

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y. 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
VOLUME VI, NO. 23 [WHOLE NO. 170] NEW YORK, SATURDAY APRIL 15, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

AUSTRIA NEXT IN ORDER!

Austrian Bonapartism

By Leon
Trotzky

The situation in Austria is not qualitatively different from the situation in Germany, but only lags behind it in its development. After the political life in Austria had fallen under the press of the Fascist overturn in Germany, the culmination in Austria is drawing closer not by days, but by hours.

Austria is passing through a period that is analogous to the period of Brüning-Papen-Schleicher in Germany, or to the period of Held in Bavaria, that is, the period of semi-Bonapartist dictatorship, which maintains itself by the mutual neutralization of the proletarian and Fascist camps. For Austria too we prefer the term **Bonapartism** (in contradistinction to all other purely descriptive and absolutely meaningless formulations such as clerical-Fascism, legitimist Fascism, etc., etc.), as a very clear characterization of the feature of a government that veers in between two irreconcilable camps; a government that is forced to an ever increasing degree to supplant by military and police apparatus the social support that is ebbing away from under its feet. There is expressed in the tendency toward Bonapartism the urge of the possessing classes to escape an open break with legality, a long period of civil war and the bloody Fascist dictatorship by means of military and police measures that are screened by the paragraphs kept in reserve in democratic constitutions.

There obtain historical epochs when the social foundation of the government "above all classes" grows at the expense of the extreme wings—during these periods Bonapartism can place its seal upon an entire historical epoch. But the Austrian "Bonapartism" of today like the German of yesterday, can have only an episodic character, filling in the short interval between the democratic regime and the regime of Fascism.

It is true that the "Bonapartists" in Austria have a much wider parliamentary base and that the Fascists are much weaker than was the case in Germany. But, in the first place, the Christian socialists are melting away while the Nazis are growing apace; secondly, behind the backs of the Nazis stands Fascist Germany. The question is settled by dynamics. Theoretical

* The "Arbeiter Zeitung" itself disturbed the ghost of Bonapartism when it wrote about the "19th Brumaire of Dollfuss"; but the social-democratic sheet uses this only as a literary rattle. We would seek in vain from the Austro-Marxists, in general, for the analysis of politics from the class viewpoint. They require Marxism only to explain the past; but they motivate themselves in actual politics by psychologic combinations that are second hand and by the hope that everything will turn out somehow in the end.

Illinois Hunger March Smashed

The April 7th State Hunger March organized by the Illinois Committee of the Unemployed Councils was fearfully smashed by the armed state forces—the combined forces of the state militia, the state highway police, the county sheriffs and their deputies, and in some localities, the American Legion—under the direct leadership of Governor Horner. A conference of county sheriffs with Gov. Horner was held several days previous to the State Hunger March and immediately after that there began a reign of terror and arrests against the Hunger Marchers.

In the northern part of the state, after the large Chicago delegation met the delegation from Rockford at Ottawa, the Hunger Marchers were attacked by the state highway police and gassed and clubbed. Over fifty Hunger Marchers were arrested and Karl Lockner, the chairman of the Illinois Committee is still being held in jail. After the battle with the police in which the marchers defended themselves courageously, they were forced to turn back toward Chicago. In Peoria, Bloomington, Decatur and other places the police placed barriers on all the highways leading to Springfield, stopped every auto and questioned every person on the way toward Springfield. And if they could not give a good account of themselves they were turned back; even farmers coming into town to sell their eggs had to go thru a hard drilling by the state highway police.

In the southern part of the state the state authorities were even more vigilant, especially in and around Macoupin County where the miners have organized powerful Unemployed Councils. In Virden, a small mining town, the whole town was placed under mar-

analysis, as well as the fresh experience in Germany equally bespeak the fact that the Viennese police and bureaucratic dictatorship cannot long maintain itself. Matters are rapidly coming to a head. The power must be taken either by the Fascists or by the workers.

The Possibility of Postponement

We do not know what is going on backstage. But there cannot be any doubt that the governments of those countries which surround and oppress Austria have brought into action all the levers. Not a single one of these governments, not even Italy, has any interest in seeing the power in Austria pass into the hands of the Fascists. The leaders of the Austrian social democracy see, indubitably, in this situation the highest trump of the whole game; in their eyes the revolutionary activity of the Austrian proletariat must needs be supplanted by financial and other different sorts of pressure that can be brought by the nations of the former Entente. This reckoning is the most fallacious of all. The hostility on the part of the victor nations toward national socialism was one of the reasons for its explosive growth in Germany. The

American Committee Appeals for Exiled Russian Bolshevik-Leninists

Under the blows of Stalinist persecution and the increasing hardships of the crisis in the Soviet Union, thousands of our comrades of the Russian Opposition, in prison or exile, are enduring such privations that their very lives are in danger. Comrade Trotsky, as chairman of an International Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition) has written an appeal for help, which we publish below. An American Committee of this commission has been organized, consisting of Sidney Hook, treasurer; Max Eastman, Diego Rivera, V. F. Calverton, Herman Simpson, and B. J. Field, secretary. This committee is appealing for support to all friends of the October Revolution who want to help keep physically alive the tremendous revolutionary forces represented by the imprisoned and exiled Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition in Soviet Russia.

We ask the friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition to support the work of the American Committee and contribute as liberally as possible to the fund which it is raising.

To All Friends of the October Revolution:

In the prisons and in the places of deportation of the Soviet Union there are thousands of Bolsheviks who built up the Party during its

OPEN FORUM

trial law by the mayor, martial law proclamations were pasted all over the town which warned every citizen of the town to stay in his house on the day of the march. In Livingston, the American Legion members of the Progressive Minors of America were deputized to keep the Hunger Marchers from going into Springfield. Tony Minicelli, secretary of the Illinois Committee of the Unemployed Councils was arrested in Bend at a mass meeting and is still held in jail on turned-up charges in Carlinville where he was taken after the arrests.

The state armed forces not only smashed the Hunger March but are trying in every way possible to prevent the growth of the Unemployed Councils. The reason for this is the desperate plight of the unemployed workers, especially

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The Farmers' Revolt and the American Workers

Speaker:
JACK WEBER

International Workers School Hall
126 East 16th Street

Sunday, April 6 1933, 8 P. M.

ADMISSION: 15 Cents

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

closer that the Austrian social democracy will link itself with the policies of France and of the little Entente, whose task consists in keeping Austria in the state of "independence", i. e., isolation and impotence, the greater will be the rate at which Fascism will turn into a party of national liberation in the eyes of petty bourgeois masses. Along this line, only the armed intervention of the Entente, i. e., outright occupation could prevent Fascism from the conquest of power. But in this, the question of Austria merges with the question of Fascist Germany. If Hitler finds a modus vivendi with France—and there is hardly any reason to doubt it—then France will find a modus vivendi with Fascist Austria. In both cases, of course—on the bones of the proletariat, German and Austrian. To think that Fascist Austria would immediately destroy those barriers which separate it from Fascist Germany is to place much too great a significance upon "national" phrases and to undervalue the capacity of Fascism for wagging its tail before those who are stronger than it. It can be said with assurance that of all strategic calculations, the

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American Committee Appeals for Exiled Russian Bolshevik-Leninists

illegal period, who took an active part in the October Revolution, who fought during the civil wars, who laid the foundations of the Soviet State. Even now, all, all of them remain absolutely devoted and firm soldiers of the proletarian revolution. In the time of danger for the Soviet State they will constitute the surest detachment in its camp. They were subjected to persecution only for having criticized the policy of the leading faction—within limits where internal criticism constituted the vital element of Party democracy within Bolshevism. Among the deported Bolsheviks of the Left Opposition, the figure most widely known throughout the world is Christian Georgevitch Rakovsky, former member of the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, Soviet Ambassador in Paris and in London.

A great part of the Left Opposition tried in 1928-1929 to be reinstated into the Party at the price of renouncing its right to criticism. There were several thousand individual captulations of this kind bound up to a certain extent with exaggerated hopes in the Five Year Plan. The experience of the past four years has resulted in the majority of the "repentant" becoming again the object of ferocious persecutions. Suffice it to say that among those arrested and deported during the last few months and above all during the last few weeks are: Zinoviev, one of the founders of the Party, permanent member of the Central Committee, Chairman of the Communist International and of the Petrograd Soviet; Kamenev, one of the closest collaborators of Lenin, permanent member of the Central Committee, adjutant to Lenin in the position of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet; L. N. Smirnov, one of the indefatigable founders of the Party during the years of Czarism, member of the Central Committee, leader of the struggle against Koltchak, member of the Council of People's Commissars; Preobrazhensky, the oldest member of the Party, one of its best-known theoreticians, member of the Central Committee, who carried out until very recently important diplomatic functions abroad. One could also cite scores of names of the best-known revolutionary Bolsheviks (V. Kasparova, L. S. Sosnovsky, B. M. Eltsin, V. Kossir, N. I. Muralov, F. Dingelstedt, V. M. Smirnov, Saponov, Grunstein, Mratchkovsky, Oulmiste, Pereverseev, and others), who, during the most difficult years, constituted the framework of the Party, and along with them, hundreds and thousands of the younger generation (V. B. Eltsin, the son; Solntsev; Magid, Yakovlev, Nevelson, Stopalov, Poznansky, Sermux and others) who went through the years of the civil war, through the years of enormous difficulties and of grandiose victories of the proletarian regime.

The situation of the imprisoned and deported Oppositionists, the majority of whom have been separated from their work and their family for the past five years, is absolutely extraordinary. They represent the Left wing of the Bol-

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Start Fund for German Left

We have already called the attention of our readers to the Fund which is being collected on an international scale to assist the German section of the International Left Opposition in its work. Our comrades are carrying on under the greatest of difficulties. The first issue of its paper "Unser Wort" (Our Word), which came out less than two weeks after the proscription of the whole Communist press by the Hitler regime, has now been followed by the second number, this time six pages. Our comrades report that the copies of the paper which are smuggled from Czechoslovakia into Germany, are eagerly read and spread from hand to hand by the militant workers. But the obvious difficulties created by the terror regime make it imperative that the vanguard throughout the world should lend financial assistance to our German comrades. It is towards this end that the preliminary International Conference decided to establish a Fund for the German Opposition. Every member of the Opposition throughout the world is being assessed a day's wage for this purpose. In addition, we are making an urgent appeal to all our friends and sympathizers to contribute speedily and generously to this Fund. The New York branch has already set itself the quota of \$75.00; the other branches will act correspondingly.

The need is great and urgent! The response should be generous and speedy! Send all funds to 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Unique Russian Film to Be Shown

Announcement has just been made of the first private movie showing of the first authentic and actual pictures of the important events and actions of the Russian revolution.

The most important film you have ever seen, one you will want to see over and over.

The filming of these events was taken by over one hundred camera men working directly under the various governments and noted officials and leaders in Russia.

This is a limited, private and subscription performance under the auspices of the Film Club of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). No tickets at the door. Members must obtain subscription tickets in advance. Subscriptions are strictly limited to the seating capacity of the hall. The film will be shown at the LABOR TEMPLE, 242 East 14th St., New York City, on Saturday, May 6th, 1933 at 8 P. M. sharp.

Members, obtain your subscription ticket at once at the headquarters of the Communist League of America (Opposition), 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Perth Amboy THE TRAGEDY OF THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT MUST A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY BE ORGANIZED IN GERMANY?

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary, C. L. A. (O.)
ALBER WEISBORD, National Secretary, C. L. S. on Sunday, April 23, 1933, 8:30 P. M.
at the OLD Y. M. H. A. HALL, Smith and McLeeman Sts.
ADMISSION 15 CENTS
Joint Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition) and Communist League of Struggle.

Convict Patterson

United Mass Protest Must Save Scottsboro Boys

A viciously prejudiced jury composed of twelve representatives of the poisoned ideology of the reactionary, capitalist South brought in a verdict of guilty against Haywood Patterson, the first of the Scottsboro boys to be tried in the new trials ordered by the United States Supreme Court. According to Alabama law the jury is charged with the duty of fixing the penalty. This jury decided on death in the electric chair.

With this verdict the blood-lust ridden, southern capitalists have reaffirmed their intention to snuff out the lives of all who dare to resent and struggle against the intolerable conditions to which capitalism reduces the workers and share croppers in the South in its ruthless scramble for profit. That is the significance of the verdict for our class and our cause. As far as the Scottsboro boys themselves are concerned, it is not at all a verdict arrived at after due process of law. There is no such thing for workers in capitalist courts. It is murder done according to the niceties of the law and with due regard for the devious course of "justice" in the higher courts. It is class murder.

From the legal point of view the state had no case. Its witnesses were the usual social riff-raff sharked up by the prosecution in frame-up cases. A notorious prostitute was its chief witness. And her testimony was flatly contradicted by Ruby Bates' sensational repudiation of her former evidence. Other evidence introduced by the defense left no doubt that the state's chief witness was a perjurer. The weakness of the state's legal case was compensated for by extra-legal "arguments". Fiery crosses flamed against the night sky from the hills surrounding the town. Armed mobs threatened to storm the jail, lynch the boys, the witnesses and the defense lawyers. Armed militiamen were on duty in the court-room. The prosecution appealed to local prejudice throughout. But in its summation it reached the depths of narrow-minded provincialism and medieval bigotry. To read it is to make the blood boil. All of this, inevitable and to be foreseen from the beginning, outweighed the legal evidence or lack of it.

That is how it was in the Mooney and the Sacco and Vanzetti trials; the same frame-up, prejudice, intimid-

ation, corruption and inflaming of ignorance and vicious prejudice. In these monuments to capitalist bestiality are lessons which have been burned into the consciousness of the workers the world over. Large sections of the workers know what these trials are worth. Their experience teaches them daily what capitalist justice is. In their understanding it is an inseparable part of the capitalist system.

The capitalist press, the handmaiden of these brutal orgies, has not been slow to discharge its duty to its masters. It pretends to be astonished by the verdict. The New York World Telegram feigns astonishment. It is sure that the verdict will be overturned in the higher courts. By this perfidious hypocrisy it strives to keep alive the illusion that justice is impartial, above the classes. The Times also bemoans the sad miscarriage of justice. But it cannot see what remains to be done. Perhaps the Governor of Alabama will pardon the victims or commute their sentence to a term of imprisonment! That is the Times' way of saying that the case is a legal one, a matter of "justice", not to be taken out of the channels of bourgeois democracy.

The N. A. A. C. P. says the same thing but says it more openly. The attack on the I. L. D. and the Communist Party for organizing a mass protest movement, which the Times only implies, the N. A. A. C. P. makes explicit. The record of this reformist organization in Scottsboro Case is a foul blot on the pages of the struggle of the Negroes for economic, political and social equality. From the very beginning of the case it assisted the prosecution to the best of its ability. It strove with all its resources to hamstring the defense organized by the I. L. D. All through the fight it rabidly attacked the I. L. D. and the Communist Party. Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays of its legal staff, and prominent in its executive councils, offered to enter the case on condition that all the lawyers in the defense would agree to disassociate themselves from all organizations. This was equivalent to a demand that the I. L. D. retire from the case.

The black thread of treachery runs through the policy of the N. A. A. C. P. and its white, liberal supporters and executives: John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, Clarence Darrow, Arthur Garfield Hays, etc., etc. And it runs through it today. At the last meeting of its directors they adopted a resolution on the Scottsboro Case. It was reported in the Times of April 11. The Times says: "The board commended the 'firmness and fairness in which Judge Horton conducted the trial.'" And: "—adopted a resolution at the meeting—expressing the belief

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Genuine United Front for Mooney Formed by the St. Louis Workers

St. Louis.—A genuine unity movement to mobilize the workers of this city for the freedom of Tom Mooney, is now well under way. Besides the organizations which have already endorsed the movement, efforts are being made to draw in every other working class organization in the city. Below is to be found the call sent out by the "Free Tom Mooney United Front Conference", through its secretary, comrade Martin Payer, who is also secretary of the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

TO ALL DISTRICT COUNCILS, LOCAL UNIONS, LODGES: TO ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, POLITICAL, FRATERNAL, CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL: GREETINGS:

In accordance with the stirring call issued from San Quentin prison by TOM MOONEY, the St. Louis Molders' Union, the Communist Molders' Defense Committee has taken the initiative in organizing a "FREE TOM MOONEY" UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE of all unions and working-class organizations to fight for the immediate FREEDOM OF TOM MOONEY and to work for the building of a large FREE TOM MOONEY NATIONAL CONGRESS to be held in Chicago, Illinois, April 30th to May 2nd, 1933. We are sending you herewith the call for the election of delegates to this Congress.

The freedom of TOM MOONEY is rightfully the deepest concern of the entire working-class. It was because MOONEY was a fearless fighter in behalf of organized labor and for better working conditions that he was framed and has already spent nearly 17 years of his life behind prison bars. In order to give the widest possible support to TOM MOONEY, we feel it is necessary and timely that in St. Louis (in addition to the mass-meeting on the day of Mooney's new trial, April 26th, we also organize a joint demonstration and parade on May First in support of the fight for MOONEY'S FREEDOM. This will give added weight and pressure to the NATIONAL MOONEY CONGRESS in Chicago and serve to unite broad masses in the struggle.

We therefore call upon your organization to endorse the MOONEY MAY-DAY DEMONSTRATION AND PARADE IN ST. LOUIS and also to send three representatives to the United Front May Day Conference which will be held at Turner Hall, 1508 Chouteau Avenue, on Sunday afternoon, April 16th, at 2 P. M. sharp.

SHOW SOLIDARITY OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN ST. LOUIS while our delegates are deliberating in the Chicago NATIONAL MOONEY CONGRESS on the next steps in the fight for the FREEDOM OF TOM MOONEY AND ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS!

Forward to the Freedom of Tom Mooney! For a Mass Mooney May Day Demonstration! ! ! FREE TOM MOONEY UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE

Endorsed by: Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, Unemployed Councils in St. Louis,

Pattern-Makers' Union, Molders' Union No. 10, Unemployed Citizens' League, International Labor Defense, St. Louis Waiters' Union, Local No. 20, Communist League of America (Opposition), International Workers' School, John Reed Club, Communist Party, International Workers' Order, Needle Trades Workers Industrial Order, Young Communist League, Molders' Union Local No. 59.

Moscow Trial Starts

The trial that is taking place in Moscow at present, involving the British organizers of sabotage connected with the Metro-Vickers concern, throws light upon the feverish efforts of the foreign imperialists to hasten the collapse of Soviet economy, brought to a critical state by Stalinist mismanagement. As we go to press, the story is cabled from across still bear a confused and contradictory character. We expect to have a critical account and an evaluation of the proceedings in a coming issue of The Militant.

Roosevelt Reforestation Swindle

Tens of thousands of American boys are being herded into regular army camps, presumably for forestry training. A quarter of a million will be regimented by May 15, according to Robert Fechner, national head of the "Civilian Conservation Corps". The government is pushing for the full quota of 250,000 by the middle of May, when the reforestation program is to begin in earnest.

The 1,800 supposedly homeless youths from New York who boarded the buses for Fort Slocum are the first victims of a novel brand of efficiency known as the "New Deal". According to the government plan, each of the nine military corps areas from New England to the Pacific Coast, will be recruiting or "conditioning" center for the forestry workers of that area. They will be given army work clothes, army grub and live

in army barracks. They will all get military training in the form of infantry drill under the strict discipline of superior officers. "Education" and "recreation" will be completed supervised by government authorities.

"We intend to make self-supporting men of them," says Adjutant Furey of Fort Slocum. Let's see what he means by that. Do the men actually receive the \$30 per month that they are promised? Not at all. The "investigators" of the New York Home Relief Bureau of the Department of Public Welfare are instructed to supply 7,500 unmarried young men between the ages of 18 and 23 from off the relief list. They are neither homeless nor wandering. \$25 of every \$30 earned by the worker is to be deducted and turned over to the Home Relief Bureau which promptly deducts that amount from the family budget, plus \$1.50 per week (or over \$6 per month) from the food budget. Others are removed entirely from the Welfare list. Anyone who knows the narrow margin upon which "relief" families live, knows what hardships these deductions are.

Now the Home Relief Bureau of the Department of Public Welfare has on its lists 180,000 families, or almost a million individuals. It spends ten million dollars a month caring for them. Of these there are about 60,000 on what is called "work relief" under the City Commission Work Bureau. Each man works five days every other week, or a maximum of ten days a month. For this he gets \$45 a month, but he is cut loose and must support his family on this sum. Those on Home Relief, however, average \$55 to \$65 per month. The budgets are pared down to an almost unbelievable

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Friday April 21, 1933 at 8 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA HALL 15 St. & Irving Pl.

SPRING DANCE & FESTIVAL

for the Benefit of 'THE MILITANT'

Jazz Orchestra - Songs - Other Features

Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition) and Protomagia Club.

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Hundreds at Toronto Meeting

Toronto.—The voice of international proletarian solidarity with the German toilers, again rang out in Toronto as Jewish and German workers jammed to capacity two halls in a stirring protest demonstration against Fascism and Jewish pogroms in Germany; hundreds of other workers again had to be turned away for lack of accommodation. Such was the response to the leaflet issued just one day previous, calling for international proletarian action against Fascism.

The "United Front Conference" which called this mass demonstration is doubly significant; first, because it is the first real united front organized by the workers in Canada against Fascism, and secondly because it marks the first united front of Communist and reformist organizations held in Toronto for a number of years. While as yet the conference has been limited to Jewish proletarian bodies it was announced at the sitting by the sponsor, the "Left Poale Zion", that the Labor Party (reformist) has made plans to call a similar conference of all the English trade unions and labor organizations shortly to which they would become a part.

The call of the Comintern for united front action of the Communist and the reformist organizations, even at this late date has already had its response. Significant is the fact that the Left Poale Zion and not the Stalinists sponsored this conference. The Stalinist press even at late as two weeks ago in an editorial reply to the *Militant* denied that a change of policy had taken place and that united front action of Communist and reformist organizations was permissible.

The Left Opposition was represented at the Conference by the Unser Kampf Club and Spartacus Youth organizations. Let us now refer back to the mass demonstration itself.

The first speaker was our comrade M. Spector. The response from the gathering at his appearance must have nettled the Stalinist leaders, as it showed that their campaign of slander against him was a flop.

Comrade Spector in a true internationalist speech pointed out that Fascism was not just a Jewish question but one of the international working class. That the Jewish problem would only be solved with the victory of the proletariat over capitalism. The success of Fascism meant war against the USSR which we must defend with our last drop of blood. Organized united front action of whole international proletariat would defeat Fascism. The L. O. welcomes a real united front action of Communist and reformist organizations against their common enemy. For two years we have fought for its realization.

I will pass over the speeches of the Left Poale Zion the German worker and the Right wing representative and come to that of com. Ehrlich, the Stalinist spokesman. Comrade Ehrlich also made a very able speech on behalf of his grouping. Comrade Ehrlich did not lack the gall to stand up and say, "we always stood for united front action of Communist and reformist organizations, and that it was the reformist leadership who alone were against this." The united front from below only, "social-Fascism"—where, oh where, lie ye buried!

After writing the above, the latest issue of the *Kampf*, the Stalinist organ, in the Jewish language came off the press, with a report of the conference, in which they say, "...The struggle against Fascism cannot be widely developed if the Conference will base itself on representatives of organizations which don't exist and have no following amongst the masses", (i. e., the Spartacus Youth Club, Unser Kampf. If this is true, then we ask the editors of the "Kampf", why the continual venomous attacks against us in your press. Is it logical for a paper to write editorials against people "who don't exist" and "have no following"? The editors of the *Kampf* are not so illogical; they are only trying to cover up the truth, which is the growth of the Left Opposition and the crisis inside their own ranks. Workers Unity also devotes more than a whole page of the last issue to refuting the ideas of the "handful of Trotskyists" who don't exist. Even the C. L. D. L. (I. L. D.) must also condemn the "half dozen Trotskyists who have no following".

Further on in this "report" we learn that "Spector voted against all the proposals of the Left wing and supported the Left Poale Zion." Do the editors of the "Kampf" believe this also? No! We know their reply, "What are a few lies more or less when it is all in the interests of the revolution?" Unfortunately for the political position of the Stalinist leaders, the number of lies seem to be growing more and more, and the interests of the revolution have not obtained any gains by such methods.

—M. Q.

GREEK L. O. IN ELECTIONS

In view of the opportunist election tactic of the official party—which appeared on the ballot as the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc—the Greek Archio-Marxists (Left Opposition) participated independently in the recent election. It succeeded in bringing the full Communist program before the workers at rallies as well as in advancing the campaign for a united Communist party.

A Stalinist United Front in 'Frisco

San Francisco.—After an unbelievably long delay the Communist Party in San Francisco decided to have a united front mass meeting in protest against the Fascist terror in Germany. It seems that the protest mass meeting of the Jewish population against the persecutions of Jews reminded the Stalinist leadership that something is going on in far-away Germany. But at this point the great strategists of small maneuvers were immediately confronted with the problem of how to get up the meeting. It is all right for the Communist Party in New York to call a united front mass meeting in its own name. These hard boiled Easterners can stand the sudden change of temperature. But how will the sensitive Californians with their inflammable imaginations stand the sudden change of the hot temperature of the "Third Period" to the cool realization of the bankruptcy of the theory of "Social Fascism"? The bureaucratic imagination put so severely to the test of its life, flares up in the racket of its previous experience and lands... on the Workers Cultural Federation. That small, till now obscure organization will start the great tempest which will sweep Hitler off his feet! The united front mass meeting will be called by this organization...with "the wholehearted support" of the Communist party!

When I came to that "united front" conference I found there some thirty people, mostly representing themselves and almost all familiar faces. The small room was so big and the anticipations of the strategists so modest that the representative of the I. L. D. told us that the next meeting will take place in a smaller room: it will be less expensive.

When the names of the delegates were being called I handed in the following note: "Being a member of the Communist League of America (Opposition), an organization which is fighting in the forefront against the danger of Fascism in Germany, I ask to be seated at this united front conference as a fraternal delegate." And as soon as his chance came a party bureaucrat jumped up and made a motion not to seat me. Another supported him by saying that there is no organization of the Opposition in the city. I reminded him to no avail that at the Tom Mooney united front conference the delegate from the Food Workers Industrial Union was seated as a full-fledged delegate though there is not even a single coffee stand which it controls in this city. The German Cultural Association was adamant in not listening to reason.

Anyway the delegate of the A. F. of L. Union of the Bakery Wagon Drivers, an old timer in the Left wing movement, asked for the floor and vigorously protested against bringing this kind of factional fight into the united front. He said that "if a corrupt A. F. of L. faker would come in he would get the floor right away, but when a militant worker who is willing to fight against Fascism is offering his cooperation, he is shouted down. These are the methods of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party just as well as the opportunist leaders of I. W. W." After that some of the delegates asked me again to explain what kind of an organization the Left Opposition is, which I willingly did. That closed the discussion. A motion was carried to send a telegram to the German ambassador in Washington with the request to deliver it to Hitler. Except that little accident with the "Trotskyist", everything went so smoothly that even the Moscow Art Theatre could not do better: the roles were very well distributed.

L. GREEN

A Disastrous Policy In the Furniture Workers Union

At the last membership meeting of the Furniture Workers Industrial Union (Upheavals Section), held Thursday, April 6, Stalinism once more demonstrated its impotence and unprincipledness when faced with burning problems which demand immediate action.

In his report on shops, the organizer of the union reported on the Newport Furniture Co., one of the largest frame-making shops in the city. The workers of this shop have gone down on strike and they look to the F. W. I. U. for leadership. These workers who have not received any wages for 5 or 6 weeks are fighting against the instituting of piece work, for back pay, a forty-hour week, etc. So determined are these workers to win the strike that the police terror and gangster attacks serve only to make them more militant in their struggle for better conditions.

At the last membership meeting of the union, I made the following motion: That the Furniture Workers Industrial Union in the shops which it controls, make a decision that no man be allowed to uphold a frame made by scabs in that shop and that we notify the strikers of this decision in order to give them more courage and to increase their militancy.

It is with a burning sense of shame that I am forced to report that the Stalinist bureaucrats voted down the motion and thereby placed the union in a position where it is scabbing on workers in another section of the industry. One member of the union who spoke for this motion was told by one of the "leaders": "You are too revolutionary tonight, comrade."

The bosses throughout the city have organized their men to break

For the Opposition!

Form American Section of International Commission

(Continued from Page 1)

sheviki Party and of the world labor movement. That is just why they were struck down during the years of political ebb in the U. S. S. R. and of successful counter-revolution in the whole world. The repression which has struck them becomes more difficult as the events confirm the correctness of the criticism and the warnings of the Left Opposition. The shortage of supplies in the U. S. S. R. now renders exceedingly difficult the existence of all strata of the population, even in the industrial and cultural centers of the country. It is not difficult to imagine the unbearable physical privations to which are subjected the thousands of opponents of the ruling faction, scattered throughout prisons and in the most distant choked-off points of Siberia and Central Asia. Never before have the deported suffered such privations as today. In the years of the revolutionary high tide, the liberal and radical bourgeois rendered substantial assistance to the deported and to the prisoners. In the years of world revolutionary ebb, of world crisis and of famine in the U. S. S. R., of the vanguard of the October Revolution can expect support only from its most devoted and its surest friends.

How necessary and urgent this support is, is attested best of all by this extract from a letter from Moscow which I have just received: "I want to write to you especially with regard to the deportees, and their difficult situation. Difficult is the least one can call it. Their situation is horrible. The comrades are literally given up to their fate—hunger and the elements. They are not given work. They are deprived of rations, they have insufficient clothing, they are never through with sufferings, cold and hunger. Yesterday came—a rare event—a letter from V.: 'They want to get us by hunger. We will not do penance. We are right. We will die of hunger, but we will not do penance.'"

"We make collections, but it is very risky here; to help the Oppositionists with a chervonets means to fall into the lists of enemies, and to be deported. And money does no good, since, in the places of deportation, it is impossible to buy anything and from here we can send practically nothing. We need foreign coupons, we need foreign exchange."

"The whole world can abroad. Undertake a campaign for the benefit of the deported Oppositionists. The question is one of the physical destruction of our comrades: sincere and devoted revolutionists. Many of them have proved for decades their fidelity to the revolution, to Bolshevism, to the Soviet State."

In appealing to you for help, I am fulfilling an elementary duty toward my friends, my companions in ideas and in arms. I hope that you will accomplish your duty toward the fighters of the October Revolution. Modest as the help of each one may be, we must make sure of it, for the need brooks no delay.

Subscriptions can be sent to the following address: SIDNEY HOOK, Treasurer of the American Committee, 234 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

An accounting for the sums received and for their distribution will either be published in the press or sent periodically to all the subscribers.

Signed: L. TROTSKY.

Chairman of the Commission for Help to the Imprisoned and Deported Bolsheviks (Left Opposition).

Illinois Hunger March Smashed

(Continued from Page 1)

among the miners. To portray the horrors of the unemployment among the Illinois miners needs someone with a Dantesque imagination. And now that the summer months are almost upon us, the economic situation throughout the state is growing worse, with factories and coal mines closing down. More and more workers are forced to organize in order to get their relief from the state. That is why the state officials mobilized the armed forces of the whole state to combat and crush the Hunger March. But despite the reign of terror that was let loose against the unemployed workers, the workers responded in great masses to the call of the Unemployed Councils for the March on Springfield. In many localities many hundreds gathered and waited to go to Springfield, but were unable to start because of the lack of transportation.

After the Hunger March was smashed and the various columns of the Marchers were forced to turn back to their home towns, the Governor issued a statement that he would allow an audience to a committee of twenty, picked by the Hunger Marchers. After the Governor had put on a reign of terror the like of which has never before been attempted in the state of Illinois, this gesture was nothing more nor less than a Cornish hug and a political snare.

The Left Opposition warned the state committee in advance that this maneuver on the part of the Governor was nothing more than political chicanery and that to go before the Governor with a committee of twenty would not only be capitulating to him, but also, a betrayal in the eyes of the thousands of unemployed workers who took part in the Hunger March, and that the correct revolutionary

policy under the circumstances would be to boycott the Governor. In line with this policy the Hunger March Fraction of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) and the Spartacus Youth Club issued a statement. The statement was then shown to several of the Hunger Marchers and the result was that they immediately saw that our policy and statement was correct and refused to go to see the Governor. But, of course, the Stalinist bureaucrats had only one political tactic—handed down to them from above. When it was smashed by the enemy they were left in a quagmire and could not see through the trap laid for them by the Governor. So when the committee appeared before the Governor, he cuttily chided the committee for organizing the whole demonstration. And so, again, if the Stalinists had accepted the correct policy of the Left Opposition the movement could have been ahead, at least, a few steps

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (Left Opposition) ON THE HUNGER MARCH TO SPRINGFIELD.

Governor Horner has invited a committee of twenty representatives of the Hunger March (State) to Springfield to consult with him at 4 P. M. on April 7, 1933. Bearing in mind the events which preceded this invitation, we have decided to emphatically boycott this "liberal" offer of the Governor and to issue this statement to the workers of the State of Illinois:

1. The Governor, after violating the rights of the workers by submitting them to terror and attack, has ironically requested a meeting with himself and the delegates of the Hunger March, which is, in essence, a request for the participation

in times of strikes, hours count. The membership must oblige the leadership of the union to change its policy with regard to this strike immediately.

The only way to rally the furniture workers around the banner of the Industrial Union is to show them that the union is willing to take up the fight of the workers in any section of the industry. This shop which was once controlled by the A. F. of L. (and is still considered such, although the workers have not paid dues to it for about a year), has asked for the leadership of the Industrial Union and has thereby shown that it is through with the sell-out policy of the A. F. of L., that it will no longer stand for passive resistance to boss terror displayed by the A. F. of L. We must immediately come to their aid, show them that we are the only ones who really take an interest in them, and are willing to give them the correct leadership in their struggle against the boss. Other shops will follow. We must be on the job to lead the way.

The militant elements in the union will fight to wipe out every vestige of A. F. of Lism that has seeped into the Industrial Union, and put in its stead solidarity of all the workers.

Let us open the gates to the organization of all the furniture workers into the ranks of the F. W. I. U. Now is the time.

—SOL LANKIN.

ants of the march to sheepishly bow to the tyranny, constitutional violations, and terror of the State officialdom.

Before inviting this delegation to the Capitol, Horner had ordered his armed forces to terrorize the Hunger Marchers break up all meetings and gatherings of the unemployed; stop all columns of marchers coming to Springfield by tear gas bombs, clubs, and martial law. Active leaders of the marchers have been arrested in all parts of the State. Armed guards patrol all roads leading into Springfield. The April 6, Springfield meeting was broken up and the April 7, demonstration prohibited by the armed forces of the Governor.

The striking miners of Illinois have been terrorized by the state police and company gunmen. The miners of the P. M. A. have fought the combined guards of Horner, Peabody, Lewis and Robinson thru mass pressure and have organized their union. Today the miners and workers of Illinois intend to use mass pressure to obtain immediate relief and other demands as listed in the program of the Hunger March.

The bosses and their Governor fear the mass pressure of the workers and are doing everything possible to stop it. The Governor fears the mass pressure of the unemployed workers and has resorted to brute force which succeeded in smashing the March. Governor Horner, office boy for the Peabody Coal Co. and other capitalists, will "allow" us to send a lobby-committee of 20 to present our demands. Such a gesture can serve only to separate the leaders from the masses. The bosses and their Governor "urge" the workers to stay home and to send a committee in place of masses of unemployed. Such a committee without the workers, he will consent to see.

Workers' Committee to visit the Governor, without the masses behind them, or after the masses have been driven out by boss terror, have no power. Such a committee will be used by the Governor to fool the workers, notwithstanding the intentions of the committee. Only the mass pressure of the workers can be of value in fighting the bosses. Just to the degree of mass pressure exerted by our class, precisely to that degree will the capitalists and their government apparatus grant us our immediate demands.

Workers! Do not let the terrorism of the bosses stop us in our struggle for our demands. We must return to our cities, to our unemployed councils, to our workers' organizations to increase the activity, to insure and to prepare for the exertion of mass pressure that will be powerful enough to smash the terror of the bosses and their government, as instituted in the state of Illinois.

Horner's terrorism against the workers, employed and unemployed, is the prelude to a period of increased terror against the strike of the Illinois miners under the leadership of the P. M. A. as well as new attacks against the unemployed.

We call upon all workers in the state of Illinois to continue and proceed with increased activity to bring about the mass pressure necessary to break this new offensive. A united front of all trade union, unemployed and labor organizations is an absolute prerequisite to the accomplishment of this task. We call upon you to demand:

1. For immediate relief for all unemployed, (\$5.00 for single workers, \$7.50 for families of two, etc.)
2. Unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the state.
3. The six-hour day—five day week, with no reduction in pay.
4. Long term credits to aid recognition of the Soviet Union.
5. Rescinding of martial law and withdrawal of all troops from the coal areas. Recall of the criminal syndicalist law.
6. No discrimination against negroes and strikers. For the right to picket, demonstrate and organize. For the right of workers to the highways.
7. For the immediate and unconditional release of all leaders of the Hunger March arrested in the struggle.

Hunger March Fraction, Communist League of America, Spartacus Youth Club

Neumann Is New Leader

Unser Wort, the illegal paper of the German Left Opposition, reports in its second issue:

The Stalinists have already found a scapegoat for their latest political crime. Ernst Thaelmann has been deprived of his function on the grounds of "improper conduct" and...his successor bears the name of none other than Heinz Neumann!

Half a year ago Heinz Neumann was discarded for "big theoretical mistakes". Neumann's confusion was only different in its shade from that of Thaelmann. In the factional struggle that ensued, Thaelmann came out on top. Neumann went to Moscow to repent, recognized all his mistakes and conceded Thaelmann's correctness on all questions. "An important chapter of struggle had been concluded on the ideological front."

Now Thaelmann has suffered shipwreck and—holcus polcus—the "disrupter" of yesterday has become the "historical leader" of today. But the patron of the "theoretical careerist" of the Canton is not one whit better than Thaelmann.

Fortunately, the Stalinists have lost every shred of authority among the advanced workers in Germany. The workers are turning toward revolutionary Marxism, which the Left Opposition alone embodies and represents.

Voices from Germany

The Condition of the Party After the Fascist Victory

(We publish below extracts from leaflets or correspondence from Germany. Everyone will understand that we have had to change the names. But all the notes we publish below are taken either from illegal leaflets or journals published by the Opposition, or from letters. Every fact reported is strictly exact. From this is outlined a tragic, but true picture. What the proletariat needs above all in these trying days is the truth, and not bragadocio of bankrupt bureaucrats. After having seen things as they are, every proletarian will be better able to know what is to be done: to fight tenaciously for the triumph of the ideas of the Left Opposition.—Ed.)

FROM THE BERLIN DISTRICT (March 10)

For several days we have been asking all the party comrades: "How do you estimate the situation and the perspectives of the struggle against Fascism?" I have seen dozens of workers. A categorical and unanimous opinion was the result. The conclusive victory of Hitler is generally estimated as assured and inevitable.

"As an organization, the party scarcely exists any longer. After the loss of the legal apparatus of propaganda and of the bureaucratic apparatus, it has scattered like ashes. Social democrats and trade unions are powerless. Scattered and not very significant actions in the best case; in case of an attempt at battle: decapitation."

A number of every lamentable concrete examples are given of the state of the party organization. In the large centers of the Rhine, the party has not had any meetings of the nuclei since January 30. Meetings of 60 functionaries are called out of whom 5 came together at one time and 17 at another. No leaflet has been issued by the party, at Cologne for example.

Since the prohibition of the press, the apparatus has vanished in thin air, without leaving behind any instructions. In the Cologne district (3,000,000 inhabitants), the Communist party has had 14,000 members for years. Official figures show that in 1932 there were 13,968 new members and 13,174 dropping out, that is a fluctuation of about 100 percent. This is characteristic for a whole number of districts. One of the principal leaders was a member of the Nazi party for nine years and participated in the Fascist putsch in Bavaria in 1923!

The Youth (400 members) couldn't even get together a general meeting; nobody came. All this is symptomatic and true to different degrees in all the districts, especially in Berlin.

Since the occupation of the Liebknecht House, isolated groups are thinking of self-defense, but, abandoned by the leadership, without plan, and only by individual methods.

FROM THE PALATINATE

Here, a large number of party members consider that there is nothing more to look forward to from the party, and that only the trade unions can save the situation by taking the initiative in the struggle. A complete passivity of the party is reported that a nucleus (typical) has lost 41 out of 154 members in the last few months.

In S., before the elections, there were many party members who had the point of view: "First Fascism and then we come." The pressure of Fascism will lead to the formation of a broad united front from below. Meanwhile, no general strike, no fighting cartels, but the formation of partisan troops to disarm and "liquidate" the storm troops. It should be said that the Fascist storm troops were weak in this district. Two days before the burning of the Liebknecht, the International Red Aid organized a meeting where the speaker spoke for two hours against the "main enemy"—social Fascism—without mentioning a word about Hitler.

In M., the initiative in the partisan struggles proceeds more from the members of the Reichsbanner than from the Communist party—which is waiting for instructions which do not come.

It is this state of the party which is making a deep impression upon the comrades and is making them draw the following conclusion: Stalinism has ideologically shattered the proletarian vanguard; it has thus delivered the proletariat to the Fascist executioners whose victory is assured in advance.

FROM THE BRANDENBURG DISTRICT (Berlin)

In the intellectual and leading centers of the social democracy is to be observed a spirit of fear-stricken capitulation. The prohibition of the Reichsbanner in Thuringia took place without the slightest protest. In Leipzig, the leaders claim that they are prepared to defend their own against the storm troops if they attack as Nazi bands and not as police!

In Berlin, the terror has shattered—it is only for the time being—the party. In spite of the attempt to live on the basis of "groups of five", not a single leaflet, no instructions come to these groups. An instructor who came to speak exclusively an organizational questions, is interrogated: "What have you to say about the political situation?" He replies: "Do not talk to me about it, we ourselves don't know where we stand!" It is the intention to preserve only an organization of restricted cadres, excluding the majority of the members. The discouragement is great; comrades no longer even dare to

thing of physical self-defense. In Charlottenburg, the storm troops make expeditions; they beat up and kill active Communists, openly, in the streets, before the eyes of other comrades who are part of the defense organizations but who look on at these acts of terror without budging. They are beginning to apply the Italian method of castor oil; workers are martyred, are "killed in flight". The terror is beginning in the factories, for the time being—the workers remain motionless.

ON THE TRADE UNION POLICY OF THE PARTY

(From a circular of the Left Opposition in Saxony towards the end of February.)

Hitler is chancellor. We are before the general attack against the working class. Soon the Communist party itself will be dissolved and with it all the workers' organizations. More than ever, the immediate creation of an Opposition Left wing inside the trade unions, the re-entry of the Red Trade Union Organization into the free trade unions, presents itself as a question of prime importance. Before the 12th Plenum, the party demanded the presentation at all costs of Red lists for the elections to the factory councils. The most active comrades, forced to present Red lists in the factories and to carry out this policy of the R. T. U. O. in the reformist federations, were kicked out by the hundreds, and lost the leadership of the opposition in the trade union federations, and in part, lost even the slightest contact with the members of the reformist trade unions. This line has led to the isolation of our party from the organized masses and has delivered them, bound hand and foot, to the reformist bureaucracy. . . . The party must dissolve the independent federations and lead the R. T. U. O. towards an opposition within the trade unions.

(The following letter was sent to us by a sympathizer. It paints, in living terms, the heroic struggle of the German proletariat against the Fascist bands and Hitler's police.)

Hamburg.—We had just finished our dinner when young X who had gone to his room, came back running: "Listen to the machine guns, there is some shooting at Rotenburg! That's it, it's the revolution." We run to the window. There is a frightful massacre. We witness a horrifying battle. Some neighbors are all aroused against the Communists. "They are going to seize something", etc.

The shots grow rarer. I go out. I run. Soon I detect searchlights in the sky. I march in that direction. There are workers hastening there too. After about a quarter of an hour's wait, I reached the Communist district, Rotenburg. Cops everywhere in squads. In one corner is a crowd of workers and cops. I keep on walking. All of a sudden: "Hands up! I kept right on. At the next corner: "Clear the streets! Stop or we shoot!"

The people crowd into the doorways, I along with them. After about five minutes, we go out again. This is the place of the tragedy. The searchlights scrutinize every window, every door, the roofs, the sidewalks. The moment we stop, a ray of light blinds our eyes. The cops in helmets keep the crowds moving with nightsticks and revolvers in hand. Some among them are carrying a kind of sub-machine gun.

I circulate among the workers, discuss with them, observe everything that is going on. A troop of 150 Nazis is marching into the red quarter (as they have been doing for more than a week), the workers shoot at them from the windows and from the roof-tops; the Nazis return the shots, the police with them. This morning, the same thing in Barnbeck.

To come back to the original subject. First of all, the social democratic leaders do not want any alliances. The Communists, beaten down and pursued, adopted the tactic of mixing with every socialist demonstration. Sunday, the socialist leaders, finding that Communists were participating in great number in their march, had them driven out by the police. Many socialist workers protested. That same night the social democratic papers published a circular of the Communist CEC recommending to the functionaries to mix with the socialist masses for the purpose of causing disorder and to force the socialist leaders to call the police against the Communist workers. Weis is basing himself upon this document in his rejection of the united front.

Finally, the next day at 9:30 P. M., the dramatic moment: The Reichstag is burning. The press denounces the Communists and published so-called documents that were supposed to be found in the Karl Liebknecht House. There are arrests. March 1, 1933

Communism and Syndicalism

by

LEON TROTSKY

Some fundamental considerations on the relation of the party to the trade union movement with particular reference to the experiences of the French labor movement. . . . 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
84 East 10th Street, New York.

For the United Front of Defense Against Hitlerism

(Continued from last issue)

The united front must have its organs. There is no need of imagining what these may be: the situation itself is dictating the nature of these organs. In many localities, the workers have already suggested the form of organization of the united front after the manner of defense cartels basing themselves on all the local proletarian organizations and establishments. This is an initiative which must be grasped, deepened, consolidated, extended to cover the industrial centers with cartels, by linking them up with each other and by preparing a German workers' congress of defense.

The fact that the unemployed and the employed workers are becoming increasingly estranged from each other bears within itself a deadly danger, not only to the collective agreements but also for the trade unions without there even being any need of a Fascist crusade. The united front between social democrats and Communists means before all the united front of the employed and unemployed workers. Without that, any serious struggle in Germany is quite unthinkable.

The Iron Trade Union Opposition (I. T. O.) must enter into the free trade unions as a Communist fraction. That is one of the principal conditions of the success of the united front. The Communists within the trade unions must enjoy the rights of workers' democracy and in the first place, the right of full freedom of criticism. On their part, they must respect the statutes of the trades unions and their discipline.

The defense against Fascism is not an isolated thing. Fascism is only a cudgel in the hands of finance capital. The aim of the crushing of proletarian democracy is to raise the rate of exploitation of labor power. There lies an immense field for the united front of the proletariat: the struggle for the daily bread, extended and sharpened, leads directly under present conditions to the struggle for the workers' control of production.

The factories, the mines, the large estates fulfill their social functions thanks only to the labor of the workers. Can it be that the latter have not the right to know where the owner is directing the establishment, why he is reducing production and driving out the workers, how he is fixing prices, etc.? We will be answered: "Commercial secrets." What are commercial secrets? A plot of the capitalists against the workers and the people as a whole. Producers and consumers, the workers, in this two-fold capacity, must conquer the right to control all the operations of their establishments, unmask fraud and deceit in order to defend their interests and the interests of the people as a whole, facts and figures in hand. The struggle for workers' control of production can and should become the slogan of the united front.

On the ground of organization, the forms necessary for the cooperation between social democratic workers and Communist workers will be found without difficulty: it is only necessary to pass over from words to deeds.

THE IRRECONCILABLE CHARACTER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

Now, if the common defense against the attack of capital is possible, can we not go still farther and form a genuine bloc of the two parties on all the questions? Then the polemic between the two would take on an internal, pacific and cordial character. Certain Left social democrats, of the type of Seydewitz, as is known, even go so far as to dream of a complete union of the social democracy and the Communist party. But all this is nevertheless a vain dream! What separates the Communists from the social democracy are antagonisms on fundamental questions. The simplest way of translating the essence of these disagreements is this: the social democracy considers itself the democratic defender of capitalism; we are its revolutionary grave-diggers.

The irreconcilable character of the two parties appears with particular clearness in the light of the recent evolution of Germany. Hitler to power the bourgeois classes have disrupted the "integration of the workers into the State" and he warns the bourgeoisie against the "dangers" flowing from it (Vorwaerts, February 15, 1933) Leipzig thus makes himself the watchdog of the bourgeois state by desiring to preserve it from the proletarian revolution. Can we even dream of union with Leipzig?

The Vorwaerts prides itself every day on the fact that hundreds of thousands of social democrats died during the war "for the ideal of a finer and freer Germany". It only forgets to explain why this finer Germany turned out to be the Germany of Hitler-Hugenburg. In reality, the German workers, like the workers of the other belligerent countries, died as cannon fodder, as slaves of capital. To idealize this fact is to continue the treason of August 4, 1914.

The Vorwaerts continues to appeal to Marx, to Engels, to Wilhelm Liebknecht, to Bebel, who from 1848 to 1871, spoke of the struggle for the unity of the German nation. Lying appeals! At that time, it was a question of completing the bourgeois revolution. Every proletarian revolutionist had to fight against the particularism and provincialism inherited from feudalism. Every proletarian revolutionist had to fight

against this particularism and provincialism in the name of the creation of a national State. At the present time, such an objective is invested with a progressive character only in China, in India, in China, in India, in Indonesia and other backward colonial and semi-colonial countries. For the advanced countries of Europe, the national frontiers are exactly the same reactionary chains as the feudal frontiers were at one time. True! But these chains have become aged, infirm and have fallen into senility. The nation, like all economy, and democracy, as a form of the domination of the bourgeoisie, have been transformed into fetters upon the productive forces and civilization. Let us recall again Goethe: "All that is born is doomed to perish."

A few more million beings may be sacrificed for the "corridor" for Alsace-Lorraine, for Malmedy. These disputed bits of land may be covered with three, five, ten rows of corpses. All this may be called national defense. But humanity will not progress because of it. In the contrary, it will fall backward into barbarism on all fours. The way out is not in the "national liberation" of Germany, but in the liberation of Europe from national barriers. It is a problem which the bourgeoisie cannot resolve, any more than the feudal lords in their time were able to put an end to participation. Hence the coalition with the bourgeoisie is doubly reprehensible. A proletarian revolution is necessary. A federation of the proletarian republics of Europe and the whole world is necessary.

Social patriotism is the program of doctors of capitalism; internationalism is the program of the grave-diggers of bourgeois society. This antagonism is irreducible.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP

The social democrats consider the democratic constitution to be above the class struggle. For us, the class struggle is above the democratic constitution. Can it be that the experience undergone by post-war Germany has passed without leaving a trace, just as the experiences undergone during the war? The November revolution brought the social democracy to power. The social democracy spurred the powerful movement of the masses along the road of "right" and the "Constitution". The whole political life which followed in Germany evolved on the basis and within the framework of the Weimar republic.

The results are at hand: bourgeois democracy is transformed legally, pacifically, into a Fascist dictatorship. The secret is simple enough: bourgeois democracy, just as the Fascist dictatorship, are the instruments of one and the same class: the exploiters. It is absolutely impossible to prevent the replacement of one instrument by the other by appealing to the Constitution, the Supreme Court at

Leipzig, new elections, etc.; what is necessary is to mobilize the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. Constitutional fetishism brings the best aid to Fascism. Today this is no longer a prognostication, a theoretical affirmation, but the living reality. I ask you, social democratic worker: If the Weimar democracy blazed the trail for the Fascist dictatorship, how is one to expect it to blaze the trail for socialism?

—But can't we social democratic workers win the majority in the democratic Reichstag? —That you cannot. Capitalism has ceased to develop, it is putrefying. The number of industrial workers is no longer growing. An important section of the proletariat is being degraded under continual unemployment. By themselves, these social facts exclude the possibility of any stable and methodical development of a labor party in parliament as before the war. But even if, in the face of all probability, the labor representation in parliament should grow rapidly, would the bourgeoisie wait for a peaceful expropriation? The governmental machinery is entirely in its hands! Even admitting that the bourgeoisie allows the moment to pass and permits the proletariat to gain a parliamentary representation of fifty-one percent, wouldn't the Reichswehr, the police, the Steel Helmets and the Fascist storm troops disperse this parliament in the same way that the camarilla today disperses with a stroke of the pen all the parliaments which displease it? —Then, down with the Reichstag and elections? —No, that's not what I mean. We are Marxists and not anarchists. We are supporters of the utilization of parliament: it is not an instrument for transforming society, but a means of rallying the workers. However, in the development of the class struggle, a moment arrives when it is necessary to decide the question of who is to be master of the country: finance capital or the proletariat. Dissentations on the nation and on democracy in general constitute, under such conditions, the most impudent lie. In our eyes, a small German minority is organizing and arming, so to speak, half of the nation to crush and strangle the other half. It is not a question today of secondary reforms, but of the life or death of bourgeois society. Never have such questions been decided by a vote. Whoever appeals today to the parliament or to the Supreme Court at Leipzig, is deceiving the workers and in practice, is helping Fascism.

There is no other road —What is to be done under such conditions? My social democratic interlocuter will ask. —The proletarian revolution. —And then? —The dictatorship of the proletariat. —As in Russia? The privations and the sacrifices? The complete

stifling of freedom of opinion? No, not for me. —It's just because you are not disposed to tread the road of the revolution and the dictatorship that we are both unable to form one single party. But nevertheless allow me to tell you that your objection is not worthy of a conscious proletarian. Yes, the privations of the Russian workers are considerable. But in the first place, the Russian workers know in the name of what they are making these sacrifices. Even if they should undergo a defeat, humanity would have learned a great deal from their experience. Now in the name of what did the German working class sacrifice itself in the years of the imperialist war? Or again, in the years of the unemployment? To what do these sacrifices lead, what do they yield, what do they teach? Worthy of man are only those sacrifices which blaze the trail to a better future. That's the first objection I heard you make. The first, but not the only one.

The sufferings of the Russian workers are considerable because in Russia, as a consequence of specific historical factors, was born the first proletarian state which, from an extreme poverty, is obliged to raise itself by its own strength. Don't forget that Russia was the most backward country of Europe. The proletariat there constituted only a tiny part of the population. In this country, the dictatorship of the proletariat necessarily had to assume the harshest forms. Thence the consequences which flowed from it: the development of the bureaucracy which holds the power and the chain of errors committed by the political leadership which has fallen under the influence of this bureaucracy. If at the end of 1918, when the power was completely in its hands, the social democracy had entered boldly upon the road to socialism and had concluded an insoluble alliance with Soviet Russia, the whole history of Europe would have received a different orientation and humanity would have arrived at socialism in a much shorter space of time and with infinitely less sacrifice. It is not our fault that this did not happen.

Yes, the dictatorship in the Soviet Union at the present time has an extremely bureaucratic and distorted character. I have personally criticized more than once in the press the present Soviet regime which is a distortion of the workers' state. Thousands upon thousands of my friends fill the prisons and the place of exile for having fought against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Now even if one judges the negative side of the present Soviet regime it is necessary to preserve a correct historical perspective. If the German proletariat, much more numerous and more civilized than the Russian proletariat, were to take the power tomorrow, this would not only open up immense economic and cultural

perspectives but would also lead immediately to a radical attenuation of the dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

It must not be thought that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessarily connected with the methods of the Red terror which we had to apply in Russia. We were the pioneers. Covered with crime, the Russian possessing classes did not believe that the new regime would last. The bourgeoisie of Europe and America supported the Russian counter-revolution. Under these conditions, one could hold on only at the cost of a terrific tension of forces and an implacable punishment of our class enemies. The victory of the proletariat in Germany would have quite a different character. The German bourgeoisie, having lost the power, would no longer have any hope of retaking it. The alliance of Soviet Germany with Soviet Russia would multiply, not twofold, but tenfold, the strength of the two countries. In all the rest of Europe, the position of the bourgeoisie is so compromised that it is not very likely that it would be able to get its armies to march against proletarian Germany. To be sure, the civil war would be inevitable: for that purpose, Fascism is enough. But armed with the power, the German proletariat, having behind it the Soviet Union, would soon bring about a decomposition of Fascism by drawing to its side substantial sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany would have incomparably more cultured than the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia.

In that case, why the dictatorship?

—To annihilate exploitation and parasitism; to crush the resistance of the exploiters; to end their inclination to think about a resurrection of exploitation; to put all the power, all the means of production, all the resources of civilization into the hands of the proletariat and to permit it to utilize all the forces and means in the interest of the socialist transformation of society: There is no other road.

THE GERMAN BOURGEOISIE WILL HAVE THE REVOLUTION IN GERMAN AND NOT IN RUSSIAN

—Still, if often happens that our Communists approach us social democrats with this threat: Just wait, as soon as we will get into power, we'll put you up against the wall. —Only a handful of imbeciles, windbags and braggarts who, as sure as fate, will run like the devil at the moment of danger, can make such threats. A serious revolutionist, while acknowledging the incapability of revolutionary violence and its creative function, understands at the same time that the application of violence in the socialist transformation of society has well-defined limits. The Communists cannot prepare themselves

save by seeking mutual understanding and an approach to the social democratic workers. The revolutionary unanimity of the overwhelming majority of the German proletariat will reduce to a minimum the repression which the revolutionary dictatorship will exercise. It is not a question of slavishly copying Soviet Russia, of making a virtue of each of its necessities. That is unworthy of Marxists. To profit by the experience of the October revolution does not mean that it should be copied blindly. One must take into account the difference in the social structure of nations and above all the relative importance and the cultural level of the proletariat.

To believe that one can allegedly make the socialist revolution in a constitutional, peaceful manner, with the acquiescence of the Supreme Court at Leipzig—that can be done only by incurable phantasies. The German proletariat will be unable to pass around the revolution. But in its revolution, it will speak in German and not in Russian. I am convinced that it will speak much better than we did.

WHAT SHALL WE DEFEND?

—Very good, but we social democrats propose nevertheless to come to power by democracy. You Communists consider that an absurd Utopia. In that case, is the united front of defense possible? For it is necessary to have a clear idea of what there is to defend. If we defend one thing and you another, we will not lead to common actions. Do you Communists consent to defend the Weimar Constitution? —The question is a fitting one and I will try to answer it candidly. The Weimar Constitution represents a whole system of institutions, of rights and of laws. Let us commence from the top. Let us begin with the head of a president. Do you consent, you Communists, to defend Hindenburg against Fascism. I hope that the need for that doesn't make itself felt: Hindenburg having called the Fascists to power. Then comes the government presided over by Hitler. This government does not need to be defended against Fascism. In the third place comes the parliament. When these lines appear, the fate of the proletariat emerging from the elections of March 5, will probably have been determined. But even at this juncture one can say with certainty that if the composition of the Reichstag proves to be hostile to the government; if Hitler takes it into his head to liquidate the Reichstag and if the social democracy shows a determination to fight for the latter, the Communists will help the social democracy with all their strength.

We Communists cannot and do not want to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat against you or without you social democratic workers. We want to come to this dictatorship together with you. And we regard the common defense against Fascism as the first

step in this sense. Obviously, in our eyes, the Reichstag is not a capital historical conquest which the proletariat must defend against the Fascist vandals. There are more valuable things. Within the framework of bourgeois democracy and parallel to an incessant struggle against it, the elements of proletarian democracy have formed themselves in the course of many decades: political parties, labor press, trade unions, factory committees, clubs, cooperatives, sports societies, etc. The mission of Fascism is not so much to complete the destruction of bourgeois democracy as to crush the first outbursts of proletarian democracy. As to our mission, it consists in placing the elements of proletarian democracy already created at the foundation of the Soviet system of the workers' state. Towards this end, it is necessary to break the husk of bourgeois democracy and free from it the kernel of workers' democracy: therein lies the essence of the proletarian revolution. Fascism threatens the vital kernel of workers' democracy. This alone clearly dictates the program of the united front. We are ready to defend your printing plants and our own, but also the democratic principle of freedom of the press; your labor homes and ours, but also the democratic principle of the freedom of assemblage and association. We are materialists and that is why we do not separate the soul from the body. So long as we do not yet have the strength to establish the Soviet system, we place ourselves on the terrain of bourgeois democracy. But at the same time we do not entertain any illusions.

AS TO FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

—And what will you do with the social democratic press if you should succeed in seizing power? Will you prohibit our papers as the Russian Bolsheviks prohibited the Menshevik papers? —You put the question badly. What do you mean by "our" papers? In Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat proved possible only after the overwhelming majority of the worker-Mensheviks passed over to the side of the Bolsheviks, whereas the petty bourgeois debris of Menshevism undertook to assist the bourgeoisie to fight for the restoration of "democracy", that is, of capitalism. Now, even in Russia we did not at all inscribe upon our banner the prohibition of the Menshevik papers. We were led to do this by the incredibly harsh conditions of the struggle that had to be conducted to save and maintain the revolutionary dictatorship. In Soviet Germany, the situation will be, as I have already said, infinitely more favorable and the regime of the press will necessarily feel the effects of it. I do not think that in this field the German proletariat needs to resort to repression.

To be sure, I do not want to say that the workers' state will tolerate even for a day the regime of the (bourgeois) "freedom of the press", that is, the state of affairs in which only those can publish papers and books who control the printing plants, the paper manufacturing, the bookstores and so on, that is, the capitalists. The (bourgeois) "freedom of the press" signifies the monopoly for finance capital to impose capitalist prejudices upon the people by means of hundreds and thousands of papers charged with disseminating the virus of lies in the most perfect technical form. Proletarian freedom of the press will mean the nationalization of the printing plants, of the paper manufacturing and the bookstores in the interest of the workers. We do not separate the soul from the body. Freedom of the press without inky types, without printing presses, and without paper is a miserable fiction. In the proletarian state the technical means of printing will be put at the disposal of groups of citizens in accordance with their real numerical importance. But how is this to be done? The social democracy will obtain printing facilities corresponding to the number of its supporters. I do not think that at that time this number will be very high: otherwise the very regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be impossible. Nevertheless, let us leave it to the future to solve this question. But the principle itself of distributing the technical means of the press, not in accordance with the thickness of the checkbook, but in accordance with the number of supporters of a given program, of a given current, of a given school, is, I hope, the most honest, the most democratic, the most authentically proletarian principle. Isn't that so?

—Maybe.

—Then shall we shake hands on it?

—I'd like to think it over a bit.

—I ask for nothing else, my dear friend: the aim of all my reflections is to have you meditate once more upon all the great problems of proletarian policy.

Prinkipo, February 23, 1933.

—L. TROTSKY.

The Mooney United Front--the Negotiations Must Be Conducted Publicly

The third session of the Congress Organization Committee of the New York United Front Free Tom Mooney Conference revealed that the party has taken another step deeper into the opportunism swamp. The party was the dominating political current in the conference. It is in control of the Congress Organization Committee. If the party seriously means to build a united front movement and bring pressure to bear on the sum of the S. P. and the A. P. of L., through their ranks the organs of the united front are the instruments they must use.

The conference represented thousands of workers. The Congress Organization Committee has the right and the duty to speak in their name. What it has to say has a certain force and can constitute a pressure on the S. P. and the A. P. of L. bureaucrats and misleaders to remove the barriers they have erected across the road to the united front of the Mooney movement.

But the procedure must be open and take place before the eyes of the entire working class. When this is done the workers of both parties and in neither will see who stands in the way of unity and why. This is the way to teach the workers that the Communists are the spokesmen for the unity of the class.

This is not the procedure the party is following. It ignores the organs of the united front. Instead it has entered into a Negotiations Committee outside of the united front and its organs with the C. P. L. A. and Palmer.

Muste of the Federated Press to draw the S. P. and A. P. of L. into the movement and the Chicago Congress behind the backs of its own membership and the working class. Hathaway's article in the Daily Worker of April 8 makes it appear that the negotiations are taking place openly before the eyes of the working class. This is false.

The party has two men (names unknown) on this Negotiations Committee. What they do there except to commit the party to those behind-the-scenes maneuvers is not clear. Palmer does not report it.

According to his reports Palmer seems to be doing all the work of back-door bargaining. Last Saturday he reported the following: the second session of the Organization Committee voted to issue an open letter to the S. P. and the A. P. of L. inviting them to enter the Mooney movement and partici-

pate in the Chicago Congress. The letter was not issued because of Louis B. Scott, Mooney's personal representative, thought it inadvisable to issue such a letter at the present time in view of the stage which the negotiations have reached. Instead Scott sent a personal letter to Julius Gerber! Palmer objected to Hathaway's article in the Daily Worker of April 8 for its slanders against the movement and its slanders against the Communist party and the Chicago Congress. He implied that it might have a disastrous effect on the negotiations.

Palmer reported that Clarence Senior had told him that the S. P. was conferring in Chicago with the A. C. W., the I. L. G. W. U., and the Chicago Federation of Labor over the question of participating in the Chicago Congress. Senior said that they had come to this understanding with the Chicago Federation of Labor: Fitzpatrick agreed that if Frank P. Walsh would state publicly that the participation of the Chicago Federation of Labor would help the Mooney movement they might come in. On this basis the S. P. would also consider the question.

Palmer got to Walsh. Walsh said that he had nothing to do with the propaganda and of the Mooney movement. He also said that he would not ask the Chicago Federation of Labor to participate in the Chicago Congress with Communists because of the latter's attacks in the past on Nockels and Fitzpatrick.

So Palmer chased around to Nockels. Nockels said that the Chicago Federation would not go into the Congress if there was one Communist there.

Nothing daunted Palmer reported back to Clarence Senior. Senior said that the S. P. was anxious to have the Chicago Federation of Labor, the A. C. W. and the I. L. G. W. U. participate but if they refused the S. P. would vote on the question of participation nevertheless.

Earlier in the week Senior had wired Palmer the conditions on which the S. P. would consider the question of participation. These were two in number (1) the management committee for the National Chicago Congress must be composed entirely of Chicagoans. This, said Palmer, was to insure control for the S. P., (2) the Mooney movement must drop all talk of a general strike.

To these ultimatum conditions the Negotiations Committee replied suggesting that a majority of the Management Committee should be composed of Chicagoans. How this would avoid giving the S. P. control Palmer did not make clear. To the demand for the dropping of the general strike slogan the Negotiations Committee, with two Stalinists on it, replied that no one, including Mooney, wanted Mooney's name associated with adventurist stunts; the slogan was held in reserve, so to speak, in case Mooney got a raw deal at his forthcoming trial and was sentenced to be hanged, and his innocence was apparent to all—and so on and so on; then we could consider a general strike!

All of this, Palmer told us, he reported to Hathaway! And all of this is reported to the Congress Organization Committee in the control of the Stalinists which votes to accept these reports! Only the Left opposition raises its voice in criticism. Against our sharp warnings that this road leads to the swamp, plays into the hands of the enemies of the Mooney movement and discredits Communism in the eyes of the workers the Stalinists make a united front with Muste and Palmer in the Committee to reject our criticism and proposals.

At this session, at the conclusion of Palmer's report, the Left Opposition moved that the Congress Organization Committee, publish a summary of the negotiations up to date. Palmer ruled that the motion was out of order for lack of a second. He was about to proceed to the next item on the agenda when the miracle happened. Five delegates got up, one after another, and spoke for the motion. And it carried!

We attribute this stroke of good fortune to two causes. Palmer's report was too raw for Communists to swallow. And the front line Stalinist bureaucrats were not present to put the seal of authority and discipline on this opportunist brew. Nessin, Winter, Ballam, Moore must be mightily pleased with the results of the Negotiations Committee and content to let it replace the organs of the united front in broadening the Mooney movement. They did not attend the meeting of the Congress Organization Committee!

The speakers' committee of which Nessin is the chairman reported through one of its members that, among the speakers for the Mooney mass meeting which is being arranged for April 27, will be, if the committee's invitation is accepted, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise,

Wise needs no introduction to our readers. His attitude toward the Soviet Union and the working class movement is well known. It is sometimes necessary to suffer such people in united fronts—when they are the representatives of organizations participating in the united front. But that is not the case with Wise. He represents no one in this united front. Why does the party invite him to speak? This is not the way to build a united movement. But it is the Stalinist opportunist substitute for it. These adventurers think they will use Wise to fool the masses into believing that Hathaway and Wise on the platform are symbols of a united movement!

Strenuous objection was made to Wise by Linn of the I. W. O. and the Left Opposition. The motion of the Left Opposition to reject him was defeated. A motion to refer the matter back to the speakers' committee carried.

That is how the movement for Mooney's release stands now. The S. P. continues its cynical sabotage of the movement with impunity. And the Stalinists pursue their course deeper into the swamp. There were some people who greeted the party's turn from the ultra-Leftism of the united front from below with the hope that the Stalinists were steering a correct course. They showed little understanding of the nature of bureaucratic centrism. The Stalinists are incapable of pursuing a correct policy consistently. They move either to the extreme of ultra-Leftism or

to the opposite extreme of Right opportunism. This is the direction in which they are pushing the party today.

That Muste and Palmer would engineer such dickers with the S. P. as this is to be expected. That is their political milieu. But that the Communist party should become a partner in such a shameful business is the special contribution to the repertoire of opportunism of Stalinism—a species of social reformism within the Communist movement. For people who turned over the leadership of the Chinese revolution to Chiang Kai-Shek, of the English General Strike to Purcell and Cook, of the fight against war to Rolland and Barbusse it is a little matter to turn over to a Frank Palmer and a Muste the initiative in and the choice of method of building a united front movement to get Mooney out of jail! Against them and all they stand for the Left Opposition carries on and will continue to wage an irreconcilable struggle.

—T. STAMM.

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We must again beg the indulgence of our readers for the failure to publish in this issue all the articles which were announced last week. Once more it is a question of pressure of space which has obliged us to omit some of the material which we planned to include. We can assure our readers that the articles will appear next week as announced.

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An Interview with Leon Trotsky

(We are glad to print the following interview given in Prinkipo by Leon Trotsky to comrade B. J. Field in connection with an article published several months ago by a bourgeois apologist for the Stalinist regime. As the interview deals with questions of more than passing interest, it retains all its value as an exposition of the Bolshevik-Leninist standpoint on questions in dispute in the Communist movement.—Ed.)

LENIN AND SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

In the question of the united front as well as in all the broad questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics, the Left Opposition regards itself as continuing the authentic Bolshevik line, as against the efforts of the Stalinist faction to revise it in an empirical and bureaucratic manner.

This sense of the continuity of the revolutionary tradition runs clearly through the answers which Trotsky gave to the writer's questions on the issues of principle which Mr. Fischer, following the Stalinists, takes for granted as having been decided against Trotsky's views.

Here are his answers:

Question: "Lenin and all his followers were convinced at that time (in 1917) that only a revolution abroad could save them from certain doom.... They did not hope to survive unless revolutions in Europe and Asia weakened external hostility and gave Red Russia a breathing space for domestic entrenchment," says Mr. Fischer. Was Lenin speaking only in an immediate military and political sense of saving Russia from defeat and subjugation, or did he have in mind the whole perspective of Russia's developing on its own soil through the dictatorship of the proletariat to the ultimate Communist goal?"

Trotsky: "That affirmation of Mr. Fischer's, like a series of others, proves his lack of familiarity with the theory and the history of Bolshevism. In 1917 there was not a single Bolshevik who considered possible the realization of a socialist society in a single country, and least of all in Russia. In the appendix to my 'History of the Russian Revolution' I give a detailed and documented study of the ideas of the Bolshevik party on the October revolution. This study, I hope, will make it impossible in the future to ascribe to Lenin the theory of Socialism in a single country. Here I will limit myself to a single quotation, which in my opinion has a decisive character, Lenin died in January, 1924; three months later Stalin expounded in writing Lenin's conception of the proletarian revolution. I quote word for word: '...to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and to establish the power of the proletariat in one country, still does not signify the full victory of Socialism. The main task of Socialism—the organization of Socialist production—remains still in the future. Is it possible to fulfill this task, is it possible to achieve the definite victory of Socialism in one country without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? No, it is impossible. For the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the efforts of one country are sufficient—for this we have the testimony of the history of our revolution. For the definitive victory of Socialism, for the organization of Socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially of a peasant country like Russia, are insufficient—for that are required the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries....' Stalin closes the exposition of these ideas with the words, 'Such are in general the characteristic features of Lenin's conception of the proletarian revolution' (Problems of Leninism, emphasis mine).

"Only in the Fall of 1924 did Stalin discover that it is especially Russia, as distinguished from other countries, which can by its own forces build up a socialist society.... After having established its power and assumed the leadership of the peasantry," he wrote in a new edition of the same work, 'the victorious proletariat can and must build up socialist society.' Can and must! The proclamation of this new conception is closed by the same words, 'Such are in general the characteristic features of Lenin's conception of the proletarian revolution.' In the course of a single year Stalin ascribed to Lenin two directly opposed conceptions of the fundamental question of socialism. The first version represents the real tradition of the party; the second took shape in Stalin's mind only after the death of Lenin, in the course of the struggle against 'Trotskyism.'"

Question: "Is there reason to believe that the world revolution, or a series of social upheavals on the Eurasian continent, 'ceased to be an immediate possibility' by 1921?"

Answer: "What shall we call an 'immediate possibility'? In 1923 the situation in Germany was so favorably revolutionary, but what was lacking for a victorious revolution was a correct strategy. At that time, I wrote a study about this question, 'The Lessons of October,' which served as a pretext for my elimination from the government. In 1925-27 the revolution in China was destroyed by the false revolutionary strategy of the Stalinist faction. To this last question I consecrate my book, 'Problems of the Chinese Revolution' (New York, 1932). It is quite clear that the German and Chinese revolutions in case of victory would have changed the face of

Answer Given to Views Of Louis Fischer

Europe and Asia, and perhaps of the whole world. Once again, he who ignores the problems of revolutionary strategy would do better not to talk about revolutions at all."

Question: "Is it true that 'a revolution germinates only in national soil, that it does not result from imported money or pamphlets or agitators, and that the capitalists will do more than the Communists to undermine capitalism?' Is it true that 'by its very existence a truly Soviet, near-Socialist system.... must further the cause of revolution in other countries,' and that 'a strong Socialist Soviet Union is the most effective stimulus to world revolution?'"

Answer: "The statements quoted in this question contradict each other. That the existence of the Soviet Union has an international revolutionary significance is a commonplace equally recognized by friends and foes. In spite of the existence of the Soviet Union, however, the proletarian revolution during the past years has not recorded a victory in any other country. In Russia itself the proletariat conquered in spite of the fact that there was no Soviet State in existence at the time elsewhere. For the victory are necessary, not only certain objective conditions, internal as well as external, but also certain subjective factors—the Party, the leadership, the strategy. Our differences with Stalin are entirely of a strategic character. Suffice it to say that if we had carried through, in 1917, the policy of Stalin, the Soviet State would not be in existence today. It is therefore not true that the mere existence of the Soviet Union is capable of assuring the victory of the revolution in other countries. But it is also false that the revolution ripens and comes to development only in the national soil. Otherwise what purpose is served by the Communist International?"

Question: "Granting that a capitalist economy, the more highly it is developed, becomes the more dependent on other countries, is it less true of the Soviet Union, because it is developing toward a Socialist economy?"

Answer: "National self-sufficiency

or 'autarchy' is the ideal of Hitler, not of Marx and Lenin. Socialist economy cannot reject the huge advantages of the world division of labor: on the contrary, it will carry it to the highest development. But in practice, it is not a question of the future socialist society, with an established internal equilibrium, but of the given technically and culturally backward country which in the interests of industrialization and collectivization is forced to export as much as possible in order to import as much as possible."

Question: "Is it true that the theory of the permanent revolution, which is the platform on which you have fought Stalin since 1924, was 'born in a time of Bolshevik mental depression' caused by 'a series of failures both at home and abroad,' or does this theory represent a consistent line found in all your political writings and actions after 1903—Mr. Fischer makes both statements?"

Answer: "The theory of the permanent revolution, in contradistinction to the theory of Socialism in one country, was recognized by the entire Bolshevik party during the period from 1917 to 1923. Only the defeat of the proletariat in Germany in 1923 gave the decisive push to the creation of Stalin's theory of national socialism; the downward course of the revolution gave rise to Stalinism, not to the theory of the permanent revolution, which was first formulated by me in 1905. This theory is not bound to a definite calendar of revolutionary events; it only reveals the world-wide interdependence of the revolutionary process."

Question: "The statement is made that 'Trotsky would not have neglected Soviet home industry any more than Stalin would ignore the weaknesses of the Third International.' Do you agree with the conclusion that 'there are no whites and blacks in this picture. It is a matter of proportion and shade?'"

Answer: "Such an affirmation is possible only because of lack of familiarity with the history of the struggle between the Stalinist faction and the Left Opposition. The initiative of the Five Year Plan and of the accelerated collectivization belongs entirely to the Left Opposition in uninterrupted and sharp struggles with the Stalinists. Not having the possibility of occupying myself here with long his-

torical researches, I will limit myself to a single illustration. The Dnieprostroy is considered with right as the highest achievement of Soviet industrialization. Yet Stalin and his followers, (Voroshilov, Molotov, and others) a few months before the beginning of the work were decided opponents of the Dnieprostroy plan. I quote from the stenographic report the words spoken by Stalin in April, 1927, in the Plenum of the Central Committee of the party against myself as chairman of the Dnieprostroy commission. There is talk... of our constructing Dnieprostroy on our own means. The means needed are great, several hundred millions. Let us not get into the position of the peasant who, after accumulating a nest-egg, instead of repairing his plough and renewing his equipment, buys a gramophone and goes bankrupt.' (Laughter) 'Can we ignore the decisions of the Party Congress that our industrial plans must be adapted to our resources? Yet comrade Trotsky openly ignores that decision of the Congress.' (Stenographic notes of the Plenum, page 110.)

"Simultaneously the Left Opposition, for a course of several years, carried on a struggle against the Stalinists in favor of collectivization. Only when the kulak refused to deliver grain to the State did Stalin, under the pressure of the Left Opposition, accomplish a sharp turn. Being the empiricist that he is, he moved to the opposite extreme, and set as a task for two or three years the collectivization of all the peasantry, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, and the completion of the Five Year Plan in four years. The Left Opposition declared that the new tempo of industrialization were above our forces, and that the liquidation of the kulaks as a class in the course of three years was a fantastic task. If one wishes to say so, we find ourselves this time 'less radical' than the Stalinists. Revolutionary realism tries to draw the maximum advantage from every situation—that is what makes it revolutionary—but at the same time it does not permit us to let ourselves be carried away by fantastic ideas—that is what makes it realistic."

Question: "If we accept the views that the policy of Stalin has a purely empirical character, is determined by the circumstances of the moment and is incapable of seeing far ahead, how can we explain the victory of Stalin's faction over the Left Opposition?"

Answer: "Above, I emphasized the significance of revolutionary strategy. Here I must come back to the decisive importance of objective conditions. Without a correct strategy the victory is impossible. But even the most correct strategy cannot give the victory under unfavorable objective conditions. The revolution has its own laws: in the period of its culmination it pushes the most highly developed, determined and far-seeing stratum of the revolutionary class to the most advanced positions. Yet the proletariat has not only a vanguard, but also a rearguard, and besides the proletariat there are the peasantry and the bureaucracy. No one revolution up to now has brought all that was expected of it by the masses. Hence the victory under unfavorable conditions is a matter of a lowering of the activity of the vanguard, and consequently of the growing importance of the rearguard. Stalin's faction has raised itself on the wave of reaction against the October revolution. Look back at history—those who guided the revolution in the time of its culmination never kept their leading positions long after the turning point. In France, the leader of Jacobinism perished on the guillotine; in Russia, the change of leadership was achieved by means of arrest and banishment. The technique of the process is gentler, but its essence is the same."

Question: "How do you reconcile your criticism of the Soviet Union in the capitalist press with your revolutionary sympathies? Is it true that you are 'turning the thinking youth away from Russia,' offering enemies of the Soviet regime the best possible arguments and material, and giving 'ex-radicals and near-Communists an excuse for maligning Moscow and abstaining from participation in revolutionary action?'"

Answer: "The Soviet State does not need their illusions, but it does need their energy. It is the world authority which is condemned by the facts. The clearer and deeper the public opinion of the world, in the first instance the opinion of the working masses, will understand the contradictions and the difficulties of the socialist development of an isolated country, the higher will it appreciate the results achieved. The less it identifies the fundamental methods of Socialism with the zigzags and errors of the Soviet bureaucracy, the less will be the danger that by the inevitable revelation of these errors and of their consequences, the authority, not only of the present ruling group, but of the workers' State itself, may decline. The Soviet Union needs thinking and critical friends, such as are capable not only of singing hymns in the hours of success, but of not shrinking in the hour of defeat and danger. Journalists of the type of Fischer accomplish a progressive work in defending the Soviet Union from calumnies, malicious inventions and prejudices. But these gentlemen overstep the limits of their mission when they attempt to give us lessons of devotion to the Soviet State. If we fear to speak of dangers, we shall never conquer them. If we close our eyes to the dark sides of the workers' State which we have helped to create, we shall never reach socialism."

The Chicago May Day Conference

Chicago.—The Communist party in Chicago concluded another vest-pocket united front for May Day. The united front from below, then the middle and every once in a while from behind, has driven the party with its back to the wall.

John Williamson made the keynote address. He pointed out that the call was sent to the Socialist party and A. P. of L. organizations calling upon them to unite for one May Day demonstration. In his speech he at last realized that Germany is the most important country in the international situation. After speaking for some time on the party's call for a united front with all organizations, he started to call the S. P. and A. P. of L. social-fascists, etc. Such ignorance! According to your Williamson's own definition of social-fascism, it is the greatest danger. Now, if that is so, why do you call for a united front with them—with their organizations?

The Y. P. S. L. sent a letter stating that it was willing to cooperate, but that it could not send any delegates until the County Committee of the S. P. approved of their action. The Socialist party stalled for time by telephoning and delaying meeting after meeting, called to establish joint proposal for action.

Yes, we know that the S. P. leaders are afraid of a united front for they have much to lose. We must force them into action! I out with it! Admit that the tactics of united front from below were wrong and that you have made a turn (the E. C. C. I. Manifesto). Otherwise the S. P. workers are confused as to whether you want to unite without their organizations or a genuine united front. Amid such confusion their leaders can continue to mislead them, as one delegate said, 'On Monday you call the socialist workers social-fascists, and on Tuesday you expect them to unite with you.'

Delegates of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and Communist Party (Opposition) were nominated for the committee of action. Gebert tried in the same old way to suggest that only mass organizations be represented.

—IRVING BERN.

Reforestation Swindle

(Continued from Page 1)

able minimum and paid in credit tickets. There are today hundreds of large families close to starvation on this budget. The reforestation camps are being recruited from among those now receiving relief.

Homeless Still Homeless

What becomes, then, of the homeless and the wandering? There was a great agitation before the elections about them. The Scripps-Howard syndicate, for example, estimated that 500,000 of them roamed the country. The January census of the Committee on Care of the Transient and Homeless showed 1,225,000 homeless and transient people in the United States, of whom 200,000 are youths. Boys and girls, unable to go to school, unable to get a job, a burden to their poverty-stricken family, join the ranks of migrant youth in a futile search for work in other cities. A restless tide is moving across the United States, hitch-hiking, walking, riding the freights, begging, stealing, living as they can. They are treated as traditional hoboes—a night in jail, a meal of beans and coffee and twenty-four hours to get out of town. They are clubbed by railway detectives and hobnob with petty criminals in jail. The good citizens demand government action to relieve the municipalities. Something had to be done for the American "beg priznori". So the Democrats fervidly promised, if elected, to take care of them also. At the same time, liberal and progressive groups clamor for the reforestation of land denuded by the lumber and paper interests—the heyday or rugged individualism. An ideal chance to kill two birds with one stone, and do it cheap! Conservation and Unemployment Relief. However, they are in this dilemma: Either they use conservation funds for municipal relief, in which case they do not reach the wanderer; or, if they recruit the latter, then conservation funds cannot be allocated to city relief. America's homeless youth is lost in the shuffle of the "New Deal".

What about the dignity and honor of honest toil, ask the army men? The men get \$5.00 a month for doing the work of regular foresters. It is exploitation in the crudest sense. It is humiliating to the person and degrading to the class. Out West they call this racket "gyp labor." And it is well named. Investigators of the Public Welfare use economic pressure on families to get their "quota" of boys into camp. One realizes the bitter irony of this situation: Workers "volunteer" for their six months' enlistment.

With the brazen self-interest of the business men they have converted a twenty million dollar reforestation fund into a new scheme for superpaying workers and creating the basis for national conscript labor. "Citizens Conservation Corps" means human cannon fodder trained with funds intended for unemployment relief. The Democratic party in power, like its Republican predecessor, to rise out

of the crisis by still further exploiting and degrading the working class. Against this the American worker can and will organize a struggle.

1. Full time wages for forestry workers!
2. No victimization of those who refuse conservation enlistment!
3. Abolish the relief "deductions" system!
4. Organize within the camps for better conditions!
5. Payment of City Relief in cash!
6. Unemployment Insurance.

—CARL COWLE

(Continued from Page 1)

most ill-fated, degrading and ruinous for the proletariat is to bank upon the co-operation of the imperialist governments of the countries surrounding Austria.

Even if we were to allow that because of the traditional flabbiness of all Austrian parties as well as because of the influence of external and temporary causes (the pressure of France and of the Hitlerite to push matters to the end, just now)—allowing in the culmination even in this case would turn out to be postponed by means of some kind of a moth-eaten Austrian Bonapartist compromise—and a postponement of this kind could have an extremely unreliable and a very temporary character. The process thus checked would burst out in the course of the next few months or even weeks with a redoubled force and at a tenfold tempo. To build its policies upon checks, masquerades, the putting up of crutches, and petty political moralizations would mean for the proletariat to extend more time for the still weak Austrian Fascism in which to achieve its murderous mission.

"THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY"

Otto Bauer confines himself, to rapid moralizations on the subject of the "superiorities" of bourgeois democracy over Fascist dictatorship. As if the struggle is taking place between two schools of state laws! Engels aptly remarked, that every state is reducible to armed detachments of men with the material appendages in the nature of jails, etc. At present this "essence" of the state has been completely revealed in Austria. The political struggle which has developed in the course of a number of years upon the bases of democracy has been pushed flush up against the clashes between armed detachments. It is necessary to call this fact by its name, clearly and precisely, and to draw from it all the necessary practical conclusions.

Instead of this, the Austrian social democracy demands an admission on our part that the struggle is being carried on "for democracy." As if the question lies in this at present! It goes without saying that we are not ready to make any concessions whatsoever to the Austro-Marxists as regards the theoretical and historical

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Question: "How do you reconcile your criticism of the Soviet Union in the capitalist press with your revolutionary sympathies? Is it true that you are 'turning the thinking youth away from Russia,' offering enemies of the Soviet regime the best possible arguments and material, and giving 'ex-radicals and near-Communists an excuse for maligning Moscow and abstaining from participation in revolutionary action?'"

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Bonapartism and Fascism In the Austrian Crisis

appraisal of democracy. And in fact, if democracy was indeed raised above the social regime that engendered it; if it was indeed capable of reconstructing bourgeois society into socialist society, then it should have revealed all its qualities first of all in Austria, where the constitution was created by the social democracy, where the proletariat comprises the decisive force in the nation, and the social democracy represents the decisive force in the proletariat. And currently, what Austria is living through demonstrates in action that democracy is flesh of the flesh of capitalism, and decomposes with it. The Austrian crisis is the expression of the decay of democracy. The gentlemen of democracy need expect no other appraisal on our part.

However, we understand only too well, on the other hand, that theoretical diagnosis alone is altogether insufficient for the purpose of supplanting democracy with the Soviet regime. The matter touches the living consciousness of a class. If in the course of a joint struggle against Fascists the majority of the proletariat understands the need for Soviet dictatorship, there will be no stopping the Communists. But if, despite all the lessons it received, the majority of the workers, even after the smashing of the forces of counter-revolution, declines to repeat once more the experience of formal democracy, then the Communists will be compelled to take to the same ground, in the guise of an opposition.

Today, at any rate, the overwhelming majority of Austrian workers follows the social democrats. This means that there cannot even be talk of revolutionary dictatorship as an actual task. What is on the agenda today is not the antithesis of bourgeois and Soviet democracy but the antithesis of bourgeois democracy and Fascism. We accuse the Austro-Marxists not of fighting for democracy but of not fighting for it.

Capitalism resorts to Fascism not out of caprice but because it is driven into an impasse. If social democracy is capable only of criticizing, grumbling, curbing, threatening, and biding time but is incapable of taking into its hands

The Scottsboro Case

(Continued from Page 1)

that a different verdict would have been obtained had not the Communist Party entered the case—

"It feels that the only remaining hope for the boys is to remove from the already overwhelming prejudices which militate against them the additional burden of Communism." "It called for the organization of a 'new defense committee'."

The capitalist press and the N. A. A. C. P. and all the other agencies of capitalism are working overtime to counteract the spontaneous mass protest that is arising against this monstrous verdict. They are hammering on all keys the theme of justice. That is their function in capitalist society.

But it is not part of the I. L. D.'s role or policy to conduct a course which lends support to such illusions. Yet this is what it has done. We want our criticism to be clearly understood. The fight of the I. L. D. from the first day of its courageous entry into this case has been an inspiring struggle against some of the most reactionary practice of a predatory capitalist South. It has held aloft the banner of mass struggle on behalf of nine innocent Negro class brothers in the face of a reign of terror. It lit the spark which kindled a blaze of protest on four continents. It took a long step forward on the road to the unity of the white and black workers by showing the black workers that white workers were leading the struggle in which they were vitally involved.

But some time last summer the I. L. D. allowed the mass movement here to lag. Following the decision of the United States Supreme Court it did nothing to organize the workers into a gigantic protest movement behind its legal defense. It did not call the united front conferences to set the workers in motion.

Instead it made the mistake of riding the wave of protest. And it retained as its chief defense lawyer, a notorious gangster lawyer, a Democrat, a patriot. Moreover, it allowed him to attack the Communist party in the capitalist press without reply. It allowed him to repeat his attacks on the mass movement which had saved the boys from the electric chair with out making any public reply.

Worse than this, it allowed Liebowitz to dictate the line of the defense. It permitted him to confine the defense to legal lines essentially. It permitted him to order a National Students' League delegation out of town. It permitted him to say in the capitalist press that he would not tolerate any demonstrations by radical and Communist organizations.

The capitalists took pains to give the impression of a fair trial. It chose an "objective" jurist to try the case. Horton was careful to avoid any appearance of hostility to the defense. He unquestionably favored the prosecution in his denials of motions for mistrials motivated on the outrageous speeches of the prosecution. But he made

it possible for the entire capitalist press to land him to the skies. And Liebowitz—at the conclusion of the trial—Liebowitz, according to the New York Times: "I walked to the bench and grasped Judge Horton's hand. The judge shook it warmly. Mr. Liebowitz, who had undertaken the defense of the penniless Negro without a fee, was trembling. He said: 'I am taking back to New York with me a picture of one of the finest jurists I have ever met.' Mr. Liebowitz, the I. L. D. chief defense lawyer, has done his bit to nurture the illusions of the masses in the class institutions of capitalism."

The I. L. D. has not yet uttered a word of criticism of this gross perversion of its principles. On the contrary it is playing up its white elephant. It permits Liebowitz to be hailed as a hero.

But if the I. L. D. is silent about its hero it went out of its way to attack the Left Opposition. On April 7, Patterson, National Secretary of the I. L. D., fired a broadside against the Militant in the Daily Worker. The Militant of March 25 warned the party and the I. L. D. that it was making a mistake in allowing Liebowitz to dictate the line in the Scottsboro Case. It said: "Liebowitz is getting a free hand to attack that defense from a platform given him by the I. L. D. He attacks the mass struggle which has saved the Scottsboro boys four times—When one considers these facts in relation to the equally regrettable fact that the mass movement has died down in recent weeks almost to the vanishing point, it begins to look as though the I. L. D. were teetering on the brink of a rotten and dangerous piece of opportunism."

The verdict, the events leading up to it, and particularly the role of Liebowitz and the criminal silence of the I. L. D. about him confirm the analysis of the Militant up to the hilt. Patterson rushes to Liebowitz's defense. "The Militant"—hurts a bouquet of slander and invective at the I. L. D. because of its utilization of the services of S. Liebowitz, prominent attorney in the Scottsboro Case." So! And "Mr. Liebowitz is carrying out the line of the I. L. D. in the court room in this particular case." Mr. Liebowitz closed his appeal to the jury by invoking the Lord's Prayer! "He was not asked to nor could be engaged in the political defense of the accused, but his legal defense is political!" There is more of the same. And now, Patterson, and, with him, the whole I. L. D., is silent.

But if Patterson is silent one of his masters has a word to say. In the Daily Worker of April 12, there appears a note from Foster to Stachel. Foster says: "That statement of Liebowitz was tragic, endorsing the chief lyncher, Horton and condemning the southern masses indiscriminately as morons, lantern-jawed, etc., etc. These statements will be used against us in the gigantic struggle ahead, both in the courts and among the masses. Surely our party statements

will disassociate us from that trash and put all these matters in their true light." Against whom is this directed? Surely not against us. We warned against it in time. Whether the party and the I. L. D. will disassociate themselves from this trash remains to be seen. We hope they will. And the sooner the better. Much time has been lost and much damage done. The first step to repair it is to repudiate Liebowitz's statements and tell him to confine himself to the purely legal aspects of the case.

—T. STAMM.

the fate of society, when the matter touches the life and death of the nation and of its culture, then this party, which represents one-half of the nation becomes itself the instrument of social decomposition and compels the exploiting classes to seek salvation from Fascism.

Applying the ancient juxtaposition of *Ermatungsstrategie* and *Niederwerfungsstrategie*, the strategy of exhaustion, and the strategy of assault, one is compelled to say that the strategy of exhaustion, which was applicable after a fashion in certain situations, is impossible of application today when there remains nothing for capitalism except strategy of assault. he reformist strategy is exhausted by present not the class enemy but its own camp. The policies of Otto Bauer and Co. lead fatally to the victory of the Fascists, imposing least sacrifices and difficulties upon them, and the greatest sacrifices and misfortunes upon the proletariat.

THE AUSTRO-MARXISTS ARE CHLOROFORMING THE PROLETARIAT

Despite the experience of Italy and Germany, the leaders of Austrian social democracy do not understand the situation. In order to live and breathe, these people must fool themselves. This they cannot do otherwise than by fooling the proletariat.

Bauer places the blame for the defeat in Germany upon the Communists. We are not the ones to defend German Stalinists! But their chief crime consists in their having given the social democrats the possibility of preserving their influence upon the basic part of the German proletariat and of loading upon it the tactic of debasing and fatal capitulation, despite all the crimes and betrayals committed by the social democracy. In essence Bauer's policies are no different from the policies of Wells-Stampfer. But there is a distinction: Bauer will be unable to shift the responsibility upon the Austrian Stalinists who have managed to doom themselves to complete impotence. The Austrian social democracy is not only the leading party of the proletariat, but it is the strongest, as regards the population, social democratic party in the world. The political responsibility lies upon the Austrian social democracy, solely and entirely. All the more fatal will prove to be the consequences of its present policies.

The Austro-Marxists say:—If we are deprived of liberty, then we shall fight to "the end," by such subterfuge they want to "gain" time for their vacillations, when in reality they are losing the most precious time for the preparation of defense. After the enemy deprives them of liberty, it will be a hundred times more difficult to fight, for the liquidation of rights will be accompanied by military and police destruction of the proletarian press and the proletarian apparatus. The enemy prepares and acts while the social democracy hides its time and whines. The Vorwarts also repeated times innumerable: "Wave to Fascism, if it ventures against us!" The events have demonstrated the value of such rhetoric. The party which proved incapable of giving battle when it held in its hands almost impregnable positions and powerful resources will crumble into dust when it is completely expelled from the legal arena.

(To Be Continued)

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But that is not enough. The central and most immediate task is to organize the protest movement of the workers. If that is not done the protest movement will find other leaders and be directed into reformist channels. There are signs of this already. Upon receiving news of the verdict the Amsterdam News, a petty bourgeois Negro newspaper in Harlem, began a petition campaign against the death sentence. Plans are already under way to organize a march from all parts of