greater proportions, endangering the proletariat of the world and the Soviet Union. The real solution of this problem can be had only on the basis of the proletarian world revolution.

The imperialist struggle for the red division of the earth is the central problem of the American imperialists, to which a number of problems are subordinated. But within this imperialist problem there is contained another contradiction of a more menacing character. Each delay in "solving" the question of the red division of the earth enlarges the prospects of the extension of the October revolution, of the social revolution. On the other hand, each step toward the "solution" of the problem of the red division of the earth sets into motion the forces of the social revolution. This clearly reveals the present stage of capitalism as the decay stage.

Although a solution for capitalism is not possible, a breathing spell for some imperialists by obtaining markets, by establishing Fascism in Germany, by smashing the Soviet Union is possible. A lease of life for capitalism depends as much upon the action or rather, inaction of the proletarian vanguard as it does upon the action of the leading imperialists.

The American imperialists are as

much concerned with the world revolution as the Communists are, but for opposite reasons. Therefore, the intervention of the U. S. dollar, for economic or military purpose, to hold in check the October revolution has been a major task of the American Imperialists since 1917. The danger of the extension of the October revolution is a life and death matter for world capitalism and the United States representing the dominating factor. This compels Wall Street to proceed in a fashion altogether contrary to the lingering "isolationist", ideology of the 19th century.

The burning question of the capitalists is the opposite side of the burning problem of the proletariat. Our problem is the understanding and application of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. **Theirs—the defeat of the Permanent Revolution.**

The word permanent, like the word dialectic or imperialism or a whole series of other words are used in the political sense and not in the bourgeois dictionary sense. The theory of the permanent revolution has nothing in common with the old Bucharin concept, which on the basis of the October revolution, estimates that a mounting wave of revolutions, one right on top of the other, would sweep capitalism from the earth in one straight line. The theory of the Permanent Revolution does not consider as "permanent", the time element in the series of revolution. The theory of the Permanent Revolution considers the development of the revolution from country to country, in their interrelationship, regardless of ebbs and flows, PERMANENT until the class problems of the proletariat are SOLVED. Let us follow the process of the class struggle, explaining the meaning of the Permanent Revolution and its relation to American imperialism.

The most important Marxian concept today, repeated by Stalinism in dead form but not understood in living reality, is the Lenin formula, "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolution." In 1917, Lenin and Trotsky filled this formula with reality by applying the theory of the Permanent Revolution to the weakest link in the capitalist chain. Other weak links of the capitalist chain followed, in Italy, in Germany, 1918, in Hungary, in Finland, in Bulgaria, in Germany in 1923 and in China,

but all were drowned in the workers' blood. Weak links and favorable objective situations but—wrong policies.

The vanguard fighters already know the role social democracy played in these revolutions. It is the task of the Left Opposition to explain the role Stalinism played in these revolutions since 1923. History will look to Stalinism for an answer. And the question can only be answered upon the basis of the application of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Stalinism as a bud and now as the flower of the reaction against October did not then, nor does it now, understand the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Stalinism has merely usurped the heritage of the October Revolution, which is the first fruit of the theory of the Permanent Revolution.

There are reasons for the one successful revolution and the many failures that followed. The determining factor in the problem was not the objective condition which was the most favorable, but the vanguard and its policies or lack of policies. The major defeats of the proletariat and the Communist vanguard commenced with the 1923 revolution in Germany. Up to that time the Russian revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky was consolidating itself, the International was building a world party, and the workers were in motion against world capitalism. Upon the defeat of the 1923 revolution the American dollar propped up decay capitalism, and Stalinism replaced Marxism in the Communist International. The theory of socialism in one country replaced the theory of the Permanent Revolution, national reformism replaced internationalism.

The theory of the Permanent Revolution may be outlined in the following manner: "First, it embraces the problem of the transition of the democratic revolution into the socialist. This is really the historic origin of the theory. The conception of the permanent revolution was set up by the great Communists of the middle of the 19th century, by Marx and his adherents, in opposition to the democratic ideology which, as is known, presumed that all questions should be settled peacefully, in the reformist or evolutionary way, by the erection of the 'national' or democratic state. Marx regarded the bourgeois revolution as the

direct introduction to the proletarian revolution."

"The second aspect of the 'permanent' theory already characterizes the socialist revolution as such. For an indefinitely long time and in constant internal struggle all social relations are transformed. The process necessarily retains a political character, that is, it develops through collisions of various groups of society in transformation. Outbreaks of Civil War and foreign wars alternate with periods of 'peaceful' reforms. Revolutions in economy, technique, science, the family, morals and usages develop in complicated reciprocal action and do not allow society to reach an equilibrium. Therein lies the permanent character of the social revolution as such."

"The international character of the social revolution which constitutes the third aspect of the theory of the permanent revolution, results from the state of economy and social structure of humanity. Internationalism is no abstract principle, but a theoretical and political reflection of the character of world economy, of the world development of productive forces, and the world scale of the class struggle. **The social revolution begins on national grounds. But it cannot be completed on these grounds.**"

"In an isolated proletarian dictatorship, the internal and external contradictions grow inevitably together with the growing successes. Remaining isolated, the proletarian state must finally become a victim of these contradictions. The way out for it lies only in the victory of the proletariat of the advanced countries. Viewed from this standpoint, the national revolution is not a self-sufficient whole! It is only a link in the international chain. The international revolution presents a permanent process in spite of all fleeting rises and falls."

What is the relation of American imperialism to this theory, or to be more exact, the continuation of the Russian revolution to the world revolution? The United States as the strongest link of world capitalism struggles to prevent the proletarian revolution from absorbing the world, no matter where the civil war breaks out. World capitalism, which includes American imperialism as the dynamo of the system of reaction, intervenes in every class struggle between the exploiters and exploited.

The weak links of the capitalist chain

\* All quotations from L. D. Trotsky, **The Permanent Revolution**, New York, 1931.

must be smashed. The October revolution must be extended. The iron ring of the world capitalists, (with the backing of the American dollar) around the Soviet Union must be broken. The extension of the October revolution means to fight, not only the national bourgeoisie, but to fight world capitalism and particularly the economic pressure of American imperialism.

The break-down of capitalism, in the economic and political crisis stays the hands of world capitalism in their fight against the world proletariat and the revolutionary workers fighting the capitalists on the "weak link". The intervention of the imperialists in support of the capitalists of the "weak link" only becomes effective when the vanguard of the proletariat does not present a policy based on a Marxian revolutionary theory. In Russia with Lenin and Trotsky, the correct revolutionary theory and action held at bay the world capitalist intervention. But the non-Marxian revolutionary theory of Stalinism, for a series of revolutions, since 1923 did not enable the proletariat to hold in check the counter-offensive of the imperialists.

Only after the defeat of the German revolution in 1923 were the world imperialists successful in their intervention through the Dawes Plan and then the Young Plan. And likewise, in every other revolutionary situation, the world capitalists intervened at the start but were only successful to the degree that the policies of the vanguard deviated from Marxism, from the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Correct theory and correct action is no guarantee to victory but only through the Marxian policy and action can the proletariat gain power.

American imperialism in its "peace role" stands as the bulwark against the extension of the October revolution. We expect nothing else from America and fight accordingly. Today we have another problem. Stalinism is a new growth of revisionism, poisoning the Marxian stream with the theory of socialism in one country. A theory which stifles and checks the action of the Communist parties in the struggle to extend the October revolution.

To extend the October revolution, means to understand the relation of American Imperialism to world capitalism and world economy. To extend the October revolution means to reject the Stalinist revisionist theory of socialism in one country and all that flows from it. To extend the October revolution means in the first place, to arm the vanguard with the Marxian theory of the Permanent Revolution.