



Unite on May 1st Against World Reaction!

Red Baiting in Illinois

The P. M. A. Under Fire

In recent days, the reactionary press in Illinois has even attempted to work up a "red scare" in the Progressive Miners Union. Having failed to break the magnificent movement of the progressive miners by frontal attack, the coal operators have decided to supplement the physical terror of the state forces and the Lewis gangsters with a campaign of ideological terror within the union. They have developed a great solicitude about the political opinions of some of the leading miners in the union—especially Gerry Allard. And with their well-known concern for the welfare of the miners they are warning them to get rid of him and all others whom they identify as Communists or class struggle militants. They are saying in effect to the miners: "We have nothing against you as coal diggers. As a matter of fact, in that capacity you are necessary for the production of our profits. What we object to is the fact that you have broken with the Lewis unionism, which suited us to perfection, and have begun to fight for your rights. If you will give up this idea and stop listening to people who stir up the spirit of class militancy and resistance, we will be satisfied. In other words, if you will transform yourselves into sheep, we will eat you up and then we will have peace together."

The attack on Allard as a Communist, conducted in sensational articles in the "Taylorville Breeze" and other organs of the big interests, is obviously a part of the general campaign of reaction against the Progressive Miners. The object of the "red scare" is to discredit the union before public opinion and thus to prepare the ground for more terrorist aggression, to intimidate the membership and consolidate the conservative right wing in the union (the concealed agents of Lewisism, and to drive the official leadership of the union at a faster pace on the path of conservatizing the organization. If they can succeed with this campaign of demoralizing the union from within, then the Progressive Miners' organization as a center of resistance to the capitalists and an inspiration to the miners throughout the country, as well as to the working class generally, will have become a thing of the past.

The Enemy's Aim

The game of the operators and their agents is an old one. And there is only one way to meet it, as all experience has shown. That is to assert the independence of the union. To reject all advice offered to it by the class enemy. The union will not thrive and grow by conciliating the bosses, by capitulating to their ideology, by "domesticating" the union and making it acceptable to the bosses. This is what the bosses want. This is what they are aiming at with the new Communist hunt. To understand this and to fight against it is the elementary duty of the leading elements in the union, including Allard and the other individuals under attack.

But the response made to the attack in the "Progressive Miner" up till now does not in the least indicate an understanding of this strength of the enemy and underestimating the inner resources of the progressive miners' movement, as is always the case with "progressives" of all hues, they are trying to counter the brutal offensive of the class enemy with a "clever" strategy of camouflage and capitulation. They seek to ward off the attack by denying the "charges" of any Communist influence in the union. Thus, by implication, they disavow any tendency toward class struggle militancy, which is what the bosses really mean when they talk of Communism. Thus they lay the ground for the proscription not only of Communists but of all class struggle militants inside the union. And by that they concede the main demands of the bosses. Allard too, who should know better, allowed himself to fall in with this worthless strategy.

The class conscious members in the progressive miners' movement have to recognize the real purpose of this new attack of the class enemy on the ideological front. The operators and their tools have been unable to smash the movement in open struggle. Now they are trying to demoralize it from within, to rob it of the militancy which called it into life and sustained it in struggle—to purge it of those very qualities which have distinguished it from the corrupt unionism of Lewis and, eventually, to drive it back into the Lewis camp. Now is the time to call to mind the tragic fate of the previous insurgent movements which

were disorganized and defeated by those very methods. Now is the time for the real militants, who have carried the new movement on their shoulders in struggle and sacrifice, to remember the bitter experiences with Walker, Howat, and Edmondson and to say to all the leading forces in the new movement: "Nobody can lead us again onto this slippery path which leads to demoralization and defeat."

The Present Course of the P. M. A. Leadership

The present trend, however, is in this direction. The course of the official leadership over a considerable period now has been to seek a "stabilization" of the union at the expense of its class struggle character. The negotiations and proposed agreement with Governor Rorer, the ban on the demonstrations for the Taylorville prisoners, the new wage contract—in all these, and in a number of other important questions, the course of

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WHY WE MISSED AN ISSUE

During the past week the **MILITANT** received numerous, anxious inquiries from its readers and friends asking why it had to skip an issue. No one, and least of all the small staff which struggles with mountainous obstacles to get out the paper, has to be reminded of the fact that the loss of an issue in these times is, not merely a technical setback and a loss of time, but a political setback as well. That is why the whole movement watches the appearance of the **MILITANT** with such close attention.

But it could not be helped. Here is the reason. Our financial crisis which has been deepening with the increasing depth of the general crisis of capitalism came to a head last week with an accident which made our linotype useless. A fire burned up the keyboard. To heap Pellon on Ossa the press broke down.

Just as these burdens were thrust on our shoulders our credit—ours took it into their heads to press

hardest for payment. The linotype company presented us with a foreclosure notice; the landlord served us with an eviction notice, the paper company cut off our credit; and a number of other people dunned us persistently.

Under these circumstances there was no alternative. We were forced to skip the issue. To make matters worse we were unable to make together enough money to get our letters to our friends appealing to them to help us in the emergency. A mountain of correspondence had accumulated awaiting postage. At this point let us say that even this form of assistance will be a great help in the circumstances.

By almost unbelievable efforts, by straining every nerve and resource to the breaking point we repaired the press and linotype. They are working once more. But the situation remains as desperate as before. A factory ninety percent completed is useless for productive purposes. The structure

necessary to insure the regular appearance of the **MILITANT** has not yet been rebuilt. We are still facing the loss of our machinery and the loss of our home.

It is simply unthinkable that these catastrophic will materialize. But it will unless everyone understands that this is the danger and acts accordingly and promptly. We must, we will overcome this crisis. We must have help immediately—\$200.

There is only one way to avoid the catastrophe and raise the necessary sum—resolute sacrifice. The movement is straining itself to the limit. It calls now on all its friends to make a concrete demonstration of their sympathy for the ideas of the Left Opposition, for the ideas of revolutionary Internationalism, for the clarification of Marxism, the **MILITANT**. Save the **MILITANT**!

Air Mail! Wire! Rush funds immediately to **THE MILITANT**, 126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.

Workers Must Join Forces in Big Demonstration Despite Sabotage of Socialist Party Leaders

The working class faces May Day this year in the midst of a wave of international reaction, in a period of internal as well as external crisis. With bestial brutality bloody Fascism has smashed the proudest, the best organized, the traditionally strongest working class of capitalist Europe—the German proletariat, 50,000 thousand of its staunchest and most courageous fighters languish in the dungeons of sadistic Hitlerism. The Brown Shirt pest continues its penetration of every club, of every street, of every home, Austria, a small country but a tremendous citadel of working class power stands next in order.

The dark powers of Europe, inspired by the victory of Teutonic Fascism, are putting their heads together at Rome, plotting a new holy alliance, a crusade against Communism and its living fortress, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In Japan reaction stalks the land. In China the proletariat does not yet dare to lift its bleeding head. In India the spurred heel of British imperialism digs into the prostrate backs of the people.

And in our country too, in America, after nearly four years of economic stress and unprecedented impoverishment and misery, capitalism is consolidating its forces for a "solution" that can only further enhance the enslavement of the masses of toilers in the cities and on the farms.

Never since the days of the catastrophe of 1914, has the working class faced such a difficult time, never before has it been so threatened with attacks from without and with disintegration from within. The German debacle hangs like an ominous shadow over the future of the proletariat. Attacked by an enemy armed to the teeth, favored by a wave of unrest and disillusionment and hope born of the economic convulsion of world capitalism, the organized forces of the working class of Germany have receded from the scene, beaten without a struggle.

The treacherous role of the social democracy in this miserable surrender was clear long before the fact. Social democracy has long ago, in the first great debacle of August 4, 1914, demonstrated its impotence and its capacity for working class betrayal. Nothing better could have been expected from it. Victory could come only upon the condition of the thorough unmaking of these traitors, upon the dissolution of the bonds between them and the masses who have followed them. Victory could come only if the Communist party carried out this task, if it itself proved its capacity for struggle.

It was precisely the failure to carry out this task, it was precisely the disregard for its importance; the shelving of this duty for the utopian bureaucratic dream of "socialism in one country" that has made the Stalinized Communist party of Germany and Communist International a partner of the so-

cial democracy in the monstrous crime against the German working class, in the effortless capitulation before Nazism. The betrayal of 1933 sounds the death-knell for both the social democracy and Stalinism, for the two great distortions of revolutionary Marxism. The struggle of the working class against capitalism is from now on inextricably tied up with the merciless extermination of these two pestilent currents within its own breast.

Left Opposition Must Lead

The lead in this struggle of the working class belongs historically to those revolutionary fighters, who, in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin, swept over the head of a thoroughly discredited Menshevik social democracy to the October victory; to those heroic figures who in the years of the Civil war and intervention stood at the head of every front in defense of the proletarian fortress; to those indefatigable Marxist battlers who, when reaction followed revolution with the betrayal of the German social democracy for a second time in 1918, when petty bourgeois reformism filtered into the ranks of the Communist movement through the agency of bureaucratic Stalinism, stood alone but firm in the defense of the Leninist standard of world revolution against national socialism and pointed out time, after time, the revolutionary road to be followed—in China, in Great Britain and last but not least, in Germany itself. The lead belongs to Trotsky and Rakovsky, to the thousands of tried and tested Bolshevik-Leninists following them in the International Left Opposition.

The attack of the forces of reaction can be countered successfully only by a struggle against disintegration from within, by the application of the Marxist policies of the International Left Opposition, in the Soviet Union itself as well as in the capitalist countries. Against the forces of reaction must be fortified the forces of progress, of revolution. This difficult task, this duty imposed by the dark situation threatening the international working class, can be solved only by the reestablishment of Marxist clarity within the Communist movement and by enforcement of the Leninist united front tactic in the general working class movement.

The May Day mobilization stands under the sign of this task. Every Communist must be made aware that only a rejection of the disastrous policies of Stalinist centrism, only a reestablishment of the Marxist perspective of permanent revolution, can prevent the destruction of October and halt the hand of reaction. Every worker must be made to realize that only the establishment of a solid, united working class front can withstand the dastardly schemes of the capitalist class in its attempt to lead the proletariat into the new Dark Ages of wage-slave savagery.

Socialist treachery and Stalinist bungling have helped the Nazis to turn May Day in Germany into a black day of the proletariat. The international holiday of the proletariat is celebrated in Berlin this year as a day of nationalistic debauch under the flag of the hooked cross. The workers in the rest of the world and here in America must show their indignation. They must protest against the Brown Shirt May Day in Berlin by a powerful united Red demonstration of internationalism. They must show the Nazi murderers by this demonstration that the international working class is girding its loins for battle.

On May 1st the whole world must know that every section, tendency and shade of the revolutionary and labor movement can stand together in a fight for a common battle can weld its forces in a united front. We have great objectives to attain the world over. In the U. S. the great battle for the release of Tom Mooney and freedom for the Scottsboro boys will be given a tremendous impetus when the proletariat fills streets in serried ranks on May 1st.

Socialist Party Sabotage

In face of this, how criminal are the perfidious actions of the treacherous leaders of the Socialist party in splitting the ranks of the workers. These fakery have turned down the genuine offer of the united Front May Day Committee, composed of Communists, Mustekes, I. W. W.s, etc., for one demonstration in New York. Their obsequious, bootlicking services to the capitalist class need no other proof than this. Not content with this vile treason in breaking the workers ranks the S. P. fakery made

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Russian Movie; May 6th, 8 p.m. Labor Temple

As announced in the previous issue of the **MILITANT**, a unique film of the Russian Revolution will be exhibited at a limited and private showing on Saturday, May 6, 1933. This film to be shown complete for the first time, reveals the actual and authentic pictures of all the important events and actions before, during and after the Russian Revolution, and covers a period of 20 years of Russia life.

A record of events from the first decade in the 20th century, from early Russia in Czarist in Czarist days through the death of Lenin and the exile of Trotsky to Prinkipo; the July uprising; the Kornilov movement; the Social Revolutionists; the rise of the Bolsheviks; the role of Lenin and Trotsky and other leaders of the Bolsheviks; the Soviets; the rise to power of Bolshevism; the Civil War on the various fronts; grand scenes of all the Russias; the Comintern—this and more is to be seen in this outstanding factual film of the historic Russian revolution.

The film is being shown under the auspices of the Film Club of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America, (Opposition). The Committee in charge of the details wishes to announce to the Film Club members that they must obtain their SUBSCRIPTION TICKETS IN ADVANCE, if they wish to view the film. This is a limited, private showing and no tickets can be obtained at the door.

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

S. P. Sabotages Mooney Struggle

The fourth session of the Congressional Organization Committee of New York United Front Tom Mooney Conference established that the course of the Stalinists in their back-door bargaining with the Socialist party failed to bring the latter into the movement. Palmer reported that on Thursday, April 13, Clarence Senior informed the negotiations committee that the N. E. C. of the S. P. had decided not to approve the Chicago Mooney Congress.

Our readers will remember that a negotiations committee consisting of Muste of the C. P. L. A., Palmer of the Federated Press and, as it is now revealed, Hathaway and Stachel of the C. P., had been knocking on the back door of the S. P., but in hand, asking it to participate in the Chicago Congress. The S. P. attacked the Congress in its press, delayed, laid down ultimatum conditions and finally said no. The reason advanced by the S. P., according to Palmer, is incredibly trivial and absurd. It seems that Mooney wrote a letter to Palmer in which he sharply criticized the course of the S. P. from 1913 up to date, and objected to the present attitude of the S. P. toward the Chicago Congress. A copy of this letter of which several copies must have been sent by Mooney to various individuals fell into the hands of the S. P. And upon this basis and other objections of an equally

Inflation Bill Deceptive

Roosevelt Retreats before Petty Bourgeois Pressure and Threatens Workers' Standard with New Measures

The prospects of inflation have been brought considerably closer by two actions undertaken by Roosevelt in the last two weeks: One is the embargo on gold, which cut the paper dollar internationally, as well as nationally, from gold and left it free to find its own level. The immediate result was a decline in the international price of the paper dollar to a discount of 16 percent, that is, an American dollar became worth 84 cents in any gold-standard currency such as the French, Dutch or Swiss, and also in the English pound, which remained stable during this period in relation to the gold currencies. Since then, the dollar has been rising steadily, and as of April 28 was quoted at a discount of 8 percent, i. e., had risen from 84 to 92 cents in gold.

In its dealings with other countries, in the exchange of commodities, capital and services, the United States received in 1932, \$131,000,000 that it paid out, against \$100,000,000 in 1931. This balance is payable directly or indirectly in gold. As long as the balance of payments remains in favor of the United States, the dollar will tend to rise toward par, because it will tend to receive more claims on the world's gold than it pays out.

The gold embargo alone therefore does not constitute inflation, which is a depreciation of the paper currency in comparison with gold. The door to inflation was thrown wide open by Roosevelt's second step, the demand from Congress for legislation authorizing him to choose any, all or none of four different kinds of inflation—through bank credit; the issue of unsecured greenbacks, the use of silver purchased in large quantities

up to a price above the present market, and the redefinition of the gold dollar to mean a smaller amount of gold, down to a reduction of 50 percent from the present.

This step appears to represent a maneuver of Roosevelt's under pressure from the petty bourgeoisie, especially the agrarian petty bourgeoisie, termed by the militancy and direct action of the rapidly developing Left wing of the farmers' movement. The first test of strength came in a bill for silver currency inflation, which was defeated 43 to 33. The size of the minority and the continued agitation among the farmers decided Roosevelt to change his tactics, where Hoover would undoubtedly have continued in bull-headed opposition, both representing primarily the interests of monopoly finance-capital as against all other classes. Roosevelt's maneuver consists in offering first the appearance of inflation, through the gold embargo and the speculative rise in stocks and commodities which followed it; to be followed, in accordance with the amount of pressure put on the government by the petty bourgeoisie, by as little concessions to their demand for inflation as practicable, the so-called "controlled inflation." Should inflation on a substantial scale become necessary, finance-capital will so arrange itself (through reworking from the Federal Reserve banks, through depreciation of the value of claims against the banks in the form of deposits, through increased speculation in stocks and commodities to counterbalance losses in bank investments) so as to obtain as much benefit or as little loss as possible, in the domestic sphere. On the international scale, American inflation would mean a loss of strategically advantageous positions in the export of capital, and would relatively strengthen the position of French capital, and of English capital to the extent that it was able to work out a temporary agreement with French capital. This latter perspective, pointed out in the **MILITANT** of March 8, has been verified by the recently announced Anglo-French banking and currency arrangements.

Inflation?—Rather Deflation!
Actually what has happened since the "bank holiday" has been a process of steady deflation, not inflation at all. Since March 8, the lowest point of the banking crisis, the Federal Reserve banks have increased their holdings of gold by over \$700,000,000, and reduced the total money in circulation by over \$1,500,000,000, both decidedly deflationary measures tending to increase the value of paper money in terms of gold, therefore to increase the buying power of the dollar. The latest available figures, those for the week ending April 26, 1933, show that this deflation is still going on—gold holdings increased over \$30,000,000 and money in circulation decreased \$74,000,000.

During this period also, interest rates have been coming down, a further sign of deflation, indicating that the demand for money is less than the amount available for offer. Roosevelt's policies, up to the sharp turn taken by the gold embargo and the introduction of the four-way inflation bill, were

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Fascist Terror Rages Against German Masses

Fascist Germany presents today a frightful picture of devastation of a once powerful revolutionary and working class movement. The Communist party has been destroyed, vanishing under heavy, well-aimed blows. The Stalinist policy delivered the party, and with it the working class, gagged and bound to the Fascist hordes.

The Socialist party is crippled apparently beyond recovery. Only its parliamentary skeleton is still attempting to maintain an humble, submissive existence. The trade unions are beginning to feel the Fascist lash. Many of their headquarters are sacked and now the preparations are in full swing to turn them into Fascist state organs. All Communist and even social democratic delegates are unceremoniously removed from the factory councils and replaced by Fascists, that is, where the councils are not dissolved altogether and new elections prohibited.

The savage howls of the roaring Fascist bandits who murder, pillage and destroy are pierced by the heart-rending groans from the torture chambers. The bestialities which actually take place are indescribable.

This is the crowning height of the many bitter experiences suffered by the German proletariat since the first serious act of treason performed by the social democratic chieftains on August 4, 1914. This first step was only the beginning of the later unbridled wrecking, the revolutionary struggles of 1918 to 1921, the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the perfidious collaboration in the restoration of capitalism.

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Scottsboro March On Capital

Legally, the Scottsboro Case stands as follows: an appeal is being taken by the defense from the death verdict of the Decatur jury; the trial judge has continued the cases of the other defendants on the ground that a fair trial under the present circumstances is impossible; and, irony of ironies, he places the blame for the prejudiced atmosphere on Liebowitz! The I. L. D. has applied for a writ of habeas corpus for two of the boys on various legal grounds.

With the temporary lull on the legal front the mass protest movement alone occupies the center of the stage in this great class drama in which we are fighting for the democratic rights of the Negroes and the unity of the black and white workers. In the forefront of the protest and defense movement stands the march on Washington scheduled to arrive there on May 8.

The March to Washington

The march was first projected by the Harlem, petty bourgeois newspaper, *The Amsterdam News*. Riding the crest of the first wave of the spontaneous protest of the Negro masses this paper issued a call for fifty thousand to march on the capital. With the entry of the I. L. D. on the scene, the initiative in organizing such a demonstration passed into its hands. Since then the *Amsterdam News* has shown that its first burst of enthusiasm was not sustained by the determination necessary to

carry out this mass action and the I. L. D. is undisputed leader of the march, as, indeed, it should be.

If the I. L. D. is the undisputed leader of the march then, leaving objective conditions aside for the moment, the responsibility for its success or failure as an organized mass demonstration rests squarely on the I. L. D. A successfully organized and militantly conducted march can raise the protest movement of the masses to greater heights. It can inspire the terrorized masses of the south to struggle for their democratic rights and draw them further into united mass action with the white workers. And since the whole movement is being conducted under the banner of militant mass action, which the whole working class knows, in this instance, to be the banner of Communism, a successful march must increase the prestige of Communism in the eyes of the masses.

Conversely a poor organized march with no spirit, the morale of which is low will react on the movement unfavorably. The spark of enthusiasm and contagion will not be struck. The I. L. D. would lose prestige and the prestige of Communism would also suffer.

It is from this point of view that we criticize the preparations for the march. The call asks all participants to supply their own food and the organizations sending re-

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

League in Action in Philadelphia

Philadelphia.—A sectional united front conference against evictions was called on March 30. The Unemployed Councils of West Philadelphia called it. The conference made an effort to be broad—in composition only. It was almost treason to connect local with national or international problems. No trade unions were represented, one Y. P. S. L. local, one church. Nothing was said at the conference of social-fascists" or of a "united front from below". As a matter of fact the party made a complete somersault and now appears ready to enter into united fronts with social reformists, without reserving the right to criticize. In such united fronts Bender, the conference leader, feels like a fish in water. He said: "This conference was called to compel our representatives in the legislature to keep their promises," and "that only by mass action can the workers end their misery".

Comrade Roberts criticized the narrow parliamentary base as well as the creation of illusions that under capitalism the workers can end their misery. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can do that, but in order to lay the foundation it is necessary to fight back the attacks of the bosses, "the real fruit of our victory lies not in the immediate result but in the ever-expanding union of workers". At the conclusion of the speech Roberts was given a good round of applause.

The Communist party as an organization was not represented until reminded in the resolutions committee by comrade Hirsch of the Left Opposition. As usual, our proposal of long-term credits to aid recognition of the Soviet Union, was rejected as having nothing to do with the conference. A proposal that all workers' organizations from the Soviet Union down to the smallest workers' group boycott German goods, met with same rebuff.

We did, however, succeed in passing some resolutions, which the conference leaders had completely forgotten. They were: (1) against the commissary plan; (2) social insurance at the expense of the government and employers; (3) against Roosevelt's reforestation plan; (4) six-hour day, five-day week without reduction in pay. Of particular interest are the last two. The narrowing down of the conference proved a boomerang to the Stalinists. Resolution number 3 was met with the objection by a delegate from the Paote Zionists but this was beyond the scope of the conference.

The conference adjourned with the election of a committee of action which is to carry on the work of the body. Roberts was elected to this committee. Nothing was said about our class war prisoners (Tom Mooney, etc.). When, after the conference, Roberts asked the reason for this, the cynical answer was given: "Do you want us to be here all night?"

On March 31 comrade Sam Gordon delivered a lecture on "Danger Signals in Soviet Economy". Despite the rain the meeting was well attended by workers desirous of hearing the views of the Left Opposition. Several Communist party members and sympathizers took the floor in the discussion and asked questions. Comrade Gordon made it clear that we refuse to conceal shortcomings by gloating over doubtful successes. Comrade Gordon pointed out the reasons for the weaknesses of Soviet economy and the solutions for the difficulties, to be found not in the Stalinist conception of socialism in one country but in the Leninist theory of the permanent revolution. A lively discussion ensued in which the point of view of the Left Opposition was brought home. A great deal of literature was sold.

The Anti-Nazi Demonstration in Philadelphia

The Stalinist policies and tactics permitted the rabbits, the capitalist politicians to capitalize on the anti-Semitism of the Nazis (and to divert it into safe channels). This Thursday, April 6 the C. P. of Phila. arranged a protest demonstration against Hitlerism under its own name at Reuben Plaza. Not even the rain can account for the fact that only 500 workers participated in the parade. Preparation were extremely meager. Only the closest party circles participated. Almost all were foreign born and Negro workers—who due to lessons of the past respond quickest against Fascist terror. Not all the cheers for the C. P. of Germany and the U. S. A. could remove the doubt, still unvoiced, from the minds of these workers as to the correctness of the Stalinist policies.

The paraders were glad to see us of the Left Opposition in the march with them. Perhaps we were right after all. The comrades were unable to understand the absence of an attack on the socialist position. No campaign of clarification and of honest explanation is undertaken. Only this week has the party begun a discussion. This demonstration should be an indication to the party members that only a sincere and honest turn can bring results and extend the influence of Communism among the masses.

—L. R.

Stalinist Opportunism in Mpls. Elections

Minneapolis.—On April 22 the United Front Conference for the Workers Ticket Election Campaign was held in Minneapolis. The major part of the conference work was expended on clearing up wreckage wrought by the party's opportunist policy at the "preliminary" conference held some weeks before. The opportunism of the district leadership consisted in this: they attempted to get around the deep-seated prejudices of the reformist-minded worker by approaching him with a "united front workers' ticket" behind which would hide the C. P. At the same time this form for the Communist ticket would allow the party to unite with individual candidates who have a following in the labor movement and that would bring to the polls votes for the C. P. candidates on the "Workers ticket". Just such an individual did they have in Walter Frank, a free-lancing radical who has made the circuit of all political tendencies in labor movement, and is at present flirting with the party in the F. S. U. and T. U. C. for Unemployment Insurance. He was endorsed by the party-controlled conference upon his endorsement of the "workers ticket" platform which consisted primarily of immediate demands and was void of the revolutionary aims and objectives of Communism. It did not even uphold the need of an independent working class political party, a Communist party.

Frank was out to be elected, he accepted the help of the party, and had promised nothing in return.

Walter Frank's first leaflet practically told the workers they needed no political party, but instead "Workers Unity". The result was that the party's back-stage dickerer with this opportunist office-seeker had to be exposed by the Left Opposition. We frankly told all party members we met that if the party persisted in its opportunism we would file a Communist candidate against Frank in that ward. As though the local Stalinists saw the light from somewhere, they issued a leaflet one week before the second "United Front Workers Ticket Conference" violently attacking Frank, repudiating his endorsement by the party, calling for support of the "Workers ticket" platform on the grounds of its "class struggle" character, in other words made a fair, general statement of the Communist program and principles.

At the conference proper they submitted a platform with paragraphs added, others deleted, and on the basis of it proceeded to "thrash" Frank for being what he always was in the united front, an opportunist radical politician. Frank's defense before the workers in the conference was that the party had broke its agreement with him and had changed the original platform. A disgusting melee.

Meanwhile the Opposition delegates were unseated on the report of the credential committee. An honest party member made the report. When he came to the matter of why the Opposition should not be seated, he stopped, went into a huddle with the leaders, came back and stammered out the "reasons". The chairman drove the motion through the meeting without allowing discussion.

While the conference rejected Frank, the only non-party candidate, and thus destroyed its united front character, the party continued to call it a united front, for well thought-out opportunist reasons. It is to be the name, the cover for the C. P. a demagogic ploy, to pick up workers and store-keepers votes. The aldermanic candidates, all Communists, have election cards bearing no mention of Communism, just "candidate on workers' ticket". Leaflets are the same, carrying the name of the Conference with occasional mention of "endorsed by C. P.". At an aldermanic campaign meeting the Opposition criticized this aspect of the party campaign. Petty functionaries rose one after another, each giving a more confused, opportunist, explanation of the "united front workers ticket". A confused Farmer-Labor party faction leader in the Ward F. L. P. Club who was chairman of this meeting arranged by the Workmen Circle branch, sided with the party arguments on an "election united front", cited the "wise" policy of the party in the farmer-labor united front of 1924-28, greeted this "new" policy, and then unconsciously clinched the truth of our contention for the party not to play with election united fronts. He said, "Did not we have in this hall (Workers Hall Ass'n.), a Left wing of four hundred followers, did not the party lead us into the Farmer-Labor party? Why did it leave us there? Was it not because you told us it was a working class party?" The last election united front policy of the party founded, nurtured, and built the formidable reformist Farmer-Labor party, a bulwark against Communism in the masses. This last united front election policy launched the opportunist Walter Frank into his race for political office with the label, "workers candidate", fighting for "workers unity". Despite the mass-cue of "names" and the comedy of endorsements, the Left Opposition will support the Communist candidates in the city elections, and campaign for them on a clear-cut outspoken Communist banner and program.

—C. FORSEN.

The S. P.'s. Continental Congress

The role of social reformism, how it arises and grows, has been sufficiently established by the Marxists since the post-war period. It grows simultaneously with the advance of the revolutionary movement. Its aim is to act as a brake upon rising tide of struggle. The more acute the class struggle the more active do the reformists become. They pretend at a struggle, only to retreat, cripple and destroy such conflicts at their decisive moments. In the "democratic era" of capitalism they flourish like the proverbial mushrooms after a rain. When capitalism resorts to an open and naked dictatorship (Fascism) as in Germany they are thrust aside as a hindrance to the process of completely decapitating the proletariat.

Quite contrary to the "third period" theorists of Stalinism, social reformism in the United States is not dead, nor is it in the process of extinction. The "span of life" of reformism in this country is not the point under discussion at present. The decisive question is whether or not reformism has the possibilities of activity and growth under the given conditions and state of class struggle in the United States. As to this we must answer in the affirmative. To destroy the "Fascist Hoover Government" and "Fascist Commissions" and the "Daily Worker" does in its most delirious moments, results only in confusion and error. In doing that it signifies that the path of reformism has already been beaten and is covered with the footsteps of American Fascism.

Four years of crisis have torn deep roots in American capitalism. They have posed weaknesses that appeared absent during the "prosperity" years. The impact of the crisis is demonstrating to American imperialism more clearly than ever, that it must direct and base its economy on a world scale. We will witness a greater participation of the United States in world affairs on the political field, and an intensified activity in the sphere of international economy. In preparing for this stage, American capitalism must first of all settle accounts at home. It proceeds to lower the standard of living of the American working class nationally. Since the crisis a series of interrupted wage-cuts has taken place. This process is being completed. And it is being completed thus far, without apparent resistance by the working masses.

Whatever the level of recovery may be it will be carried through by smashing the living standards of the masses. That is inherent in the situation. American capitalism has not yet been seriously burdened with the problems of relief and social insurance. With brutal callousness it has resisted every demand for these. To expect that these demands would have been

I. L. D. Refuses Aid to Greek Worker

On April 22nd last year, Nick Gramataikis, unemployed worker, was arrested while participating in the unemployed demonstration at City Hall which was turned into a blood bath by the savage attacks of the police. The city's "finest" on horseback, and afoot charged into the crowds trampling them under hoofs and beating them with clubs, men and women alike, indiscriminately. When a woman comrade was being brutally clubbed, Nick Gramataikis fearlessly intervened. This resulted in his arrest.

The Daily Worker of April 23, 1932 gave considerable prominence to the story of the arrests and police brutalities, but failed to mention the name of any of the workers arrested except that of George Powers, the leader of the demonstration. Two days later it announced a mass protest demonstration against the police terror to be held April 29th. It failed to report this demonstration and never once did it mention the names of these class struggle victims.

In the hands of the police, the unemployed worker Gramataikis was frightfully beaten, causing him to be confined in the hospital at Welfare Island for about a month. On the expiration of this sentence, he was sent to Ellis Island for deportation.

At the time of his arrest and during all these events, Gramataikis was a member of the Spartakos Club, the Party's Greek workers' organization and he was defended by the I. L. D. After being held for a month or more at Ellis Island, he was released on bail, a \$1,000 bond being put up for him. This bond was given by a surety company and the security for it was provided by a member of the Spartakos Club.

Since that time, some petty quarrels arose between Gramataikis and the ruling clique at the Club, the Stalin clique causing his expulsion. Soon after this took place, he received a notification from the Ellis Island authorities to present himself there, informing him that his bond was in the process of liquidation, and that he was required to put up a new bond. The letter of notification was addressed to him at the Spartakos Club and was not delivered to him by them until the very evening before he

Communists Must Break Thru 'Closed Door' Policy

granted without an intensive struggle on the part of the workers is a serious error. It is precisely because on a national scale such struggles were absent and serious resistance was not recorded, that the ruling class in this country was able to carry through its drive against the masses to lower their living standards and at the same time refuse aid to the unemployed without serious difficulties.

The weakness of the subjective factor: the state of consciousness of the American workers, are flowing from this the absence of a mass Communist party with correct policies, and a militant labor movement, is in the main the reason for the lack of great class battles. Whatever struggles have taken place were at best sporadic, intensive though some of them may have been. The gains however were small and localized and thus their scope is entirely too narrow. The bulk of the struggle was carried on almost primarily through the direct initiative and activity of the Communists.

Growing Mood of Struggle

The crisis will prove to be a great impulsion to the class-conscious development of the American workers. This is evidenced by a growing mood of struggle seen in great demonstrations of unemployed, the auto strikes, the movement of the Illinois miners and the recent organization of the "Progressive Trade Union Educational Committee" at Gillespie. In all of these events the Communists have played an active and leading role. This role will increase with the development of the struggle. It is important to remember this.

With these remarks let us examine the call for a "Continental Congress of workers and farmers for Economic Reconstruction" to be held in Washington on May 6 and 7. The leading elements in framing the call and the conference are the socialists and their allies in the American Federation of Labor. Page one of the call is adorned with a cartoon showing how labor is driving the moneybags out of the Capitol. This cartoon is supposed to describe the statement of William Green, arch-reactionary head of the A. F. of L., also appearing on page one, as an introduction to the call itself.

Green declares: "For we shall soon be on the march... We shall FIGHT with every legitimate weapon at our command... We have come to what we are determined shall be the END OF SUFFERING... We prefer the council table, but we do not shun the BATTLEFIELD.... I am ready to LEAD the hosts of labor into a BATTLE.... The die is cast for

was required to give himself up at Ellis Island so that he had no time to make any preparations whatever, other than to notify the I. L. D.

In the morning at Ellis Island, the Commissioner, Barnes stated that it was not because the surety company was in process of liquidation that Gramataikis was being taken into custody again, that there were many cases like his with the same surety company, but it was because the security put up by the Spartakos Club had been withdrawn. Another hearing was at once installed and Gramataikis severely grilled. A lawyer was present representing the I. L. D., but when another bond was demanded by the Government, he refused, stating the I. L. D. never puts up bail. Gramataikis was returned to a cell, this time in the criminal section as a defaulter, to be deported at the earliest possible moment.

Sympathizing with the forlorn position of this militant worker, two of our comrades called on the I. L. D. headquarters and asked to talk the matter over with those in charge. After keeping them waiting for a long time, John Ballam appeared and said he was busy, asking them to return at ten o'clock the next morning, when they did. They were then informed that Ballam was not coming in that day but on insistence that he had made the appointment, were told Ballam would be in at 12:30 and asked to return then. In the meantime one of our comrades spoke to Nemser, who after listening, said there was nothing he could do, that it was necessary to speak to Ballam. At 12:30, Ballam had not appeared nor at 1 o'clock and although constant efforts were made to take the matter up later with him and with others of the leaders of the I. L. D., they successfully dodged. Ballam was not coming in that day.

A report of this case was sent to the Daily Worker, which has failed to publish it. The I. L. D. must not be permitted to abandon a militant worker in his need. The Spartakos Club is trampling the banner of Communism in the dirt by putting petty revenge above elementary class duty and class solidarity. We call on all health elements in the I. L. D. and in the Spartakos Club to take up the case and demand that their leaders take immediate action to free Nick Gramataikis.

—ESTHER FIELD.

THE BATTLE out of which labor expects a new America!

What strange words, coming from the reactionary leader of the organized labor movement who has done everything in his power to throttle the slightest note of militancy in its ranks. The apostle of class collaboration will lead the hosts of labor into a battle, a battle for a new America!

This is the introduction to the call addressed to the workers and farmers of the United States, to convene and "draw up a program to right the grievous wrongs we have suffered and set up a national council of the working people in the city, state and nation to ensure its realization". And to this congress are invited: "(a) Progressive organization of farmers; (b) Organization of Labor; (c) Cooperative Societies; (d) The Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties, single taxers, and other liberal political groups; (e) Labor fraternal bodies and unemployed leagues WHOSE PURPOSES ARE IN HARMONY WITH THE OBJECTS OF THIS CONFERENCE." The call further declares: "Through vigilance, the strength of a just cause, and the pressure of our democratic mass strength we shall ENDEAVOR to win for all men, women and children of this Nation a 'TRUE FREEDOM—FREEDOM FROM POVERTY, HUNGER AND ECONOMIC SECURITY'." (Emphasis mine—G.)

The mere statement of Green, veneered with a dash of militancy, is an indication, above all, of a fear of a developing movement of the American proletariat for militant struggle. This fear is accentuated by the thought that this developing movement may form under the leadership of the Communists who have until now been the main factor in those class struggles already taking place. It is axiomatic that when a Green wishes to do battle in the interests of the proletariat the real purpose in such militancy is to check the movement of the workers, to choke it before it begins, or if unsuccessful in that, to canalize it into the stream of reformism.

Aim of Conference

In that respect at least there are no differences between Green and his socialist comrades who signed the call and have taken the initiative in bringing about the conference. They are going to bring about a true freedom, a freedom from poverty, hunger and economic security. Under what kind of program will this political, economic and social change take place? Under the program adopted at this congress that will be attended by the widest variety of elements. Is this a merely another utopian plan? No, its main aim is to head off and destroy at once the growth of the revolutionary movement. To do this it is not enough to organize a united front movement in the struggle for the demands of the suffering unemployed. These people must rely upon something else; a substitute offering for social reorganization that will sound "reasonable and capable of achievement" and yet be a far cry from the revolutionary program of the Communists.

Isn't this clear in the nature of the call? To secure this aim all organizations are invited except the Communists and revolutionary workers. Even the single taxers (!) are invited. But the Communist party, the T. U. U. L. and the Unemployed Councils, the revolutionary wing of the proletariat are not invited. The intention is to build a movement that will go into "battle" for a "true freedom". What kind of a battle and what kind of true freedom will this be when the heart of the proletariat is to be excluded from participation? The answer is: there will be no battle nor a true freedom if the leaders of this movement carry through their purpose of excluding the revolutionists from the conference. The real aim is the building of a reformist movement that will attempt to check the rising class-conscious American proletariat.

That the socialists, who consistently profess their "adherence" to Marxism and socialism, take the lead in this movement only testifies to their theoretical and political degeneration. It is in the name of Marxism that they are creating this movement. It is in the name of socialism that they are attempting to bring about a true freedom in joint "struggle" with the reactionary labor leaders, liberal political groups, single taxers, etc.

The Communist, revolutionary and militant workers must break through the closed-door policy of the congress. The congress without doubt, will be attended by many workers' organizations of all shades of opinions and aims. While exposing the program of disunity and reformism, the Left wing must counter with the demand for a genuine united front. It must fight against the exclusion of any section of the working class. It will have to present a counter-program of action, free from the confusing reformism designed to throttle the growing class consciousness of the American workers. Such a tactic, intelligently and correctly carried out, will win the support of the workers assembled in the congress. It may prevent the emergence of an organization whose main purpose will be that of fighting the Communists, and turn it into an organization of militant class struggle whose purpose will be to fight for the interests of the working masses.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

NEW SUB DRIVE

Well we're back at you. We're off on a new sub drive. This one is scheduled to run from now to the end of June, roughly about six weeks. And it's got to hum from start to finish.

THE GERMAN CAMPAIGN

As a result of our German campaign, we're a bigger organization now. We cover a greater amount of territory. There are more of us. The Militant reaches and is read by a greater number of workers. Interest in it is keener. All the objective requirements exist for a successful drive.

It's just a question of putting your back into it. There is urgent reason to put this drive over with a great big bang. The financial situation of the Militant is not what it should be. It's nifty and tucked to get the issue out. All kinds of troubles descend on us. One week it's the press, the next it's the linotype. We laugh them off. They're growing pains. Our battling average is pretty high.

But how about it in the field? Are you in this thing? Are you lying awake nights contriving schemes to get subs to put a sounder and firmer and wider base under our paper? If you are you will welcome this drive. If you have been sleeping too soundly now is the time to get up and hop to it.

Have you got all three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky? Here is your chance to get a set for nothing. All you have to do is to come out on top in this sub drive. That is the goal every comrade can shoot at. Let's repeat it so there'll be no misunderstanding about it. To the comrade who gets the greatest number of subs by the 30 of June we will give without any strings tied to it a set of the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by comrade Trotsky.

And to console the runner up, to save that smart that you get from ruminating along that almost if it tangle we'll give a bound volume of the Militant, either format, new or old, according to your fancy. Now isn't that somepin? So how about you comrades.

CLUB PLAN SUBS

Yes. Everything goes. All subs count. New ones, renewals, club plan subs. We want to pile up a total that'll put all the former records in the shade.

But if you're smart you'll concentrate on the club plan prepaid cards. That's where the heavy scoring will be done. You haven't forgotten about them? You remember they come in minimum units of four, prepaid (don't forget that; that's important). And each one at 50c is good for a regular \$1 half-year sub. And they count for four subs. A tip to the wise—

Now if you're very wise you'll pay close attention and follow out our advice to the letter. Take two dollars, shoot them in here for four of these prepaid cards and ring up a starter of four subs. Then you can go out and resell these cards. When you resell them you have your two dollars back. Now shoot them in again for four more prepaid cards. As far as you're concerned they're the same two dollars. But they're walking overtime piling up a score toward the three volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution. What could be simpler. Somebody once called it a revolving

fund. That's one name for it. But call it what you will it's a swell way to build the Militant.

If you don't like revolving funds that shouldn't stop you from getting four of these cards. You can give them away to unemployed workers. One way or another you can use these prepaid cards to build the Militant. So pitch in. Give it a boost. Help put the drive over. Get started right away.

Of course New York will have an advantage being closer to home and being able to start sooner. But New York has had to occupy second place before. It isn't always a New York comrade who comes out on top. If memory serves us right it's usually a comrade from some other city who shows the race a clean pair of heels. If you're west of the Hudson call it a handicap race and set out to give New York a drubbing. But you'll have to step some. So let's go!

And watch next week's issue for the first reports.

Unity on May Day

(Continued from page 1)

a united front with the Police Department! First they attempted, with rotten congratulations to the new police commissioner to whom they stated: "We have always cooperated with the police and have not attacked them" to get the police to deny the united front demonstration the right to Union Square on May 1st.

The pressure and the anger of the workers without and within their ranks forced these vile "socialist" lackeys to retreat from this dastardly maneuver. But they were not to be deterred in their "cooperation" with Commissioner Bolan, the smasher of the March 6th, 1930 demonstration, to keep the workers divided. Gorbier, Lee, Claessens and their stripe are now dickering with the police chief not only to prevent a united demonstration but to prevent the socialist workers, who will demonstrate on Union Square before the United Front demonstration, to remain and join the latter demonstration. They demand of their collaborator, Bolan, that the "Square be cleared" before the United Front parade enters it! ! !

The workers must close their ranks in a united manifestation of international solidarity. The socialist brethren of Wels and Breit-scheid and all those who have directly sold out the German workers to Fascism, have rejected every effort toward a joint Communist and socialist demonstration. They have preferred, following the horses' police in an effort to sabotage united struggle. The American workers must show the socialist saboteurs that they have learned their lesson from Germany. They must show that they will not permit their ranks to be split, that they will march together on the First of May, in spite of everything.

Workers, make the First of May, a day of united proletarian action! Show that the tragedy of the German proletariat will be avenged by learning the lessons of reformist betrayal and Stalinist national socialism which made it possible. Demonstrate under the banner of Leninist internationalism, under the banner of the Bolshevik Left Opposition!

Alteration Painters United Front

The "new United Front policy" of the Comintern is now making its appearance in the trade union field. The mechanical application of this policy by the Alteration Painters Union is a half-hearted attempt to correct some of the worst errors of the old "Third Period" sectarianism. But Centralism here also shows its halfness and inadequacy to advance a policy and a perspective that meets the demands of the present situation. Without a real change there can be no improvement.

Recently the Alteration Painters Union sent an open letter to the central bodies of the A. F. L. Painters Union, outlining the conditions in the trade, and calling for the organization of a large conference representing the membership of both unions for united action for the improvement of the conditions of the painters in this city.

It is quite obvious that this is not sufficient, as an examination of the problems and the relation of forces in the industry will show. The painters in the city are divided into three groups, the first being the unorganized, who constitute the majority, the second are the workers in the A. F. L. which controls the bulk of the organized painters and the third is the militant minority which is isolated in the independent organizations the Alteration Painters' Union.

In such a situation the key to Left wing strategy is the struggle for unity, because the workers, experiencing drastic reductions of their wages and working conditions, widespread unemployment, on the one hand, and the disunity of the painters, on the other, feel the need of a united struggle and will support the militants if they are convinced that the militants are really fighting for this policy. This would also facilitate the task of organizing the unorganized.

This struggle for unity in the present situation should be formulated as follows:

1. Propose to the District Council of the A. F. L. that the

Alteration Painters Union be admitted as a body with full membership rights.

2. On this basis to revive the Left wing in the A. F. L. to fight for the unity of the two organizations.

3. All the independent work of the A. F. U. will be strengthened in the meantime because the union will be in a position to justify its independent existence and to prove to both the organized and unorganized workers that the bureaucrats in the A. F. L. are against the unity of the painters and that the A. P. U. is leading the struggle for unity.

Even for such a proposal as made in the open letter, this broad tactic is necessary (call for united action pending unification). The present proposal hangs in mid-air as it gives no perspectives, let alone that of unity in one organization.

The militants now isolated in the Alteration Painters Union must follow a policy which aids the revival of the Left wing in the A. F. of L. and coordinates the struggle for unity. The Stalinists have shown time and again that they do not know how to do this. It is necessary to follow the tactic outlined above which proceeds from the trade union policy of the Left Opposition. This policy shows the way to build a real influence for the Left wing among the painters of this city.

—WILLIAM KITTY.

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Some Fundamental Aspects of the Present Crisis in Germany

(This is the second of two articles on this subject. The first appeared in the *Militant* of April 1.

II. All the elements of the objective situation favored the revolutionary solution of the German crisis under the leadership of the Communist party. The crisis was brought to a head by the ravages of the world economic depression. The social democracy was becoming increasingly discredited by the collapse of all social legislation—"practical" reformism—in the country (the Stalinist leadership of the party even went to the fantastic extreme of declaring the social democracy exposed as "social fascists"—"twin brothers of Fascism"). The progress achieved by the Five Year Plan was a powerfully vivid demonstration of the superiority of planned socialist economy (the Stalinists themselves even went further with monstrous exaggerations of the successes and the proclamation of the establishment of a classless society within the next few years). What more could be desired? Yet the Communist Party of Germany failed miserably in the face of the tasks and the possibilities.

It is impossible to grasp the extent of this failure and the responsibility of the Stalinist faction, if without considering the particular policy, pursued in the light of fundamental perspective. The highly unrealistic policy of the ultimatum united front from below was not accidental. It flowed directly from the whole zigzag course initiated by the rise of the petty bourgeois current of Stalinism within the Communist International. It is this basic perspective—or rather, lack of perspective—which prepared the German catastrophe and it is for that reason that the disastrous policy in Germany can and must be stigmatized as a policy of betrayal.

Bolshevism grew and developed in the struggle against the treacherous petty bourgeois ideology of social democracy. In this struggle it led the proletariat of Russia to victory and showed the working class of the world the way, creating for it the Communist International in the fire of combat. Stalinism arose within the Bolshevik party and the Communist International as a reaction to Bolshevism, feeding upon the fatigue of the Soviet masses after the years of the strenuous civil war and upon the temporary defeats of the West European proletariat in the years 1918 to 1923. It was in all respects a hangover from the petty bourgeois ideology of the pre-Bolshevik period. Stalin had as late as March 1917 held on to the idea that it is the task of the provisional (democratic) government to "consolidate the achievements" of the revolution in which the masses were the chief actor. On the higher plane of the situation created by the October Revolution, Stalinism reproduced all the basic defects of the social democracy—its national reformism, its short sightedness.

The German social democratic bureaucracy, raised to power in the trade unions and mass organizations by the struggle of the working masses within the framework of the bourgeois state, rejected the Marxist perspective of the permanent revolution even within the narrow bounds of their own country. They rejected the proletarian dictatorship for the Weimar Republic. Their basic motivation was the fear for the preservation of their bureaucratic powers, the little posts and positions which the petty bourgeois layer of the movement had attained to. In the end, their shaky policy inevitably caught them within the trap of its own logic—and landed them in the lap of Fascist reaction.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, raised to power within the Soviet state by the October revolution is no more and no less than this same, petty bourgeois bureaucracy reproduced on a higher historical stage. The anxiety for its own self-preservation and perpetuation has also been its guiding line. It is along this line that Stalinism started on its career with an attack upon the Marxian conception of the permanent revolution defended by L. D. Trotsky and the Russian Bolsheviks. Stalinism declared a struggle to the end against the permanent revolution in 1923. Two years later it broadened this breach with Marxism by setting up the theory of the possibility of establishing a socialist society in a single country—for all "practical" purposes, in Russia.

Within the framework of national boundaries the perspective of the permanent revolution signified steering a course toward the proletarian dictatorship. Only the dictatorship of the working class could serve as a conclusive guarantee for the completion of the democratic revolution. On the international scene, created by the establishment of the first workers' republic, this perspective pointed out a course leading to the extension of the October revolution to the rest of the world. Only the victory of the proletarian dictatorship in several of the advanced capitalist countries could assure the establishment of a socialist society in Soviet Russia with all its economic backwardness. This basic perspective called for a policy of intense attention and active aid to the development of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the capitalist world, in the first place. Secondly, it called for an internal policy of strengthening the Soviet regime by increasing the share of the socialist sector in economy so as to maintain the alliance of the

working class and the peasantry as the practical base of the proletarian dictatorship. The rejection of the fundamental perspective meant, in reality, also a rejection of the policies flowing from it.

By repudiating the perspective of revolutionary realism the Stalinists deprived the Soviet government and the Communist International, of which they had gained control, of the possibility of conducting a consistent policy corresponding with the practical tasks. The utopianism of their theory of socialism in one country precluded their utterly barren strategy and tactics in the problems which arose.

The perspective of the permanent revolution coupled with the Leninist evaluation of the imperialist epoch as one of social convulsions, wars and revolutions, signified struggle. That is above all what the petty bourgeois wants to avoid. The petty bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracy preferred to console itself with the possibility of shutting itself off from the rest of the world. On the basis of the theory of building a socialist society within the isolated Soviet state, Stalinism proceeded to heap disaster upon the international proletariat.

The problem of the Chinese revolution arose. The task there was posed as one of not throwing Chiang Kai-Shek (the national bourgeoisie) into the arms of imperialism, of not giving the imperialists an occasion for intervention against Soviet Russia where socialism could be established if foreign intervention was forestalled. The defenders of the permanent revolution, the Bolshevik-Leninists pointed out that the problem was one of strengthening the bonds between the Chinese masses and the Soviet Union, that the Chinese masses could be won as fighting allies only through the development of the proletarian revolution and the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship. That required the independent and the Chinese Communist Party and a course toward Soviets.

The Stalin faction had its way. For the sake of not losing Chiang Kai-Shek, it handed over the Communist party to the bourgeois Pao Min Tang—bag and baggage. The result is well known. Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese bourgeoisie received all the Stalinist aid gleefully and in due time slaughtered the vanguard of the working masses; made their peace with the imperialists and in 1929 came to the brink of a war against the Soviet Union itself.

The problem of the British General Strike and the movement that preceded it, is an equally illuminating example of the period of outright opportunism that followed immediately upon the heels of the orientation toward "socialism in one country." The disasters of the Chinese revolution and the British General Strike on a large scale and all the lesser disasters on a smaller scale as well as the bankruptcy of the opportunist policy within the Soviet Union itself—the bloodless insurrection of the kulaks in the spring of 1928 finally opened the eyes of the Stalinist empiricists—pushed the bureaucracy toward a sharp turn to the

extreme Left.

Again it was a matter of self-preservation. Soviet economy was at an impasse. The tactics of the "bloc of four classes" in China and of the Anglo-Russian Committee had only increased the isolation of the U. S. S. R. and undermined the basis of the bureaucracy itself. The zigzag to the ultra-Left which initiated the famous "third period" clearly revealed the political character of Stalinism as that of a vacillating bureaucratic Centrism.

Its method appeared clearly as the method of empiricism, of trial and error—lacking in all foresight and irresponsible in its consequences. The policy of ultimatum, of commands from above, was substituted for the policy of opportunist blocs. In place of the united front with any one and every one and under all conditions came the united front "from below only". The highest fruit of this blind policy, which was accompanied by a growing disinterestedness in the progress of the international Communist movement, was the debacle of January 1933 in Germany. The failure of the German Communist Party to lead the working class against the Fascist onslaught, its miserable disappearance from the scene, is the culmination point of the whole headless course of Stalinism in the Communist International.

The collapse of the Communist Party of Germany deprives the Communist International of its one great mass party and the Soviet

Union of its strongest ally in the capitalist world. It is the last item in the balance sheet of ten years of the rule of bureaucratic Centrism in the Communist movement. The course of Stalinism, which began with the repudiation of the concept of permanent revolution, has wound up in the most frightful isolation of the workers' fatherland. The Stalinist bureaucracy too, has been caught within the trap of its own logic. It has endangered the existence of the Soviet Union from without and from within.

Hitler's Brown Shirts are on the march. The alliance between the workers and peasants—the practical basis of Soviet economy and the proletarian dictatorship—is being threatened by that same headless, un-Marxian course which has led to disaster in Germany, by the course of vacillating bureaucratic Centrism. No time is to be lost. If Communism, if the Soviet Union is to live, Stalinism must be destroyed. Only the reestablishment of the Marxian perspective of the permanent revolution, only the return of its defenders—of L. D. Trotsky, Rakovsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists—to their rightful posts can aid in cleansing the working class vanguard of the petty bourgeois poison which had been paralyzing it and clear the road for the effective defense of the fortress of the proletarian revolution and for a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the International.

—SAM GORDON.

Social Democracy Passive Before Menace of Austrian Fascism

The Bonapartist regime in Austria has registered some important advances in the past few weeks. All of these are directed, of course, against the social democracy as the organized representative of the workers. The latter is showing ever less inclination toward serious resistance, restricting itself to bare protests and meaningless gestures.

On March 31, the Dollfuss government dissolved the Republican "Schultzbund", the socialist defense organization, after more than ten years of its existence. The "Schultzbund" has grouped around it the most militant section of the Austrian proletariat and has always been the only real bulwark against the ambitious putschists from the monarchist and Fascist camps. On the night when the dissolution decree became known, the working class masses of Vienna filled the thoroughfares in all parts of the city with spontaneous protest demonstrations and rallies.

The official reply of the social democracy was not a mobilization of its forces, embracing the vast majority of the working class and consequently, of the entire Viennese population; it was a plea with the Bonapartists to be cautious, to consider the "consequences" of withdrawing the right of legal existence from the "hands of those who have been responsible for the maintenance of law and order. In the country up to the present." All that the Otto Bauers could do was to warn their masters against the "blind wrath of the masses" and

to attempt to convince them as to how much more to their advantage it is to leave the masses under the constraining direction of the S. P. leadership.

To this servile whining, the social democracy added a touch of pathetic humor. On April 1, Karl Seitz, the social democratic mayor of the city and governor of the province of Vienna, came out with a pompous decree proscribing the "Heimwehr", the legitimist (Habsburg) Fascist military organization. Let some think that this was a serious counter-action and a signal for active resistance to the forces of reaction, it must be explained: The proscription of the "Heimwehr" was merely a gesture of the S. P. leader. Its "purpose"—to point out the "injustice" of the Dollfuss actions and to demonstrate the old social democratic principle of "Gleichberechtigung"—equal rights. The "Heimwehr" leaders in the Vienna Landtag challenged the decree and interpolated the governor, demanding information as to why he did not also dissolve the Nazi (Hitlerite) military organizations. Here is Seitz's reply in excerpts:

"A dissolution of the Nazi formations is impossible according to the coalition law. (The social democracy will in no case break the law, though Dollfuss may tear it into shreds). These formations are not constituted in the form of (independent) associations (!)... Yes, I have dissolved the 'Heimwehr'. But I did not for a moment imagine that a formal decree of dissolution of an association would mean anything in a practical sense.... For, the men who serve the ideas, continue to exist... (Needless to say, this rhetoric had its effect only on the social democrats, not on the Fascists, who appealed against the governor to the Federal government).... The first principle must at all times be; the principle of equal rights for all.... For a neutral Austria. (Seitz goes on to explain that the reactionary parties can only lead either to submission to Hitler-Germany or Mussolini Italy)... Austria must remain the State and Vienna the city of that classical German culture, German civilization, German democracy." (Stormy applause among the social democrats.)

Practical result: the proscription of the "Heimwehr" was annulled by the Dollfuss cabinet the very next day, the proscription of the "Schultzbund" stands. The social democracy tried to counter with the formation of inner-party "ushers' corps". The Federal government immediately proscribed these and warned the leaders that such organization would come under the original ban. The Seitzes, Bauers and Danneberg now reply with another feeble warning: Watch out, only last year the Hitler S. A. organizations were "dissolved" in Germany—look where they are now. It is with these sterile analogies and all kinds of sentimental appeals to the past that the leaders of Austro-Marxism try to cover up their own "democratic" bankruptcy and helplessness. To their own impatient working class following they address themselves with pleas for "discipline" and "moderation". Before them they excuse their passivity—with a frightened appeal to recognize what happened to the big German and Italian social democracies? The case of the latter, it appears, proves that it is necessary to go "slower"....

There is, no doubt, a substantial ferment within the ranks of the Austrian social democracy and in the working class generally. The streets are still filled with marching proletarians. Will this ferment result in the breakdown of social democratic impotence and the rise of a new and firm vanguard that will be able to show the way out in time? A skillful tactic on the part of the Communists could best assure this. It remains to be seen whether the latter have learned anything from fourteen years of a vegetative existence or not.

—T. STAMM.

means the organized workers. The approach must be made to the trade unions. No time must be lost.

The S. P., the A. F. of L. and the Negroes

The terrific pressure which the party is bringing to bear on the S. P. leadership over the Mooney and May Day issues is the direct result of its turn from the ultra Leftist policy of the united front from below to one which comes from below to one which comes question. If the party means it seriously it will apply that pressure now on the A. F. of L. and S. P. bureaucracies to enter a united front movement to get the Scottsboro boys out of jail.

Here is the weapon with which to strike at the reactionary restrictions against Negroes in the A. F. of L. unions. Here is the weapon with which to strike smashing blows at the whole system of Jim Crowism. Here is a means of forging the unity of the white and Negro masses in struggle.

Great opportunities lie before us. To realize them we must bend every effort to organize the movement and set the masses in motion. The key to the problem is the united front. Concretely now, that means the open approach to the S. P. and A. F. of L. for united front conferences. This the party must do without delay, openly before the eyes of the working class. No back door negotiations with the Clarence Seniors! No hiding behind Frank Palmers and Musters!

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Union of its strongest ally in the capitalist world. It is the last item in the balance sheet of ten years of the rule of bureaucratic Centrism in the Communist movement. The course of Stalinism, which began with the repudiation of the concept of permanent revolution, has wound up in the most frightful isolation of the workers' fatherland. The Stalinist bureaucracy too, has been caught within the trap of its own logic. It has endangered the existence of the Soviet Union from without and from within.

Hitler's Brown Shirts are on the march. The alliance between the workers and peasants—the practical basis of Soviet economy and the proletarian dictatorship—is being threatened by that same headless, un-Marxian course which has led to disaster in Germany, by the course of vacillating bureaucratic Centrism. No time is to be lost. If Communism, if the Soviet Union is to live, Stalinism must be destroyed. Only the reestablishment of the Marxian perspective of the permanent revolution, only the return of its defenders—of L. D. Trotsky, Rakovsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists—to their rightful posts can aid in cleansing the working class vanguard of the petty bourgeois poison which had been paralyzing it and clear the road for the effective defense of the fortress of the proletarian revolution and for a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the International.

—SAM GORDON.

Social Democracy Passive Before Menace of Austrian Fascism

The Bonapartist regime in Austria has registered some important advances in the past few weeks. All of these are directed, of course, against the social democracy as the organized representative of the workers. The latter is showing ever less inclination toward serious resistance, restricting itself to bare protests and meaningless gestures.

On March 31, the Dollfuss government dissolved the Republican "Schultzbund", the socialist defense organization, after more than ten years of its existence. The "Schultzbund" has grouped around it the most militant section of the Austrian proletariat and has always been the only real bulwark against the ambitious putschists from the monarchist and Fascist camps. On the night when the dissolution decree became known, the working class masses of Vienna filled the thoroughfares in all parts of the city with spontaneous protest demonstrations and rallies.

The official reply of the social democracy was not a mobilization of its forces, embracing the vast majority of the working class and consequently, of the entire Viennese population; it was a plea with the Bonapartists to be cautious, to consider the "consequences" of withdrawing the right of legal existence from the "hands of those who have been responsible for the maintenance of law and order. In the country up to the present." All that the Otto Bauers could do was to warn their masters against the "blind wrath of the masses" and

to attempt to convince them as to how much more to their advantage it is to leave the masses under the constraining direction of the S. P. leadership.

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Fascist Terror Rages Over Germany Stifling All Workers' Organizations

(Continued from Page 1)

ism after the working class defeat of 1923, until the completed preparation of the road for Fascism. But to this must be added the bitter experience of the Communist party, numerically the strongest outside of the Soviet Union, but Stalinized in every fibre of its bureaucratic apparatus, which has now experienced its August the Fourth. Though its leaders are now undergoing the most horrifying tortures nevertheless this must be said out loud.

Workers Under Bestial Tortures

The Nazis are advancing through streams of blood and tears. The horrible tales which come from the specially arranged Fascist torture chambers almost defy description. In their naked reality the actual events are much more hair-raising than the dribbling accounts would indicate which are smuggled out and find their way to expression outside of the German borders. I will attempt to relate a few examples culled from reports of eye-witnesses, for obvious reasons not giving names of the reporters, whose veracity, however, need not in the least be doubted. Our comrade relates: "In the Nazi barracks they whip the Communists and break their fingers in order to get from them confessions and addresses.

"In the Nazi barracks in Hede-manstrasse there lay in one room about 150 Communists who had been tortured until they were half dead. They were all undressed and when they were naked had to run the gauntlet until they broke down."

In Spandau, near Berlin, almost all Communists were arrested and taken into the barracks to be tortured. A woman comrade was taken from her bed at night, taken into the barracks to be horsewhipped and thrown into a cellar. When consciousness returned she noticed that she was not alone but was surrounded by others groaning or lying. Some are allowed to go out after they have been tortured; others never see daylight again.

The "Kasemats" in Spandau is an old antiquated prison to which most of the "bigger game" is being brought. There are incarcerated Thaelmann, Torgler, Pieck and Koenen, among many other Communists. But there are also victims as Lehman Russbildt, the chairman of the "League for Peoples Rights". Whom the Fascist, symbolically it seems, put in chains, leaving him unable to move for days at the time. An eye-witness relates the beastly beatings that were administered to Thaelmann every night so that the once robust figure is now but a living corpse. A special confession was demanded from him in the form of a declaration all made ready for him to attach his signature. It was to prove among other things that the Communist party had organized terror groups to murder and to pillage, giving names of alleged

S.P. Splits Mooney Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

a matter between the united front conference and the S. P. but a matter between Mooney and the S. P. The Left Opposition protested against this pessimistic and capitulationist attitude. We moved that the Congress Organization Committee issue a leaflet to the S. P. and A. F. of L. workers calling on them to raise the question in their organizations and to demand that their organizations participate in the Chicago Congress. The motion carried unanimously, the Stalinists voting for it.

This was the same motion made by us at the first session of the Committee in March. At that time the Stalinists exerted themselves to defeat our proposal. The responsibility for the loss of time is on their shoulders. The loss of time acquires great significance in view of the latest developments in the movement to free Mooney. According to the *New Leader*, the N. E. C. of the S. P. voted six to five against participation in the Chicago Conference. Thomas is quoted as saying that the S. P. must participate because it cannot afford to give the appearance of blocking unity. This reflects the pressure on the S. P. leadership both from without (Mooney and the C. P.) and the penetration of this influence into the socialist movement itself. The entire Chicago Yipsel movement has had its charter revoked because of its participation in united fronts with the Communists.

Had the party adopted a correct approach to this aspect of the united front problem, had it approached the S. P. openly before the eyes of the members of both parties and the entire working class, it could have increased the pressure on the S. P. leadership, forced it to vote favorably on the question of the participation of the S. P. in the Chicago Congress and succeeded in broadening the movement. The advantages to the movement and Communism in the united front are clearly indicated and need not be discussed at this point.

But Hathaway, Stachel, Palmer and Muses, having drawn losing cards against the S. P. bureaucrats, have rigged up a Management Committee for the Chicago Congress which is calculated to mitigate the disappointment of the party members who still have faith in the infallible line. On the Management Committee are included as "such well known socialists" as Professor Robert Morris Lovett, Professor Reinhold Niebuhr and Frans Daniels!

The reports of the sessions of the Congress Organization Committee and the developments reported in the labor and radical press have served to illuminate the roles of the S. P., the Stalinists and the "progressives" in the Mooney movement.

The Lovestonites have played a far smaller role. All of it has been disruption and sabotage. The April 15 issue of the *Workers Age* reports that Zimmerman of the Lovestone group was elected manager of Local 22 of the I. L. G. W. U., testimony to the influence of the Lovestonites in Local 22.

How this influence is exerted to build the movement for Mooney's release can be seen from the same issue of the paper. Under the revealing head, "Union Hits N. Y. Mooney Meet", the *Workers Age* prints a letter from the Local to Mooney. The letter informs Mooney that the Executive Committee of the Local approved the action of the Local's delegate (Nelson of the Lovestone group) in withdrawing from the March 12 New York United Front Free Tom Mooney Conference.

The reason speaks for itself. "From the report of our delegates it is evident that the official Communist party, which has apparently captured control of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, is bent upon running the 'show' for its own aggrandizement, and is determined—under all circumstances—not to permit a genuine united front of all workers' organizations, regardless of their political or social views."!

As we go to press delegates are on their way to the Chicago Congress from all parts of the country. Present reports indicate that it will be a very large gathering with possibilities which extend far beyond the defense movement. And Mooney is standing trial on the last indictment against him. Both events will be reported in the forthcoming issues of the *Militant*.

—T. STAMM.

commanders of these groups. It was to prove that the C. P. was supported by the Soviet government, alleging the manner in which funds were turned over.

The significance of the attempted direct connection of the Soviet government cannot be underestimated. It is but one out of many similar attempts, such as in the burning of the Reichstag building and others to stir up a popular hatred of the Soviet Union and pave the road for intervention. There are among the flamboyant declarations of Goering the one proposing to carve out a bigger piece of the Ukraine for Poland so that she may object less to the return of the Corridor to Fascist Germany. In general the Fascist press concerns itself very studiously at the present time with reports and estimates of the fighting capacity of the Red Army.

But the gruesome torture tales continue. Right along, corpses are found throughout the Reich and reported "killed by persons unknown." Eye-witnesses also relate having seen victims in the Berlin prison of the police presidium brought there from the Fascist barracks with their eyes cut out or with their teeth smashed by rifle butts. They tell of the unfortunate prisoners being thrown on the floor, trampled upon and kicked in the abdomen. It is the Fascist storm troops who administer the tortures. This became too much even for some of the old hardened Schupos in the Berlin Moabit police station. About a dozen of them protested and were immediately disarmed.

A certain C. P. functionary, B. Ramer, who had once been a Fascist officer but remained loyal to the party had his legs so badly crushed in the prison tortures that it became necessary later to perform an amputation. Storm troops went to the home of Ruth Fischer, once a party leader, and not finding her home, smashed all they could lay their hands on and took her thirteen year old boy as a hostage.

It is not only the Communist victims who suffer barbaric mutilations but social democrats as well. Karl Bockel, the editor of the *Chemnitzer Volksstimme* was beaten to a pulp and died in the street. However, the torture methods applied to the socialist member of the Reichstag Sollman, from Saarbrücken, are of the kind which put the notorious Spanish inquisition entirely in the shadow. A Fascist storm troop broke into his home, destroyed all furniture and beat him into insensibility. To bring him back to consciousness his socks were torn off and a lighted torch applied to his feet. As he writhed in pain one of the gang threw mustard into his eyes saying: "There is your black-red-and-gold dirty pig, your national mustard colors." After that they forced his mouth open and urinated into it.

The German proletariat was disarmed by the illusions which inevitably resulted from the perfidious policy of its social democratic leadership. They, who became the inheritors of the monarchy, allowed and themselves helped to prepare for the counter-revolution to conquer by stages. That is the lesson embodied in their rule from Noske through the bourgeois coalitions, the emergency decrees of Brüning, Papen and Schleicher to Hitler. The German proletariat was disarmed by the Stalinist sabotage of every correct measure of defense. In this lies the sad testimony to the serious weakness of a revolutionary party which rests upon the foundation of a false ideology and is paralyzed by bureaucratic incompetence.

The German proletariat failed to receive the support from its international basis—the Soviet Union and the Comintern. And it must be said plainly that the guilt of the catastrophic defeat suffered is not only to be laid at the doors of those who were directly charged with the leadership of the German working class but must be traced to the highest seat of Stalinism in the Comintern and the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Its departure from the road of international revolutionary policy marks the most serious retreat for the world movement which is fraught with sinister implications for the future. One may rest assured that the Fascist enemy will endeavor to pursue its gains relentlessly. Its mission of destroying the German working class organizations is not finally completed so long the Soviet Union remains a bulwark.

With frightful accuracy the Left Opposition warnings of the course of events have come true. They were given correctly and in time because they rested upon the basis of a Marxian analysis. But they were not heeded. It is on this basis also that we have long ago sounded the alarm in regard to the course which will be pursued in the next stage. That is the one in which the Fascist spearhead, already pointing Eastward, will be concentrated upon the efforts to destroy the workers' republic. But the Stalinist policy—the retreat from revolutionary internationalism—is also disarming the proletarian fatherland. Its defense can be secured only through the most implacable struggle against Stalinism.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Finally his body was literally dragged along the streets in a parade headed by music and when the orgy was over, it was thrown into a coal cellar.

Some of the capitalist papers, fearing that the terror may bring too serious repercussions, at times endeavor to soothe the pains a bit by explaining this regular part of the Fascist system as merely some isolated excesses. That, however, is not at all the viewpoint in high Fascist circles. Goering made that perfectly clear in his speech at Essen, on March 10, where he said: "I refuse to have the police appear in the role of protectors of Jewish department stores. It is about time to put a stop to every second calling for police protection. When you claim that here and there people have been captured and maltreated, one can only answer that: Where anyone planes, there the shavings fly."

Yet there is some veidence of "efforts" to halt the "isolated excesses". Recently a certain celebrated Berlin lady, a demimonde, threw her fashionable home open to a big blow out. The whole diplomatic corps was much in evidence. These gentlemen were brought there by their private chauffeurs and somehow a Nazi storm troop considered this a big occasion and in order to keep in trim, went to work battering some of the poor chauffeurs to pulp. That was obviously an "excess" and the papers promptly carried a warning from Fascist headquarters. After that the American ambassador, Sackett, could cable to his papers at home that law and order prevails in Germany.

The Fascists themselves were surprised at the ease and speed with which their brutal onslaughts succeeded in consolidating their position in power. That fact we need not doubt in the least. It is confirmed by events. The absence of resistance from the workers increased the tempo of the attacks to a speed which in itself became an ever greater provocation. This lack of resistance only caused the Fascists to be so much more merciless, not needing to fear anything in their way. An army in open retreat becomes an easier prey for the enemy whose ferocity increases with each step in pursuit. And in this case the tortures inflicted upon the working class are an integral part of the Fascist consolidation of power.

In this there is a serious lesson to be learned by the working class elsewhere who still cling to reformist illusions or depend upon capitalist democratic constitutions and remain unprepared while the reaction strengthens its forces. Every lesson of the German events should be hammered home, never to be forgotten. They must play an important role in guiding the preparations for the future. For it is a certainty that this consolidation of Fascist power in Germany inaugurates a new reactionary period, no one can say for how long, but we can clearly perceive its fateful implications. It will not at all be what the Stalinists conceived of their "third period" estimates. But by its sharpened contradictions it will nevertheless again become pregnant with new revolutionary possibilities.

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Austria Is Next in Order

(Continued from last issue)

By their seemingly dreadful but in reality pathetic chorus of "if we are attacked," the Austro-Marxists reveal their genuine suffering, they still hope that they will be left in peace, that things, God help us, will not go beyond mutual threats and warring of fists. What this means is that they are chloroforming the proletariat to facilitate fascist surgery. A genuine proletarian politician on the contrary would be duty bound to explain to the Austrian workers that their class enemy, himself, has been caught between the paws of history; that no other way out remains for him except to destroy proletarian organizations; that in this instance there is no escaping the mortal struggle; and that this struggle must be prepared for in accordance with all the rules of revolutionary strategy and tactic.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

Otto Bauer has been hinting that in the event of a direct attack on the part of the enemy, the workers will resort to a general strike. But this too is an empty threat. We have heard it more than once in Germany. The general strike cannot be produced out of one's vest pocket. The workers may be led to a general strike, but to do so one must fight and not play hide and seek with reality; a call to battle must be issued, one must organize for the struggle, arm for the struggle, widen and deepen the channel of struggle, not confining oneself to the legal forms of struggle, i. e., the framework dictated by the armed enemy. And first of all, the party itself must be permeated through and through with the idea that unless it engages in a decisive battle, it is lost.

It is quite possible that the Central Committee will actually issue a call for a general strike, after the "open", (that is to say, the decisive) blow had been dealt. But this would mean that after leaving the stage, one calls upon the masses to a naked protest, or manifestation of impotence. Just so did the liberal opposition call upon the people not to pay their taxes after the monarch had told it to go to hell. As a rule, nothing ever came of it. In all probability, the workers will not respond at all to the belated and hopeless appeal of a party already smashed.

But let us allow that the Fascists will give the social democracy time enough to call for a general strike at the last minute, and that the workers will respond solidly to the call. What then? What is the goal of the general strike? What must it achieve? In what forms must it develop? How should it defend itself against military and police repressions, and against the Fascist pogrom? Wiseacres will reply that it is impossible to answer such questions beforehand. That is the usual subterfuge of people who have nothing to say, who hope in their hearts to get along without fighting, and who consequently shy away in cowardice and superstition from questions of military resources and methods.

The general strike is only the mobilization of revolutionary forces but still not war. To utilize the general strike successfully as a demonstration or a threat, i. e., to confine oneself only to the mobilization of forces, without engaging in battle—that is possible only within strictly defined historical conditions; whenever matters touch an important but still a partial task; when the enemy wavers and waits only for a push in order to retreat; when the possessing classes are still left with a wide field for retreat and maneuver. None of this obtains at present, at the time when all the contradictions have reached their highest intensity and when every serious conflict puts on the agenda the question of power and the perspective of civil war.

The general strike could prove to be a sufficient means for repelling the counter-revolutionary overturn only in the event that the enemy is unprepared and lacks sufficient forces and experience (the Kapp Putsch). But even in the latter case, after having repelled the adventurist onset the general strike only restored fundamentally that situation which obtained on the eve of the conflict, and consequently gave the enemy opportunity to utilize the experience of his own defeat and to prepare better for a new attack. But the general strike turns out to be completely insufficient even for defensive purposes in the event that the enemy is powerful and experienced, all the more so if he leans upon the state apparatus, or even has at his disposal its benevolent "neutrality".

No matter what the basic reason for the conflict may be, under the present conditions the general strike will close the ranks of bourgeois parties, the state apparatus and the Fascist bands, and in this united front of the bourgeoisie the preponderance will fall inevitably into the hands of the most extreme and determined elements, i. e., the Fascists. When face to face with the general strike, the counter-revolution will be compelled to stake all its forces on one card in order to break the ominous danger with a single blow. In so far as the general strike remains only a strike it inevitably under these conditions dooms itself to defeat. In order to snatch victory the strategy of the strike must grow into the strategy of the revolution, it must elevate itself to the level of resolute actions, replying with a double blow to every blow. In other

Bonapartism and Fascism In the Austrian Crisis

words, under the present conditions the general strike cannot serve as a self-sufficient means for the defense of an impotent democracy but only as one of the weapons in the combined struggle of two camps. The strike must be accompanied with and supplemented by the arming of the workers, the disarming of Fascist bands, the removal of Bonapartists from power, and the seizure of the material apparatus of the state.

Once again we repeat if the establishment of a Soviet regime cannot be realized without the seizure of power by the Communist party—and we admit that this is altogether excluded by the unfavorable correlation of forces in the immediate future—then the restoration of democracy, even temporarily, is already unthinkable in Austria without the previous seizure of power by the social democracy. If the leading worker's party is not prepared to bring the struggle to its conclusion then the general strike by sharpening the situation can only hasten the crushing of the proletariat.

The Austro-philistine will catch up these words in order to immediately deduce reasons in favor of "moderation" and "cautiousness". For, is it permissible for a party to take upon itself the grandiose "risk" involved in the revolutionary methods of struggle? As if the Austrian proletariat has the freedom of choice! As if millions of workers can depart for their villas in Switzerland like Otto

Braun! As if a class can duck mortal danger without incurring any danger! As if the victims of Fascist Europe, with its perspectives of new imperialist wars, will not surpass one hundredfold the sacrifices of all revolutions, past and future!

TODAY, THE KEY TO THE SITUATION IN THE HANDS OF THE AUSTRIAN PROLETARIAT.

Otto Bauer welcomed with ecstasies the amazement of the German workers gave seven million votes to the social democracy in the election, despite the closing down of the newspapers, etc., etc. These people opine that the emotions and the thoughts of the proletariat are created by their piddling articles. They have conned Marx and the history of Europe but they have not the slightest inkling of what inexhaustible reservoirs of power, enthusiasm, perseverance and creativeness the proletariat is capable of unfolding whenever it is assured of a leadership which to any degree corresponds to the historical background.

Isn't it obvious right now that had there obtained a far-seeing revolutionary policy from above, the German workers would have long since overthrown all the barriers blocking their road to hegemony, and moreover that they could have done so with immeasurably and incomparably less sacrifices than the inevitable sacrifices of the Fascist regime? The same must also be said about the Austrian proletariat.

Of course, the policy of the united front is obligatory at present also for Austria. But the united front is no panacea; the crux of the matter lies in the context of

the policies, in the slogans and in the methods of mass actions. With the reservation of preserving complete freedom of mutual criticism—and this reservation is unalterable—the Communists must be prepared to make an alliance with social democracy for the sake of the most modest mass activities. But in so doing the Communists must give themselves a clear accounting of the tasks that are posed by the march of developments in order to disclose at every stage the incongruity between the political goal and the reformist methods.

The united front cannot merely signify a summation of social democratic and Communist workers for beyond the confines of the two parties and outside of the trade unions there still remain Catholic workers and unorganized masses. Not a single one of the old forms of organization which are laden down with conservatism, inertia, and the heritage of old antagonisms can suffice for the present tasks of the united front. A real mobilization of the masses is unthinkable without the creation of elected organs which directly represent the trade, industrial and transport enterprises, corporations and factories, the unemployed and the contiguous layers of the population which gravitate toward the proletariat. In other words, the situation in Austria calls for workers' Soviets, not so much in name as in their nature. The duty of the Communists is to persistently bring forward this slogan in the process of struggle.

The circumstance that Austria is separated governmentally from Germany and lags behind the latter in its internal evolution could play a decisive role in the salvation of Germany and of all Europe—under a bold and virile policy of the proletarian vanguard. Proletarian Austria would immediately become Piedmont for the new German proletariat. The victory of the Austrian workers would provide the German workers with what they lack at present, with a material drill ground, a comprehensible plan of action and hope for victory. Once set in motion the German proletariat would immediately prove itself to be immeasurably more powerful than all its enemies taken together. Upon the parliamentary democratic plane, Hitler with his 44 percent of human dust appears much more imposing than he would on the plane of the actual correlation of forces. The Austrian social democracy has behind it approximately the same percentage of votes. But whereas the Nazis lean upon the social by-products which play in the life of the country a secondary and to a major degree a parasitic role, there is behind the Austrian social democracy the flower of the nation. The actual relative weight of the Austrian social democracy exceeds over ten times the relative weight of all the German Fascists. This can be completely revealed only in action. The initiative for revolutionary action can come at present only from the Austrian proletariat. What is there necessary for it? Courage, courage, and once again, courage! The Austrian workers have nothing to lose but their chains. And by their initiative they can conquer Europe and the whole world!

—L. TROTSKY.

VOLKSZEITUNG SALESMEN

We wish to record a little incident here which was insignificant in its results, but highly illuminative while it lasted. Last Saturday the N. Y. miniatures of the German Brown Shirts came to Teutonia Hall to gorge themselves with food and drink in celebration of butcher Hitler's 44th birthday. Several scores of them attended this monstrous anniversary. And to protect them from the wrath of the workers they came surrounded by a veritable cordon of cops.

About a hundred and fifty party members held a protest demonstration opposite Teutonia Hall. Several party speakers spoke from the platform railing the audience on Roosevelt Fascism, etc. It began to look to little like a united front so the party chairman summoned the editor of the *Volkszeitung*, a reformist sheet from the crowd. He took the platform making an outrageously reformist and Fascist speech. All the party members applauded vociferously. The Left Opposition was denied a speaker.

Then came the piece de resistance of the evening. The chairman of this party controlled and attended meeting distributed the *Volkszeitung* from the platform! How far will the party swing to the right?

about it. Create a Communist party ready to struggle, that is our answer.

XII.

The leader of the party in Wedding, one of the strongest workers' districts, has called upon us to work in common so as to build from the ruins. The Left Opposition must fulfill the task which history poses before it.

A party comrade read, by accident, comrade Trotsky's pamphlet, "How to Defeat Fascism". After reading it, she said to us, "I have been blind for years. I had confidence in our C. C. Now I see that I have deceived myself. Continue to give me literature. I want to continue to fight but with clear view and open eyes".

XIII.

Here is how the party sowed confusion among its members: when the appeal of the E. C. C. I. appeared, which the party distributed, many comrades of the C. P. said it was a fake, a maneuver of the socialist party and that it could not originate from the E. C. C. I.!

Leon Trotsky on Hitler's Victory

The old view about the backwardness of countries seized by dictatorship can no longer be maintained. Though it was possible to apply it to Italy, with some exaggeration, it cannot possibly be applied to Germany, which is a highly developed capitalist country in the very heart of Europe.

There is one common reason for the collapse of democracy: capitalist society has outlived its strength. The national and international antagonisms which break out in it destroy the democratic structure just as world antagonisms are destroying the democratic structure of the League of Nations. Where the progressive class shows itself unable to seize power so as to reconstruct society on the basis of socialism, capitalism in its agony can only preserve its existence by using the most brutal, anti-cultural methods, the extreme expression of which is Fascism. That historic fact appears in Hitler's victory. In February 1929, I wrote as follows in an American review:—

"On the analogy of the electrical industry democracy may be defined as a system of switches and fuses directed against the violent shocks of national or social struggle. No epoch in the history of man has been so filled with antagonisms as our own. The switches of democracy are fusing or breaking under the violent pressure of class and international antagonisms. That is the kernel which explains the rapid rise of dictatorship."

My opponents relied on the fact that the process had only laid hold of the fringe of the civilized world. But I replied: "The strength of internal and world antagonisms is not declining but growing....Gout

Reprint of Article in 'Manchester Guardian'

begins with the little finger or the big toe, but once it has begun it progresses till it reaches the heart."

For many the choice between Bolshevism and Fascism is rather like a choice between Satan and Beelzebub. I shall find it difficult to say anything comforting about this. It is clear that the twentieth century is the most disturbed century within the memory of humanity. Any contemporary of ours who wants peace and comfort before anything has chosen a bad time to be born.

A Desperate People

Hitler's movement has been lifted to victory by 17,000,000 desperate people; it proves that capitalist Germany has lost faith in decaying Europe which was converted by the treaty of Versailles into a madhouse but was not provided with strait jackets. The victory of the party of despair was only possible because Socialism, the party of hope, was unable to seize power. The German proletariat is both numerous and civilized enough to achieve this, but the party leaders have shown themselves incompetent.

The social democrats, with their peculiar conservative limitations, hoped, along with the other parliamentary parties, to "educate" Fascism gradually. They gave the position of chief drill sergeant to Hindenburg, the Field Marshal of the Hohenzollerns; they voted for him. The workers had the right instincts and wanted to fight. But the social democrats held them back, promising to give the signal

when Hitler should have finally abandoned legal methods. Thus the social democracy not only summoned the Fascists to power through Hindenburg but allowed them to carry out the governmental revolution by stages.

The policy of the Communist party has been thoroughly wrong. Its leaders started from the absurd axiom that social democrats and National Socialists represented two varieties of "Fascism", that they were, in Stalin's formula, not opposite poles but twins! It is undoubtedly true, that social democracy, like Fascism, stands to defend the bourgeois regime against the proletarian revolution. But the methods of the two parties are entirely different. Social democracy is unthinkable without parliamentary government and mass organizations of the workers in trade unions. The mission of Fascism, however, is to destroy both. A defensive union of Communists and social democrats should have been based on this antagonism. But blind leaders refused to take this line. The workers were left divided, defenseless, without plan or prospects, before the attacking enemy. This position demoralized the proletariat and strengthened the self-confidence of Fascism.

Predictions

Two and a half years ago, in September 1931, I wrote as follows: "Fascism has become a real danger in Germany; it expresses the extreme hopelessness of the bourgeois regime, the conservative part played by the social democrats in relation to that regime, and the incompetence of the Communist party to shake that regime. Whoever denies that is either blind or boastful."

I expressed this idea in a series of pamphlets which have appeared during the last two years in Germany. Thus in October 1931, I wrote:

"The advance of the National Socialists to power means, above all, the extermination of the flower of the German proletariat, the break-up of its organizations, the destruction of faith in itself and in its future. In view of the much greater ferocity and bitterness of social antagonisms in Germany, the hellish work of Italian Fascism will probably appear mild and almost humane when compared with that of German National Socialism."

The Stalinist faction said that this was panic-mongering. Out of the vast political literature devoted to this question I shall only refer to a speech made by the official leader of the German Communist Party, Thaelmann, before the Executive Committee of the Communist International in April 1931, when he exposed so-called pessimists—i. e., people who were capable of foresight—in the following words:

"We have not allowed panic-mongering to divert us from our path....We are convinced that the 14th of September, 1930 (when the Nazis won 107 seats in the Reichstag) was Hitler's best day, and that now he cannot expect to do better, only worse. Our estimate of the development of that party has been confirmed by events.... Today the Fascists have no reason to be pleased."

That quotation is enough! Thus, while bourgeois democracy was collapsing Fascism was assisted to power by the united efforts of the leaders of both the workers' parties.

Hitler's Difficulties

Hitler's government has lost no time in setting a fast pace. It announces that it will educate the Communists in concentration camps. Hitler promises to exterminate the social democrats, that is, to achieve, in much harder conditions, the task which was beyond the strength of Bismarck and Wilhelm II. Hitler's political army is made up of officials, clerks, shopkeepers, tradesmen, peasants, all the intermediate and doubtful classes. In point of social consciousness they are human dust.

It is a paradox that Hitler, for all his anti-parliamentarism, is much stronger in the parliamentary than in the social plane. The Fascist state remains dust after each new counting of heads. On the other hand, the workers are united by the process of production. The productive forces of the nation are strongly concentrated in their hands. Hitler's struggle for control is only beginning. His main difficulties are before him. The change of trade and industry is changing the relation of forces not in Hitler's favor but in favor of the proletariat. The mere fact of the reduction of unemployment will increase the self-consciousness of the workers. The spring which has been too tightly compressed must ease itself. After the extraordinary decline of the workers' standard of living during the years of crisis a period of widespread economic struggles can be expected with confidence.

Hitler's principal difficulties are before him, like his principal struggles. In the international arena further gestures and phrases cannot be expected from Hitler in the immediate future. He has too long and sanguinary a war to fight out inside Germany for him to think seriously of war against France. On the other hand, he will try with all his strength to prove to France and the other capitalist states the necessity of supporting him in his providential mission of fighting Bolshevism. Allowing for all diversion, the foreign policy of Fascist Germany is essentially directed against the Soviet Union. Prinkipo, March 1932.

—L. TROTSKY.

Inflation Bill Deceptive

(Continued from Page 1)

decidedly deflationary also—the balancing of the budget by reducing expenditures was forced through against the workers in government service, the veterans and pensioners (the inflationary way of balancing the budget would have been through increasing borrowings involving eventually printing more money, or gambling on an increase in prices or rate of taxes to bring in more money while not reducing expenses). The reforestation program, the addition to being a step toward the militarization of the homeless youth and the unemployed, was also a deflationary step, making it easier for private capital to cut wages down to the standard set by the government, of \$1 a day and keep.

The development of the cyclical crisis during the period following the bank holiday showed the presence of forces making for the kind of limited and unstable improvement which is possible within the framework of the general crisis of capitalism. Steel production, electric power consumption, carloadings, and similar indices showed a steady increase during this period, apart from the usual seasonal changes. Its noteworthy that this was in spite of the actual deflation which was going on during this period, which would normally tend to reduce business activity.

We repeat—the question of inflation has not been settled, but it has been brought considerably nearer. The possibility of inflation, or the "open door to inflation", was recognized in previous articles in the *Militant* (March 8, 10) where its contradictory policies of Roosevelt and the banks was shown, as well as the diversity of class interests within the bourgeoisie on this question. The divergence of interest and the contradictions are reflected in Roosevelt's latest maneuvers, which have the character of a sharp turn without at the same time decisively answering the question.

The Daily Worker and Inflation

In the *Militant* of March 8 we criticized the Stalinist "two-class" policy of demanding repayment of deposits to "small depositors" as involving a contradiction with the fight against inflation, as well as its political falsity. Since then, although some 5,000 banks out of 18,000 failed to reopen after the bank holiday, we note that the *Daily Worker* has dropped this slogan.

In the *Militant* of March 10 we said, "The workers must be told plainly, without exaggeration or hysteria, that there is a possibility that the present banking crisis may develop into a period of inflation, which will amount to a wage cut. Such a situation must be met with a demand for higher dollar wages, to compensate for the lower buying power of the dollar if it develops. Representatives of the workers should determine the amount of increase needed. The struggle for such higher wages must be waged on as broad a front as possible, as it will gain in strength, if fought on a national basis and be proportionately weaker if it has to be fought out from shop to shop." We also proposed that such workers' committees could well carry along with them the petty bourgeois masses organized into consumers' leagues into committees for the suppression of abuses such as hoarding, substitutions, unjustified price advances, etc. On such a basis, the struggle for immediate demands could, under Communist leadership, develop to the "boldest revolutionary demands, to workers'

control of production as a road to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The *Daily Worker* has finally waked up to the fact that the fight for higher wages and unemployment relief is the proletarian answer to inflation, and has made this the first slogan in a group of seven demands. The last of these, however, is ridiculously impractical and anti-Marxian—"Housewives, organize to fight higher prices". It means attempting to carry on the economic class struggle at the point of consumption, in the grocery store, instead of at the point of production, in the factory, a Pseudonist and not a Marxist approach.

Nowhere is the struggle for immediate demands in the fight against inflation linked up with the ultimate aims of the revolution; they remain purely isolated slogans and thereby opportunistic ones. Nor is any concrete proposal made for carrying these demands into action, such as the organization of workers' representatives on a broad united front basis and on a national scale to determine the extent of the wage cut which is concealed behind inflation. The function of a Communist party is leadership, not the mouthing of mere pious wishes.

The party should immediately proceed to the elaboration of a concrete program for the organization of the fight for higher wages beginning as a defense against inflation, and should agitate among all strata of the workers for the calling of a nation-wide united front conference to fight inflation.

—B. J. FIELD.

P. M. A. Under Fire

(Continued from Page 1)

the official policy has tended to narrow down the differences between the Progressive Miners and the type of unionism against which the rank and file rose in revolt.

Since the inception of the new movement the Left Opposition has warned against a repetition of the cruel experiences of the past and urged the militant elements to consolidate their forces in a firm left wing on a policy of class struggle. This warning must be repeated again now when the demoralizing agitation of the bosses is reaching into the union and finding direct and indirect supporters there. The left wing must rally its forces for a resolute counter-attack. In the circumstances the strategy of the militant forces cannot reconcile itself with that of the leading circles in the union. The Progressive Miners of America is the product of a miners' revolt. Its preservation and further development depends on a sustained militant policy which is impossible without a free participation of Communists in the union. The progressive character of the union, which has distinguished it from the Lewis organization, cannot be maintained if it permits the bounding of Communists. At the present stage this is precisely the crux of the problem of the P. M. A. What is a progressive union for if it allows the operators to dictate the opinions of its membership? An open fight for the right of workers of all political opinions—including Communists—to participate freely in the life of the union is the only way to reply to the attack of the reactionary press.

The resolutions of the local unions and of the Ladies' Auxiliary, printed in the "Progressive Miner" show that the rank and file can be mobilized to fight on these lines. What is needed is an organization of the fight and leaders who are equal to it.

—J. P. CANNON.

Voices From Germany

We extract the following passages from a series of letters received from Germany.

I.

The occupation of the People's House in a large German city, with a long workers' tradition, occurred in the following manner:

About 10 o'clock in the morning the police occupied the People's House promising to leave immediately if they found nothing. Although the searches were fruitless the police, nevertheless, remained in possession. The police pretended, on being asked by the administration as to why they did not evacuate the House, that they were remaining in order to prevent its occupation by the Storm Troops.

The People's House was surrounded by workers. There were around 200,000 of them. Immediately after the occupation, the factories were informed of it and they demanded that the administration take the necessary steps.

The (socialist) administration tried to calm and pacify the workers by saying: "That will not help us at all, the police will save us from the Fascist hordes. It is useless to remove the office equipment from our headquarters, because it will be returned to us again in a few hours." The socialist party categorically refused to defend the workers' Home. However, the workers remained at their post. At this time the C. P. was already absent, it had abandoned the field.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon several Storm Troop contingents arrived; they cleared the streets with blackjacks and revolvers in hand. Between the time that the workers left the factories and the socialist party gave the express orders to come immediately from the factory to the Home, the People's House, guarded by the police, was in the possession of the Storm Troops. It is noteworthy that the police, in this city, are in the hands of the social democrats, the chief of police was a social democrat and 80 percent of the policemen were members of the social democratic party.

After the streets were cleared, the Fascist hordes arrived at the People's House, the police opened the doors to them and they seized it, clearing out the workers. With blows from their blackjacks they chased the secretaries and the functionaries from their desks. The House is still occupied today.

The economic administration was maintained in order to provide for the Storm Troops. All food products are consumed by these murderers and better; yet the personnel must be paid by the trade union house.

The Nazis organize visits, with guides, to the House and demand 30 Pfennig admission so as to fill their coffers.

The swastika flag "adorns" the workers' Home.

The trade union bureaucrats are in the saloons and are wracking their heads as to how to establish a new registration of the membership because they did not save a single membership card. What is more, they have facilitated the task for the Fascists: the better functionaries are abandoned to reprisals, for the membership cards carry all the necessary information as to party membership, etc.... The greatest crime is that of not having safeguarded the membership cards.

Naturally, they have sent a vigorous telegram of protest to president Hindenburg who will surely make good use of it. They have not forgotten to paste up a placard calling for quiet and the maintenance of order.

This example shows how well the socialist party "protects" and defends the workers' interests. But

this is also an illustration of "social Fascism", that is, Fascism protects its twin brother, as Stalin says.

This fact should open wide the eyes of the workers.

II.

At the Reichstag session of March 1933, the "devoted" leader of the German proletariat, Otto Wels, said, "Every one of your proposals regarding the interests of the workers, the peasants, the employees could be accepted, if not unanimously, at least by an enormous majority." (Applause from the social democrats, laughter from the Right.) See the *Saarbrück Volksstimme* of March 25, 1933.

What is this that Wels is trying to make Hitler swallow! Poor socialist party.

III.

Wels said: "We, the socialist party, were the first to try to destroy Bolshevism," (that is, the revolutionary workers) says the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of March 25, 1933. Poor Hitler, you come only after Noske; you haven't the honor of being the first.

IV.

Otto Braun, active fighter for democracy and socialism, prime minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go to Switzerland to rest. True pillar of the social democracy, "banner of democracy and socialism"

V.

The social democratic leaders are launching the illegal organizations. They recommend to their followers, in the sport organizations, to join the Steel Helmets and to continue their athletics there, but on the condition of no political activity.

VI.

In Magdeburg, the seat of the Reichsbanner headquarters, they carry on the struggle against Fascism and for democracy and socialism, with such activity that its organization is dissolved of itself; they sent the members home to sleep.

VII.

The social democracy of Saxony was so greatly "concerned" with organizing and preparing the struggle against the Fascist bands that it had no time to hide a single file, a single membership list, so that after the occupation everything was in the hands of the Fascists.

What! Do they still talk about the passivity of the socialist party!

VIII.

Reichstag deputy, Yanke, and Schulbert, deputy in the Saxon Landtag, good Stalinists up to yesterday, are such "marxist-Leninists" that, with flag unfurled, they passed over to Fascism without difficulty. Unfortunately the Nazis shut the door in their face and demanded a probation consisting of petty treason and espionage on the C. P. These Stalinists will swallow this also.

IX.

It is a fact that there were frauds in the elections. In several small districts in Silesia the S. P. and the C. P. received 60 and 80 votes in the preceding election, whilst they only received 1 or 2 on March 5. Is this possible without fraud?

X.

The betrayal of the social democrats has provoked such indignation in the German proletariat that one hears it said: if we catch a social democratic leader, we will beat him up.

XI.

Reformism and Stalinism have failed. We need a new leadership composed of the best remaining forces. 2,000 social democratic workers, forming part of the defense groups, have addressed us asking us what we intend to do