

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## Problems of the United Front THE JOBLESS MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The condition of the millions of unemployed in the United States is more miserable and critical than ever before. Such resources as they may have had themselves or through friends, relatives, etc., are wholly exhausted. Dependence upon organs of charity and governmental assistance is greater than at any time hitherto. Yet at this moment, governmental relief of the cities and other agencies is being either sharply or entirely cut in numerous communities, such as New York. The "New Deal" of the Roosevelt administration has failed thus far to touch to any noticeable degree the millions of the unemployed. All these factors tend to give a strong impetus to the growth of a militant and broad movement on behalf of the unemployed.

Of a positive and beneficial character is the growth of tendencies which aim for a merging of the various unemployed movements into a single, national organization on a united front basis. But as a consequence, in part, of this forward direction, resulting essentially from the objective conditions and demands of the unemployed, other questions have again come sharply to the front. These questions must be decisively resolved soon; they involve the growth or crack-up of the unemployment movement, and particularly its development in a class conscious direction.

The numerous conferences of the unemployed, especially the Conference held recently in Chicago which brought together various political tendencies, reveal that certain basic requirements still confront the movement on behalf of the unemployed. Some of the more important ones are:

### Basic Requirements

1. Working out ways and means for cooperation and joint action of the employed and unemployed.
2. Drawing the trade and labor unions, particularly of the American Federation of Labor, into the movement of the Unemployed, for reciprocal results and benefits.
3. Developing a political consciousness among the mass of workers, in this instance, the movement of the unemployed.

Various movements of the unemployed arose in the past years in the hope that through mass pressure and organization, the miserable lot of the unemployed millions can be partially alleviated. These are necessary and immediate objectives that must be sincerely and militantly fought for by all forces taking part in the unemployed movement. For Communists, this is elemental, or ought to be. As in other fields of daily class struggle, so in the unemployed movement, we put forward immediate demands in themselves of greater or lesser importance. These have been more or less accurately worked out and need no repetition here. We present immediate demands because as living and not sterile revolutionaries, we fight for the interests of the workers today. At the same time we set forth our ultimate program for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by the rule of the working class.

But, if we forget for one instant our basic class approach, namely, our need and task to revolutionize the workers; if we allow ourselves to get lost in a maze of immediate demands and become absorbed, however militantly, solely in the struggle for these demands, little or nothing will be gained for the working class. What we reap will be illusions among the workers, the growth of opportunism and the chance for opportunists and fakery to deceive the workers. In short, it will be

a case of "sowing dragons' teeth and reaping flies."

Today, very clearly and sharply, opportunistic and even reactionary views are being put forth in the movement of the unemployed, not alone by the known labor fakery of the A. F. of L. and the charlatans of the socialist party—but also among so-called Communist elements. We cannot here deal with them all; we take only those concepts brought out by the representatives of the Lovestone, Right wing Communist, group.

Movements of the unemployed have been organized in a large measure through the instrumentality of various political parties and tendencies in the labor movement; among these are the official Communist party (Stalinists), the Socialist Party, the CPLA (Mustelites), Lovestone (Right Communist Opposition) and others.

These movements of the unemployed take, or should take on, the organizational expression of the united front of all organizations ready to take part in the movement of the unemployed. A correct objective must be the merging of the now existing various unemployed movements into a single and broad United Front on a national scale. For the immediate demands themselves of the unemployed movement can be fought for successfully only on a planned, national scale. Such a united front must work out a common, minimum program of action (immediate demands) which binds all those adhering to the movement, to work for its achievement, irrespective of other political, economic, racial, etc., differences that exist in the movement. This should be accepted as elemental.

The False Views of the Lovestonites  
But what does not appear to be accepted as elemental is what should make up the constituent parts of

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## Right Wing Move to Expel Militants from P.M.A.

Gillespie, Ill.—The class collaboration policies of the Right wing of the Progressive Miners of America has been weakening the union in its struggle against the operators and their agents. The red baiting campaign of the operators aiming to divide and weaken the union forces, has been picked up by the Right wing element and is now being followed up in an attempt in the Springfield district to expel about three dozen militant Left wingers. The first three slated to go are Joe Angelo, Freeman Thompson and Voizy.

In the period of formation of the P.M.A., special provisions were made to admit into the progressive union all militants expelled by the Lewis - Fishwick - Walker group. Workers who were the first to lead the struggle against Lewis and company and who laid the groundwork upon which the P.M.A. was built. Now, President Percy does not remember or is trying to forget these provisions. The Right wingers tell these militants to first get a job and then they will obtain a card. However, all are members of the union and have been functioning for months. Further, one cannot get a job in the mines unless he has a union card. Perhaps Percy wants them to get a job in the scab mines?

The Left wing is organizing to smash this attempt to exclude and expel the most militant element in the P.M.A.

The need of an organized Left wing in every local of the P.M.A. to fight for a program of class struggle and against the steady shift to the right and the policy of class collaboration, as pointed out for months in the Militant, is now a living reality in the coal fields. The Stalinites are trying to catch up with events in Illinois.

After the National Miners Union  
(Continued on Page 2)

## LEON TROTSKY Lessons of May Day in Austria

(REFLECTIONS FROM AFAR)

On the First of May the workers of Vienna showed that in spite of all deception, treachery and disappointment, they do want to fight. Once again it became apparent how easily all the bureaucrats and semi-bureaucrats, the official ones as well as those of the half-hearted opposition, disguise their own lack of decision as a "depressed sentiment" among the masses. The workers want to fight. This is the most important conclusion from which we must proceed.

The First of May policy of the social democratic party consisted in creating for itself an alibi: before the government, in case the masses entered into struggle and suffered defeat, before the masses, in case the masses entered into struggle and achieved a victory. It is hard to conceive of a more disloyal and outrageous policy. It is disloyal because it leaves the masses with the illusion that they have a party and a leadership. It is outrageous because, in their most difficult hour, it leaves the masses which are accustomed to a centralized leadership, to seek a way out on their own hook.

The policy of the social democratic party excludes the possibility of a victory of the proletariat. At the same time, it excludes the possibility of any kind of stabilized regime. The proletariat will remain in a condition of excitement and of hope for a revolutionary solution. The bourgeoisie lives in constant dread of civil war. The military-police measures reveal their unreliability more and more every day. The petty bourgeois masses are becoming more and more nervous. The big bourgeoisie is becoming more and more convinced that without the dictatorship of Fascism it will not be able to maintain its order. In this way, the social democracy paralyzes the proletariat with its doubly disloyal, loquacious and cowardly policy and pours grist to the mill of Fascism.

The semi-opportunists of the type of Max Adler (can Otto Bauer still be counted among them?) cover up and protect this policy of disloyalty "from the Left." Among the working masses there still glows the hope that everything will be made good again from above, that the opposition will soon decide to point out the way of struggle. In this manner, irremediable weeks and months are lost.

The Left wing of the social democratic opposition made the first attempt to act when it called upon the masses to demonstrate in the center of the city. The call had no effect. It could not have any effect, because leadership can only come from an anonymous organization. The workers want to know with whom they are dealing.

It is not, naturally, a question of persons, but of the banner, the program, the slogan, the organization. Several Left social democrats who want to fight, are perplexed because they have no "names." The name is created in the course of the struggle. As long as the Left social democrats do not come out with a platform of struggle, their calls will get no echo.

The Communist party is paralyzed by the criminal policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany, by the theory and practice of social Fascism, the hopeless muddle in the question of the united front, the regime of simulation and falsehoods.

The Bolshevik-Leninists must look for connections with the genuine revolutionary elements in the Communist party and the social democratic opposition. It is not true that everything is lost in Austria. Great shake-ups, transformations in the masses are still possible. A small organization which knows what it wants can play an historical role under such circumstances.

— LEON TROTSKY  
Prinkipo, May 7, 1933

## «Young Spartacus» Out

The June issue of Young Spartacus is out the press and ready for sale. Featuring National Youth Day, it contains the International Left Opposition's statement to the Youth Anti-Fascist Congress at Copenhagen. This is a powerful document which should be seriously studied by both youth and adult comrades. It should add in clarifying the question of the relation between the general class movement and the youth. Among the other articles are those on Germany, unemployment, reforestation, and working class youth struggles in the Trenton and New York Doll industry.

## 'New Deal' Fakers Push Inquiry into Bankers' Deals

The puppets of Wall Street on Capitol Hill are "investigating" the House of Morgan. A sop to the petty bourgeoisie and a sham in its aims, the Senate Banking Committee has disclosed banking evidence on the tentacles of control of J. P. Morgan and Co., which reach out into every pore of the financial, industrial and political life of American capitalism.

The revelations of the investigation are vindication of the contention of the Marxians propounded decades ago. Finance capital wields its control over the banking institutions of the nation thru a meshwork of interlocking directorates which cunningly evade all laws aimed at them by the trust-busting middle class. The trustified industries, with few exceptions, are either indebted to or outrightly owned, thru stock control by the Morgan trust. The Morgan institution dominates thru its financial influence a huge section of the American industrial life.

But J. P. Morgan does not trust to his outright or partial control to assure his dominating influence. Nor does he depend upon abstract government, both major political parties, subservient to his interests and needs. Practically half of the national committee of the Republican party, including Edward T. Rickard, financial adviser to Herbert Hoover for more than ten years, and the chairman of this committee, John R. Nutt, are personal beneficiaries of Morgan's benevolence. The same goes equally for the Democratic party, whose national chairman, Raskob, and the present Roosevelt administration, through the medium of the secretary of the treasury, Woodin, have received "gifts" from the House of Morgan which discriminates against no one in the major party set-ups.

Letters from the above-named individuals, disclosed at the investigation,  
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# Nazis, Poles Plot Attack on USSR

### Danger of Imperialist Intervention Imminent. Western Powers Haggle Over Vantage Points in Coming Anti Soviet War. Japan Cinches Position with the Help of the Kuomintang and War Lords

From Paris comes the alarming news of a Hitler-Pilsudski plot against the Soviet Union. J. Sauerwein, Foreign editor of the Paris Matin, reveals the whole machination in a wire to the New York Times of June 1.

French authorities made the news public in an effort to hold Poland and the Little Entente in line, a task which has become increasingly difficult for Qui D'Orsay diplomacy due to the rigors of the world-wide economic crisis. The Polish move in support of the conspiracy, originally concocted by Nazi statesmen, is interpreted as an attempt to counteract the Four Power Pact plans of France, which have met with resistance from Warsaw due to provisions for rearmament made for former Central Power nations, which the Pilsudski regime fears.

"The idea of the Nazi scheme, as the French understand it, is that Poland would make a big territorial concession to Germany in the Polish corridor and receive as compensation territory in Soviet Ukraine in the direction of the Black Sea. It is a German idea. Marshal Pilsudski has had his eye on the Ukraine ever since he fought the Russians there in 1920."

From the report, which Monsieur Sauerwein says, the French consider reliable and which they obtained from "secret sources," one thing stands out most clearly, namely, that on every side of the European diplomatic tangle the way out is seen—in an attack against

Soviet Russia and in its subsequent colonization.

Furthermore, in this attack, Hitler is indubitably to be the spearhead. The French merely want to contract him for the job under the conditions of the Four Power Pact, with Poland as a subsidiary. Poland itself wrangles for a more prominent place.

That the French are losing their grip somewhat is apparent. With Mussolini to the South and Hitler to the East of them, loss of control over Poland and the Little Entente would seriously weaken them. That is why they hold on so desperately.

Hitler, on the other hand, would like nothing better than to gird himself for the French by an alliance with the other notorious adventurer of Eastern Europe, Pilsudski. In this he no doubt hopes for Washington's blessing. The Roosevelt "peace message," which the Nazi chancellor was only too ready to welcome in his last Reichstag address, leaves ample room for such an aspiration.

The first step in its fulfillment is clear — the Nazi-Polish alliance against the USSR. What else has Hitler to offer Pilsudski? On what other grounds can Pilsudski meet Hitler?

Yet, no matter which way the Franco-German tangle is solved, with France directing or with Hitler in the lead under American auspices ultimately, the line-up must be against the fatherland of the workers. It will be concluded. That much is obvious. Only the purblind cannot see this. To trust in non-aggression pacts, as the Litvinoffs and Stalin and Karakhanos do, means under these conditions, to prepare the ground objectively for a smashing defeat of Soviet Russia.

To put confidence in the imperialist contradictions alone, as the present regime in the Soviet Union does, means to go to the slaughter blindfolded.

The Western powers are heading for an intervention agreement. Japan, in the Far East, is making ready for collusion in the attack by the seizure of the Chinese Eastern, by the setting-up of a new North China vassal state, by the conclusion of a binding truce with the lackeys of the Kuomintang. From all sides, imperialist ambassadors lurk ahead for the fortress of the world revolution.

Stalinism has paralyzed the Communist International, the arm of world revolution.

Stalinism has betrayed the Chinese proletariat and helped to power the Kuomintang bandits, who have sold out to the Japanese aggressor.

Stalinism has betrayed the German working class by a senseless, unrealistic policy which has played into the hands of Fascism.

To what end? So that socialism might be built in one country—in Russia? Where has this wise, "practical policy," which has "com-promised" with Chiang Kai Shek and alienated the bulk of the reformist working class of the world, led to?

It must be plainly said: It has led to the isolation of the revolutionary fatherland. It has laid it open to attack from without by opportunist compromises directed against the world revolution. It

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## Stalinist Diplomacy Leaves Trail of Treachery for International Proletariat

The opportunist theory of socialism in one country is showing its fruits. A correct revolutionary, Marxist Russian Foreign Policy, based upon the theory of the permanent revolution, would have seen its chief tasks in the problems of the Chinese, the German, the world revolution. Of greatest importance was the Comintern as the instrument of world revolution. To its interests, diplomacy, which only has a technical significance, should have been subordinated.

Thus, with a correct policy, the central problem of the Soviet Union in the last few years should have been the struggle against German Fascism, which should not have been permitted under any circumstances to seize power. Furthermore, China should have been supported against the brigand invasion of the Japanese.

But the representatives of this correct, international tactic which conforms to the objective requirements do not decide the policy of

the USSR and the Comintern. They stand in opposition to it and fill the jails and places of deportation in the state for which they have fought. Bureaucrats who have arisen on the basis of the reactionary theory of socialism in one country, which stands in contradiction to objective reality, decide the policies.

### Nationalist Foreign Policy—A Logical Consequence

Soviet diplomacy has rid itself of all control by the Comintern and made an opportunist practice out of a juridical fiction in the Soviet constitution. If Russia alone could build up socialism, it had to conduct a nationalist foreign policy, the Comintern had to become a negligible factor whose interests had to be subordinated to diplomacy. Then non-aggression pacts, participation in the Kellogg Peace Pact, struggle for international disarmament "as the only means of

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the present basis of American agriculture is unstable and cannot be maintained for very many years longer, as is shown by the permanent crisis which has corroded American agriculture ever since 1920, and even during the years of a stabilization and "prosperity." Overextension, excessive productive capacity, low prices in relation to manufactured goods, a low rate of profit, severe competition with new countries like Canada, Argen-

tina and the Comintern. They stand in opposition to it and fill the jails and places of deportation in the state for which they have fought. Bureaucrats who have arisen on the basis of the reactionary theory of socialism in one country, which stands in contradiction to objective reality, decide the policies.

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## New York Branch to Hold Picnic for Benefit of Press & Illinois Campaign

On Sunday, June 11, 1933, the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will hold its first picnic of the season at Tibbetts Brook Park (Picnic ground to be announced later in the Militant). The picnic, apart from the good time assured for all who attend, has the necessary and excellent objective of raising money to maintain the weekly Militant and to assist in the work of the Left Opposition among the Illinois coal miners.

To this picnic have also been invited the members and sympathizers of nearby Branches of the Communist League. Special invitations have been extended to the Newark and Philadelphia branches. The picnic committee is already on the job with preparations for fun and good food.

To get to Tibbetts Brook Park from New York City: Take the E. R. T. Woodlawn-Jerome Ave. train to the Woodlawn station—the last stop. From there take a

McLean Ave. trolley to Tibbetts Brook Park.  
Comrades and sympathizers: Reserve SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933 for an all day frolic at Tibbetts Brook Park

### NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC

— at —  
TIBBETTS BROOK PARK

(Field to be announced later)  
on SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1933

Games - Refreshments - Speakers  
Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opp.)

(DIRECTIONS: From New York City — Take I.R.T. Woodlawn-Jerome Avenue Subway to Woodlawn Station — last stop. From there take McLean Ave. car to Tibbetts Brook Park.)

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Chicago Branch in 'Militant' Drive

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago branch of the Left Opposition has wholeheartedly entered into the campaign of expansion inaugurated by the American Left Opposition.

Last Sunday, May 21st, we held a very successful mass meeting with comrade Cannon who is now on tour for the Left Opposition.

The climax of the week's activities was reached at a meeting of the members of the Left Opposition and its sympathetic organizations on Thursday.

Without hesitation they agreed to raise Chicago's quota of \$400 in the expansion campaign of the Left Opposition. Pledges were called for. One comrade pledged \$100.00.

Comrade Cannon will be back in Chicago on June 9th, at which time he will speak at a mass meeting in Humboldt Hall, 2231 W. Division Street.

This campaign marks a definite step forward in the work of the Left Opposition in Chicago as well as nationally.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT! A Half Year sub to the Militant \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.

Greek Stalinists Exclude Protomagia

New York—Last January the Greek organ of the party announced that a provisional committee was established for the purpose of preparing plans for a conference (which was held last February) of all Greek workers' organizations.

At the conference there was also represented the Greek workers' educational club Protomagia, with three delegates. A resolution was adopted that the conference go on record to elect a permanent committee composed of one delegate each from the participating organizations.

The Greek bureau of the party organized a group of party members to be used as a "strong arm squad" against us.

Our club has sent a letter to the committee demanding an explanation. This letter has not been answered to this day.

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N.Y. Youth March Against War

New York—Approximately five thousand young workers paraded the streets of Harlem, N. Y., on the third anniversary of National Youth Day—the counter demonstration to the hypocritical Decoration Day.

Ostensibly an anti-imperialist war demonstration the tone of the slogans, due to the environs of the parade, swerved radically from its original purpose to a Scottsboro protest march.

Until the day of the parade, the organization of National Youth Day bore the label of the united front. The Lovestonites, the Spartacus Youth Club, branches of the Young Circle League had a place on the provisional committee.

The Stalinists, finding themselves in a united front with their paper organizations, the Left and Right Opposition alone, became insolently arrogant casting all their smooth spoken phrases on the united front to the four winds.

When the parade marched into the circle, where the speaking was to take place, both the Left Opposition and the Lovestonites as well as the chairman of the American Youth Federation (who had made some objections, unpleasant to the bureaucrats) were confronted with a refusal to allow them speakers in spite of the previous agreement to the contrary.

Then commenced the real provocation of the meeting. Rabid young Stalinists approached our delegation, taunted them with insulting remarks and tore literature from their hands and threatened physical violence.

This reversion of the Stalinists to the gangster tactics of the "third period" will only bring disgrace upon themselves and discredit their motives in the united front.

— J. BANANOS

Book Review

Pioneer Publishers have just obtained a batch of copies of an excellent documentary book on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union from November 7, 1917, to the signing of the treaty of Brest Litovsk and its immediate effects in September 1918.

The history of that period, and particularly the role of comrade Trotsky, has been grossly distorted by the Stalinists.

The policy of the Bolsheviks was to utilize the peace negotiations to arouse the international working class and particularly the proletariat of Austria and Germany.

On May 21, they decided to organize a Left wing and start at once to call a state conference one week later on the 28th.

In the caucus, they proceeded, over the advice and motions of the Left Opposition miners' fraction and others to organize a provisional committee, and adopt a draft program.

The Left Opposition miners' fraction will do all that is possible to iron out the difficulties created by the Stalinists and bring all Left wing tendencies into one broad united front Left wing group.

The reference is to the "Tilsit Peace" imposed by Napoleon on Prussia in 1807. Inevitably, it was accepted by the Prussians, and used as a breathing spell in which to prepare their own "war of independence" 1812-1814, which brought about Napoleon's downfall.

Right Wing and Stalinists in PMA

(Continued from Page 1)

was defeated and became a paper organization in Illinois and the Left Opposition proposed the return of the Left wing in the UMW, the Stalinists opposed the Left wingers who took this course.

Such a policy by the Stalinists played into the hands of the more reactionary element, split the forces of the Left wing, and thereby helped to bring the Right wing in the saddle at the very start.

The turn of the C. I. toward the united front after the German defeat forced a turn in America and in the coal fields.

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MUSTE & BROOKWOOD

All the previous splits in the CPLA were as nothing when compared with the recent wholesale walk-out of Mustetes on Muste.

According to inside information, it was found that Brookwood and the CPLA were so entangled that Muste, time and money to bolster up the declining CPLA.

During the fight Muste charged the Sappos group was going to the Right while he (Muste) was being ousted for being too militant and revolutionary.

1. The ousting of a Left wing scholar like Calhoun from Brookwood.

2. Muste adopted a new policy excluding students who accepted the line-up of the Communist party.

3. Muste did not allow graduates who are Communists to vote at the annual meeting, although their vote could not decide either way whether he should remain or be ousted from Brookwood.

4. It has no working class following.

5. It is an eclectic gathering of radicals and liberals.

and Brookwood will go down as a Right wing institution, and no one will shed any tears. Brookwood as a Right wing institution has outgrown its usefulness just as Mustetism has no place in the American Labor Movement.

It is a grand glorious boast of the CPLA that they alone are fighting against labor racketeering. It is true that the Labor Age de votes much space to John L. Lewis and Brundicium. But the Mustetes have no access to these unions and the attacks on Lewis only serve to cover up the racketeers inside the CPLA.

Furthermore, about a year and a half ago in Montreal, three thousand tailors drove out the Amalgamated racketeers and formed a new organization just as the Progressive Miners of America did against John J. Lewis.

1. It is a reformist organization.

2. It has no economic basis.

3. It has no political organization.

4. It has no working class following.

5. It is an eclectic gathering of radicals and liberals.

— S. M. DAVIS

Mustete Quits

Youngtown, O.—George Perkins, local CPLA organizer, boycotted an election of the Austintown Unemployed League in which he had consented to be a candidate by leaving the meeting after stating he was opposed to the way in which the League was functioning and therefore he would not function on the executive committee if elected.

Along with Mrs. Grace Mettee, one of two who "walked out" with him, Perkins recently took the initiative and leadership in a very poorly prepared and miserably conducted protest "strike" for more relief that sapped the energy of the organization and scattered its forces.

Neither their slander, their boycott nor the cowardly, ignorant and reactionary red-baiting campaign of Mrs. Mettee (which the Mustete Perkins supports by his silence) will break the League.

— H. N.

Statement of Chicago Branch to National Jobless Meet

TO ALL DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED CONFERENCE GREETINGS!

The Communist League of America (Left Opposition) wishes to address the following statement of its views to the delegates assembled in this conference:

You are gathered here as the representatives of the victims of the most advanced productive system in the history of mankind, where in the midst of abundance, millions go hungry and in the need of the barest necessities of life.

The present crisis with its 16 million unemployed is a normal development of capitalism. A stage of war or revolution represents an intensification and higher stage of the economic crisis.

the working class lies in the abolition of capitalism.

Towards the achievement of this goal, it is necessary first of all to put the working class in motion in a struggle for its immediate needs.

1. For immediate relief and social insurance at the expense of the bosses and their government.

1. The application of the United Front tactic as the means of unifying the various unemployed organizations (Workers Committee on Unemployed, Unemployed Councils, Unemployed Leagues, Workers' Leagues, etc.) should be put into effect. In this United Front, each organization retains its orga-

nizational independence, refrains from slander and personal attacks against each other, but maintains the right of minority expression and freedom of criticism.

2. As soon as a working agreement can be had between the various unemployed organizations, in the general development of the united front, steps should be taken for the amalgamation of these organizations into one national unemployed organization.

3. In addition, efforts must be directed towards the unification of the struggle of the unemployed workers with the employed and in cooperation with all working class organizations.

Chicago Branch Communist League of America (Left Opposition)

Special Offer! RUSSIA & GERMANY At BREST-LITOVSK By Judah L. Magnes A day-to-day documentary study of the negotiations between the German imperial staff and the Bolshevik delegation headed by comrade Trotsky. Lenin, Trotsky, Kamenev, Karakhan and others move and speak through the 192 pages of the book. What they said and did is quoted from documents and the sources are given. Cloth Cover Originally \$1.00 Now .25 Postage—6¢ extra per copy - PIONEER PUBLISHERS - 84 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

# Trotsky to the Austrian S. D. Opposition

Several Austrian social democrats, in opposition to their leadership, have done me the honor of asking me for political advice or answers to several concrete questions. Needless to say, I am wholly ready to answer the questions put to me, within the limits prescribed by my absence from the scene of immediate struggle.

## A Reply to Some Concrete Questions

1. The idea is apparently widespread among the Austrian Left social democrats that all is irretrievably lost already. Such a pessimistic manner of judging a priori is theoretically false and politically impermissible. Doubtless the most favorable moment for struggle has been allowed to slip by. But the struggle can also be carried on in less favorable conditions and victory obtained, nevertheless. The pessimists invoke the unfavorable state of mind of the masses. Doubtless, everything that could have been done from above has been done to discourage and demoralize the workers. But the spirit of the masses is a variable magnitude. If a fighting and encouraging Left faction raises its voice in time, the state of mind of the masses can change. The conflict between the Nazis and the government can be a favorable situation for the intervention of the workers. A revolutionary should not give up a position for lost so long as it is not in the hands of the enemy.

2. The social democratic leadership true to its traditions, has completely capitulated before Dollfus, that is, before Fascism. Only the social democratic opposition can call forth a sharp turn in the state of mind of the toiling masses. But for that it must first of all rise to the height of its historic task. Is that possible? It is useless to speculate. Action decides in this case.

3. One of the correspondents writes me: "You will no doubt demand that we join your organization." No, today the question is not posed so abstractly. The organization of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) stands on the ground of a definite international program which has stood the test of the great historical events in a series of countries (USSR, China, Great Britain, Spain, Germany, etc.). We will naturally be very happy if the further development of events brings the social democratic opposition closer to us. On our side, we are ready to do everything to facilitate and to hasten this rapprochement through the means of comradely discussion, reciprocal criticism. But that demands a relatively long perspective. In the appreciation of the next, immediate tasks of the Austrian social democratic opposition we must above all analyze the present situation in Austria and in the Austrian social democracy.

4. The social democratic opposition can bring about a change in the state of mind of the workers on the condition that it immediately shows that it is not inclined to confine itself to literary criticism and if it is not getting ready to capitulate before the party leadership, which capitulates before Fascism. In other words, they must break away from the opposition traditions of Max Adler, whose impotent "Left" criticism only strengthens and supports Otto Bauer and Co. An opposition is needed for the revolutionary struggle and which will not be likely to hesitate in carrying out this task, out of respect for the disci-

pline, the statutes and the unity of the party.

5. The opposition poses for itself the task of "saving the party." What are we to understand by that: the tradition of Austro-Marxism, its political course, its bureaucratic apparatus? But we must, on the contrary, put an end to all of this as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible. It is impossible to save the social democratic masses from disintegration and political corruption without the proclamation of an uncompromising struggle against Bauer and Co. This struggle must inevitably lead to split. The task is just how to consummate this split with the greatest advantage for the proletarian revolution.

6. Does that mean that the Austrian social democratic opposition shall immediately leave the party and create a new one? No, that is not my opinion. Today, when the Opposition has not yet presented itself before the working masses, such a split would only facilitate the task of Bauer and Co. Here also the first step should be: to speak out what is.

7. From this point of view, the draft declaration of the social democratic opposition, which has been sent to me, is altogether inadequate. This document criticizes the party leadership instead of notifying it of an uncompromising struggle against it, before the party masses. The word betrayal must be spoken out. It might be said that this word has been much abused. In the new situation the Austrian workers will examine this word in a new light, particularly when it comes from the Left social democrats. It must be stated that Bauer,

Dameberg, Seitz and Co. (all of them must be called by their names) have betrayed the Austrian proletariat just as Wels and Co. betrayed the German proletariat. Only such a candid and categorical declaration will make the independent clear to the workers and at the same time inspire confidence and seriousness in its intentions.

8. The fundamental political formulations of the document are unclear, have a tendency toward compromise and risk the danger of provoking confusion among the workers.

— L. TROTSKY  
Prinkipo, March 3, 1933.

# SUB DRIVE

Well it's over! What's the result? We have pushed the subscription list up considerably. It's a couple of hundred subs larger than it was. And the paper is a bit more widely read geographically. A number of new sub getters have made their mark on these scrolls. Outstanding is the work of comrade Caplan of Kansas City who romped into first place. Another "new-comer" is comrade Kotz of Newark who tied with comrade Capelis of New York for third place. Comrade Dumme of Minneapolis hit second place.

Here is the final standing:

A. Caplan	24
V. Dunne	12
G. Kotz	12
H. Czapis	7
K. Zaplo, Bethlehem	6
J. Ruby, Chicago	5
D. Marcus, N. Y.	4
J. Hamilton Chicago	3
H. Oehler, Chicago	3
W. Konikow, Boston	3

We do not list here the comrades who dug up less than three subs. It would require a whole column. Although the drive is over we are going to continue listing the subs as they come in. And we'll be some more drives. In the meantime carry on. Sub getting is a day to day task of all our comrades.

One phase of the drive could have been a little better. There weren't enough year subs. Now, of course, all subs are welcome irrespective of their duration. But year subs are the best. They do not cost as much to circulate as a half year sub which has to be circulated twice a year. And they bring in more money at one time which is a great help.

To push this phase of the work along we are offering a free copy of **The Only Road** by comrade Trotsky to every comrade and friend who sends in a year sub to **The Militant**.

## ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER TO THE MILITANT?

Are you a subscriber to the **Militant**? Or do you get your copy from a friend or fellow worker? As far as we can determine with any degree of accuracy, it appears that, at least in New York, there are four readers of the **Militant** every copy. Why should that be so? One reason is the terror in the party which the Stalinist bureaucrats have instituted against all who manifest any sympathy with the ideas of the Left Opposition. But that is breaking down.

Another reason is the unemployment situation. Many workers cannot afford to subscribe. But there are a good number of other workers who are indifferent to the question of a subscription simply because no one has ever approached them about it. Let us make the attempt here. The **Militant** appears every week—fifty-two times a year. Bought from the newsstands this amounts to \$2.60. A year's sub is only \$1. That is a saving. In addition the paper is delivered to your door.

Take the question from the angle of a half year sub. Twenty-six issues cost \$1.30 on the newsstands. A half year sub is only \$1. But there is a way of getting a half year sub for only fifty cents. Here's how. Use the club plan! Get three other workers to subscribe with you at the same time. Shoot in the four names with only two dollars and all four will be entered for half year subs.

I am sending this addressed to a member of your editorial board as I am not acquainted with the activities of the authorities in your country regarding revolutionary correspondence, and a letter addressed to an individual is not so obvious to the red eyes of the Law as one addressed to an organization. Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Revolutionary greetings,  
Prov. Sec.

# Stalin Diplomacy & Marxian Fundamentals

(Continued from Page 1)

preventing wars" (see the Charter for Peoples' Rights submitted by Litvinoff at Geneva last February) had of necessity to become things which could replace the world revolution.

The leading Soviet statesmen and diplomats became disinterested in the policies of the revolutionary parties. In this whole last period, from 1928 to 1933, a period alive with struggles of the greatest proportions, not a single congress of the Comintern has been called. In this same period neither Stalin nor any other leading Soviet statesman has as much as uttered a single word on the German problems. No, on the basis of the workers' state, they have conducted a bourgeois foreign policy. "The Soviet Union is everything, the world revolution is nothing," that is the unexpressed principle of Stalinist policy.

In reality, the Soviet Union, without a concretely pursued aim of world revolution, is nothing, and doomed to decline. The world bourgeoisie has realized this much better than the narrow-minded Stalinist bureaucracy. That is why it staked everything on the attempt to take the Comintern out of the hands of the Soviet Union, even if it had to pay with small concessions for this achievement.

The Stalin diplomats, led by opportunist policy and practice, have seized upon these small advantages (credits, favorable trade agreements) and for their sake have neglected the policy of the revolutionary party, as was the case in Germany, even went so far as to give it up altogether. It cannot be forgotten that Litvinoff declared demonstratively in Geneva last February—shortly after the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor—that the Soviet Union is prepared

## Reactionary Policy and Practical Dangers

to live in peace and friendship with every government, even an openly counter-revolutionary government. And now, after the party has been destroyed, Stalin hands out gigantic orders to Fascist Germany, which in gratitude "straightens out" the Derop (the reference is to the raids on the Soviet Oil Trust Representative in Germany, which took place on the pretext of weeding out the Communists inside them—Ed.) for him. And Soviet diplomacy renews the friendship treaty concluded with Rathenau.

Hitler Germany has been isolated for a while insofar as its foreign policy is concerned. The great powers do, to be sure, want to utilize Hitler for the general attack against the Soviet Union, but they only assign to him a modest role in this. The present hostilities serve merely to show the loud-mouthed Fascists back to their proper places. In reality, the Big Powers' pact is being formed against the Soviet Union, since international capitalism sees in the deonization of Russia the way out toward a new conjuncture. Faced with this tremendous danger, the Stalinist democracy merely sticks its head into the sand. The diplomats of the Soviet Union have lost confidence in the forces of the world proletariat. But they do have faith in the contradictions among the imperialist powers themselves. They seek friendship with Hitler. At the conclusion of the Berlin treaty, *Isvestia* wrote on May 6, 1933:

"Public opinion in the Soviet Union has never set forth any plans directed against the present political current in Germany." That means the Stalinists have never considered how the German

proletariat could be saved from Fascism! This could not have been said in a more cynical, more brutal fashion. It shows not only the moral conscienceless, but also the political narrowmindedness of Stalinism. Therewith the bankrupt dissipaters of the world revolution confess that they have never developed any serious plans of saving the Soviet Union from destruction! Hitler will become the super-Wrangel. The colonial and corridor problems can be solved only on the prostrate back of the Soviet Union. The whole world knows this today, only the Stalinists remain blind and believe—like the social democrats did in the Weimar constitution—in the feasibility of the non-aggression pacts.

**Stalin Diplomacy in the Far East**  
All that is reactionary in the theory and practice of "socialism in one country" also comes to the fore in the behavior of Soviet diplomacy in the Far Eastern conflict. Instead of maintaining its duty-bound loyalty to the Chinese proletariat and instead of thereby creating for itself a powerful ally against imperialist Japan, Stalinist diplomacy has to make the greatest concessions to the torturer of China, to imperialist Japan, for the sake of its "fundamental peace policy"—as if the existence of the Soviet Union had done away with the international class struggle.

Yes, the "revolutionary diplomats" were of late even prepared to recognize the vassal state of Manchukuo and to sell it the Chinese Eastern. (The vassals of Japan ignored this proposition and confiscated the railroad, so as to be better able to seize Vladivostok and Irkutsk from the Soviet Union in the near future.) The Soviet Union denied the report officially, but the conservative *Temps* has been in a position to prove that the report of the proposition rested on facts. The French Ambassador had it confirmed by the Japanese Foreign Minister! Thus, the international bourgeoisie is better informed about the policy of the Soviet Union than the working class, whom a certain Michael Hollay tells in the basic *Rundschau* (Stalin organ):

"The Soviet Union will not deliver its locomotives and railroad trains to the Manchurian lackeys of Japanese imperialism, it will know how to defend the property of the workers and peasants, of the liberated Soviet peoples. Should the Japanese imperialists, whose hands already drip with the blood of the Chinese people, lift them arrogantly against the Soviet Union, the Red Army will give them their just deserts."

Strong in words, but weak in deeds, this is how Stalinism looks on the international arena. The theory of socialism in one country which struck the Stalinist blind as to the close interconnection of international class struggle with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and which is now leading on to the road of open treachery against the German and the Chinese proletariat, becomes an acute and immediate danger to the existence of the Soviet Union itself.

This theory must be irrevocably condemned, the forces of the October revolution must be gathered, the Marxist opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) readmitted into the C. P. S. U. Back to a Marxist, internationalist policy which alone can save the Soviet Union from destruction!

— H. E.

# Organize Australian Opposition

(Continued from page 1)

abstract. No attempt is made by the leadership to give a concrete lead and guidance to the party members in their daily struggles. They are unknown to the workers. They never give a lead in demonstrations. They have no mass leaders in their ranks. They sit above and wait for a spontaneous move from the masses. They avoid the struggle morally and physically.

**Organize the Opposition**  
So serious has the position become that we have commenced to definitely organize the opposition to the party leadership. Many of us are outside the party, having been expelled for our criticisms, others are still on the inside but cannot move without sharing the same fate as us. We have formed a provisional secretariat and are completing the details for a conference of all opposition factions. If at that conference we agree politically, we shall endeavor to coordinate our activities from a common center.

Now, however, another factor creeps in. The C. I. has endorsed the expulsion of several of the opposition groups despite the fact that detailed statements from these groups have been forwarded to the C. I. This has made us decidedly suspicious. We have also just received a few copies of your paper **The Militant** (something that we did not know existed) and on comparing your statements therein with

our own experiences of the line of the C. I. as perpetrated in this country, we have arrived at the conclusion that our attack against opportunism may have to be extended further than the leadership of the party in this country.

However, until we are in possession of sufficient data, we cannot come out openly in an attack on the line of the C. I. To do so would be only to fall into the trap that the leadership here has so kindly laid for us. We require facts! We cannot afford to lose even the first round of the conflict.

Can you send us a clear analysis of the international situation from your angle so that we can clarify our position here? We have good support and are confident of success if we only approach the workers with a correct political line and the will to give it concrete expression.

I am sending this addressed to a member of your editorial board as I am not acquainted with the activities of the authorities in your country regarding revolutionary correspondence, and a letter addressed to an individual is not so obvious to the red eyes of the Law as one addressed to an organization. Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Revolutionary greetings,  
Prov. Sec.

# Litvinoff and -- Herriot

The New York Times of May 23 reports the following telegram of congratulations from Litvinoff to Herriot "for his championship of the Franco-Soviet non-aggression pact which the French parliament ratified last week":

"We are not forgetting that this document, whose value in bringing our peoples closer together and in furthering the true consolidation of general peace will continue to grow, bears your name. Thus you remain, in your indefatigable struggle for peace the faithful artisan of this work which began ten years ago."

Four days earlier the Times reported the discussions on the pact in the French Chamber of Deputies:

"Many deputies, including Jacques Doriot, the Communist leader, saw in the Chamber's action (ratification of the pact) a demonstration rather for Hitlerism in Germany than for rapprochement with Russia. M. Doriot, himself attempted during the debate to diminish the importance of the gesture by saying that it indicated only that France was fearing collapse of the Versailles Treaty and seeking to strengthen her position if not by new alliances, at least by obtaining promises of neutrality from all the nations possible."

In the congratulations of Litvinoff and the "attack" of Doriot we have the two faces of the contra-

diction into which the Stalinist strategy of opportunist maneuvering with the world bourgeoisie has plunged the C. I.

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# GERMAN LABOR WRITHES UNDER THE WHIP OF THE FASCISTS

The united front and moved the masses forward to an extent which would have gradually enabled them to tear into the foundation of Stalinist policy, at least in Germany. But, as we know, the party leaders then tenaciously opposed any such change, branded it as counter-revolutionary and removed or expelled comrades who tried to apply the united front on a local scale, as we shall show by some concrete examples.

Now, however, the events in regard to this specific question have already moved beyond its timeliness in Germany itself. By this we do not at all mean to assert that nothing further can be done. Quite the contrary. What must be brought out, however, is the fact that the German social democratic leadership after the consolidation of the Hitler dictatorship have broken with their own International, the Second International, over the issue of opposing the latter's protest against the dictatorship. In this they hoped to ease the road for themselves personally. Though Hitler cannot at all use these miserable creatures, except insofar as they can serve for the future destruction of the working class movement, they have capitulated completely to him.

That means that they have to all intents and purposes put the final touches to the liquidation of their own organization. One can therefore no more speak of a united front in Germany from organization to organization as far as the social democratic party is concerned. It is now necessary to commence on a new foundation. A timely, and a real change, by the Communist party, however, could unquestionably have brought the millions of social democratic workers into united action with the Communist workers, avoided the heavy price the proletariat now has to pay, and matters might have looked entirely

different today.

The series of previous failures, the many stupid blunders, the whole system of false orientation, policy of theory of Stalinism, brought the German party to its fatal position of impotency in face of the Fascist onslaughts. Some German comrades even today seek to partly absolve the party from guilt in its present catastrophe by saying: "It was not unwilling to fight but it was unable to fight." Precisely that is the issue. The party was unable to fight because its leadership over a long period of time, by its bureaucratically imposed false policy, theory and concept, had succeeded in finally disarming the party. And when the vanguard is disarmed, the mass faces certain defeat. In all of its objective consequences this can mean nothing else than Stalinism having experienced its August 4th in Germany.

## Lessons of Some Practical Experiences

Many comrades, party members, discuss freely with us the experiences of the past mistakes. In this they are also trying to draw the lessons which may be appropriated for the future. Their reports are particularly illuminating as to how the Stalinist tactic worked out in the practical activities. One comrade from Berlin, Helgensee relates:

"The united front was correctly understood by the masses but it was sabotaged by the Central Committee. I will prove that by our district. There existed a united front built on a broad basis with the social democratic workers, including the lower functionaries. It had organized a powerful mass self-defense corps, it conducted regular weekly discussion meetings, functionaries of both parties came together to confer about matters and joint demonstrations against Fascism were held. The sub-district committee reacted to this by removing all our local party functionaries, among them old and tried class fighters. The district leadership (Brandenburg) covered and protected the sub-district committee. A hunt for Trotskyites began with the slogan: 'Those who have any relations with Trotskyists will be summarily expelled.' The biggest part of the membership became stirred and asked: 'We should discuss with the Nazis but not with our own comrades.' Protest resolutions were adopted but filed by the district office never to be answered."

Another party member could, in his report, make a valuable contribution which graphically illustrated how a united front correctly applied, will serve effectively to unmask the social democratic leaders. He relates from Dessau: "We took

action on the occasion of the constitution of the National Socialist government. Together with an important factory committee and the S.A.P. we had established a united front committee and we invited all the reformist organizations to participate in united struggle. The social democrats asked us for negotiations but submitted unacceptable conditions. We nevertheless went to carry on negotiations and we declared: To every one of these points with which the working class is in accord for a struggle against the Nazi government, the conditions submitted by you means a practical prevention of united action. The negotiations stranded because the socialist leaders would not budge. The next day there took place in our city the greatest demonstration seen for a long time directed against the government and also against the sabotage of the social democrats. Despite this outstanding success the district leadership removed the sub-district committee."

These simple reports are important documents. They should serve as enlightenment for Communists everywhere.

## What is to be Done Now?

However, an entirely new situation exists now in Germany and only fools will pay any attention to the Fascist boasts of abolishing the class struggle. The internal

antagonisms of capitalist society are not diminishing but sharpening. They will become many times more accentuated in Germany by the existence of the Fascist regime. To perform its mission, it will pursue the attacks upon the present trade unions much further. A struggle to destroy the workers organizations is not performed only by murder, by arresting, and by breaking things up; but it is also accompanied by the inevitable attacks upon the workers standard.

That is certain to be expressed in attacks upon the working conditions gained, upon the wage level, upon the unemployment insurance, social insurance and so forth. The general statement previously often repeated by party leaders who felt confident that "Hitler would soon get out of business," to the effect that he has no favorable economic perspective ahead of him, is, of course, true in its historical sense. But it does not preclude that Germany will in this present period experience a certain upward economic conjuncture. A reduction of unemployment would inevitably tend to increase the working class demands as well as the struggle for these demands.

In general, the capitalist economic system is developing its relation of forces not favorable to the Fascists but favorable to the working class. Thus the knights of the Swastika, despite their easy victory, will yet have the greatest difficulties ahead of them. Their suppressions and repressions will undoubtedly assume yet more violent forms. But it will not continue to remain a one sided affair. There are certain also to be struggles in the near future. What leadership, then, for the German working class?

Have we fully comprehended the extent, the scope and the implications of the defeat in Germany? The two workers' parties, the Com-

munist party and the social democratic party are destroyed. It is Austria's turn next. There Fascism is preparing its forces and gathering its strength while the working class leadership is falling as miserably as in Germany. The Comintern also here had the duty to propose a united front to the Second International and put the question of the defense of the Austrian working class on the very top of the agenda. If Austro-Marxism follows its German brethren to annihilation it will mean to the Second International the loss of its two strongest and socially developed parties—in other words a perspective of practical extinction. And the Communist International? Yes, to the Comintern the German party meant as much if not more than the German social democracy meant to the Second International. In this the Comintern, under the Stalin regime, has now suffered its most fatal blow. The party of the Soviet Union is so immersed in the false theory of "Building Socialism in One Country," that it organized not one single demonstration in support of its German class brothers during their hour of greatest need. The party of the Soviet Union is paralyzed by the dead weight of Stalinism.

Enormous tasks are arising for the Left Opposition. The sporadic activities now carried on by the remnants of the German Communist Party do not signify its recuperation on a new and illegal basis, but merely reveal the rear end of its former legal condition. What must therefore now be done was well expressed in the statement of a German Left Oppositionist: "Above all we must immediately issue the directives for the building of a new party. None of the parts of the old apparatus will do for the future. I have discussed this with many class conscious workers, sterling fighters, and they are quite unanimous in asserting emphatically: 'yes, the building of a new party is an imperative necessity.'"

— ARNE SWABECK

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# Problems of the Soviet Regime

(Continued from last issue)  
3. Official Explanation of Bureaucratic Terror

"Some comrades," Stalin said at the January Plenum of the C. C., "understood the thesis on liquidation of classes, creation of a classless society and withering away of the state as justification for lack of loyalty and placidity (?), justification for the counter-revolutionary theory of the slow extinguishing of the class struggle and weakening of state power." Evidently, the expression serves Stalin in this case, as in so many others, to cover up the logical gaps. A programmatic "thesis" on the liquidation of classes in the future need not mean as yet, it is understood, the extinguishing of the class struggle in the present. But it is not a question of a theoretical thesis but of an officially proclaimed fact of the liquidation of classes. Stalin's sophism consists in the fact that he times the idea of the inevitable strengthening of state power in the transitional epoch between capitalism and socialism, an idea which, following Marx, Lenin advanced for the explanation of the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship in general, to a definite period of the dictatorship, after an allegedly already accomplished liquidation of all capitalist classes.

To explain the necessity for the further strengthening of the bureaucratic machine, Stalin said at the same plenum: "The Kulaks are routed as a class but not finished off." If we should accept this formula, it would seem that to finish the routed Kulaks off, a more concentrated dictatorship is necessary in the literal expression of Stalin—"to finish off the remnants of the dying classes." The finished expression is, in its way, given to this paradox of bureaucratism by Molotov, who has, in general, a fatal inclination to develop the idea of Stalin to completion. "In spite of the fact," said he at the January Plenum, "that the forces of the remnants of the bourgeois classes of our country melt, their resistance, anger and fury grow, knowing no bounds." The forces melt, but the fury grows! Molotov does not suspect, it seems, that the dictatorship is needed against force and not against fury: fury which is not armed by force ceases to be dangerous.

### Class Enemy Powerless—Why the Repression?

"It cannot be said," Stalin admits on his part, "that these former people could change anything in the present situation of the USSR by their damaging and thieving machinations. They are too weak and impotent." To resist the measures of the soviet power? It seems clear that if all that is left from these former classes are "former people", if they are too weak "to do anything" to change the situation in the USSR—that from this should have followed both the extinguishing of the class struggle and the easing of the regime. No, Stalin argues: "the former people can play us some tricks." But revolutionary dictatorship is needed not against impotent tricks but against the danger of capitalist restoration. If, for the struggle with powerful class enemies, it was necessary to put into use the steel-clad fists, against "tricks" of former people the little finger will do.

But here Stalin introduces still another element. The dying remnants of the routed classes "appeal to the backward strata of the population and mobilize them against the Soviet power". . . . But have the backward strata grown in the period of the first five year plan? It would seem, not. Does it mean that their attitude toward the state changed for the worse? That would mean that the "maximum strengthening of state power" (more correctly repressions) is necessary for the struggle against the growing discontent of the masses. Stalin adds: "through the mobilization of the backward strata of the population, 'fragments' of counter-revolutionary opposition elements from the Trotskyites and Right wingers may again stir and come to life." Such is the final argument: since the fragments (only fragments!) may stir (so far they only may) . . . the greatest concentration of the dictatorship is necessary.

Entangled hopelessly in the "fragments" of his own ideas, Stalin unexpectedly adds: "Of course, we have no fear of that." Then why be frightened and frighten others, if "we have no fear of that." And why introduce a regime of terror against the party and the proletariat if it is only a matter of impotent fragments incapable of "changing anything in the USSR"?

All this piling up of confusion, leading to pure nonsense is a consequence of the inability to tell the truth. In reality, Stalin-Molotov should have said: due to the growing discontent of the masses and an ever stronger gravitation of the workers to the Left Opposition, the intensification of repressions is necessary for the defense of the privileged positions of the bureaucracy. Then everything would easily fall into place.

### 4. The Withering Away of Money and the Withering Away of the State

The knot of contradictions in which the theory and practice of bureaucratic centrism got itself hopelessly entangled will become clear to us from a new side when we draw an analogy between the role of money and the role of the state in the transitional epoch. Money, just as the state, represents a direct heritage of capitalism. It must disappear but it cannot be abolished by decree, it withers

## (The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration)

away. Different functions of money, as those of the state, expire by different deaths. As a means of private accumulation, usury, exploitation—money expires parallel with the liquidation of classes. As a means of exchange, standard of measurement of labor value, regulator of the social division of labor, money is gradually dissolved in the planned organization of social economy, it finally becomes an accounting slip, a check for a certain portion of social goods for the gratification of productive and personal wants.

The parallelism of both processes of withering away, that of money and that of the state, is not accidental; they have the same social roots. The state remains a state so long as it has to regulate the relations between various classes and strata, each of which draws up its accounts, endeavoring to show a profit. The final replacement of money as a standard of value by the statistical registration of live productive forces, equipment, raw materials and needs will become possible only at the stage when social wealth will free all the members of society from the necessity of competing with each other for the size of the dinner-pail.

This stage is far off yet. The role of money in Soviet economy is not only not completed but in a certain sense is only about to be developed to completion. The transition period, in its entirety, means not the curtailment of the turnover of goods, but on the contrary, an extreme expansion thereof. All branches of economy are transformed, are growing and must determine their relation to each other qualitatively and quantitatively. Many products, which under capitalism are accessible only to the few, must be produced in immeasurably greater quantities. The liquidation of the peasant economy, with its internal consumption, the closed family economy means the transition to the field of social

(money) turnover of all that productive energy which is now being used up within the limits of the village and the walls of a private dwelling.

### Money Socialized Under Planned Economy

Taking complete stock of all the productive forces of society, the social state must know how to apportion and use them in a manner most advantageous for society. Money as the means of economic accounting evolved by capitalism is not thrown aside but socialized. Socialist construction is unthinkable without the inclusion, in the planned system, of the personal interest of the producer and consumer. And this interest can actively manifest itself only when it has at its disposal a trustful and flexible weapon: a stable monetary system. Increase in the productivity of labor and improvement in the quality of goods, in particular, are absolutely unattainable without an exact measuring instrument which penetrates freely into all the pores of economy, that is, without a stable monetary unit.

If capitalist economy which reached its unstable proportions with the aid of wasteful fluctuations of the conjuncture, needs a stable monetary system, the more so is such a system necessary for the preparation, make-up and regulation of planned economy. It is insufficient to build new enterprises; an economic system must familiarize itself with them. This means testing in practice, adapting and selecting. The mass, nationwide check-up of productivity can mean nothing else but a test by means of the rouble. To erect a plan of economy on a slipping valuta is the same as to make a blue print of a machine with a loose compass and a bent ruler. This is exactly what is taking place. The inflation of the Chernovetz is one of the most pernicious consequences and also instruments of the bureaucratic disorganization of Soviet economy.

### The Official Theory of Inflation

The official theory of inflation stands at the same level as the official theory of the dictatorship analyzed above. "The stability of Soviet valuta," said Stalin at the January Plenum, "is guaranteed

## The Meaning of the Farm Revolts

(Continued from Page 1)

tion, Australia,—these characterized American agriculture to a large extent in the so-called "good" years, and led to devastating intensification of the agrarian crisis since the cyclical crisis began in 1929.

### Perspectives for Agriculture

There are at least two probable perspectives: the mechanization and concentration of the farm into larger units, and the degradation of the farmer into a peasant, thru similar average holdings (the average for the whole United States today is 50 acres or 20 hectares per farm), longer hours, harder work, smaller returns, heavier indebtedness. Capitalism in industry has produced both the Ford plant and the sweatshop; on the farm, it is tending toward both the "Giant" and the small holdings.

The significance of the recent revolts is that to a limited extent and in certain localities, the first steps to the collaboration of the worker and the farmer in open militant struggle against the parasitic banker have been taken. The farmer has hitherto put forward class demands such as inflation, which have tended to separate his class interests from those of the worker. Inflation relieves the burden of debt of the agrarian bourgeoisie, but also raises the cost of living for the worker and so reduces his real wages.

The official party, while rejecting inflation, has put forward a slogan, "Higher prices for the farmer, lower prices for the worker,"

which in effect attempts to win the support of the farmers on the same basis as inflation (by raising prices of farm products and so reducing the burden of debt). Under such a slogan, the farmer can gain, but the worker will lose, unless genuine steps toward workers' control of production are taken.

The joint action of workers and farmers in resisting the foreclosure of mortgages on farm points to an immediate tactical line of militant class struggle. Joint strike committees of workers and farmers, joint committees for the regulation of prices and production, can assume great importance if they are orientated clearly toward a program of workers' control of production. At the same time, the steady flow of revolutionary agitation and propaganda must be kept up, to strip away the demagogic and bourgeois illusions of the farmer, and show him that the capitalist system has nothing but two hopeless alternatives to offer him, the life of an exploited tractor chauffeur on a huge ranch, or that of a down-trodden, super-exploited peasant. Only in a workers' state developing toward socialist society can there be hope for the farmer, and his basic task is to help the workers' revolutionary party to create this essential condition for the taking over of power and the construction of the workers' government in the present United States of America.

— B. J. FIELD

## Nazis, Poles Plot War

(Continued from Page 1)

has laid it open to decay from within by the adventurist reeling of bureaucratic centrism.

The fortress of the world revolution is in danger. By the perfidy of non-aggression pacts, by the trust it gives to the conflicts of world imperialism, Stalinism is only throwing dust into the eyes of the workers. It is only undermining the workers' fatherland and the cause of world revolution.

If workers' Russia is to live, Stalinism must go. If the land of the Soviets is to light the way for world revolution, the reactionary theory of socialism in one country must be thrown overboard.

Back to the line of Marx and Lenin—back to the Marxist perspective of the permanent revolution! Return the exiled Bolshevik-Leninists, Trotsky, Rakovsky and their comrades, to the post of struggle which they held in the victorious October! That is the command of the hour.

Every Communist worker who sees the danger; to whom the Four Power Peace Pacts and the Hitler-Pilsudski plots reveal it; who is not fooled by the capitalist non-aggression pacts and the peace talk, must do his duty.

Demand the reinstatement of the International Left Opposition into the Communist International! Demand the return of Trotsky and Rakovsky! That is the way to bring new vigor, a new source of strength to the proletarian army, which is sorely in need of it.

Act while there is still time to

## On the Morgan Inquiry

(Continued from page 1)

gation, show that they were quite ready to "reciprocate." And they have! A mere glance at the banking holiday proclaimed by Woodin and the "diplomacy" of Norman H. Davis, ambassador at large for the U. S. is proof sufficient that J. P. does not scatter his money idly. Every dollar given to a government official brings results!

The inquiry in Washington, despite the facts brought to light, is a circus of such dimensions as would make the great showman, Barnum, look like a miserable piker. The avowed purpose of the investigation is to reform the banking laws so that the "little fellow" will have a chance. In this connection it is interesting to note that the banking bill which is to do that has been proposed and drafted by the most ardent proponent of Morgan in the investigation, Senator Carter Glass, Virginia millionaire newspaper publisher.

Like the Pujo investigation under the "New Freedom" of Wilson the Pecora inquiry of the "New Deal" is a grand stage to divert the attention of the discontented away from struggle, give them confidence in the "anti-big business" attitude of the administration, only in reality to fasten the strangle hold of finance capital upon the millions of masses.

— G. C.

"Since Lenin Died" Comrades who can turn in extra copies of *Since Lenin Died* by Max Eastman, are asked to do so. They will be refunded the original cost price.

first of all by the tremendous quantity of goods in the hands of the state, which are put into circulation at fixed prices." If this phrase has any meaning at all it can be only that Soviet money has ceased being money; it no longer serves to measure values and by that the fixation of prices: "stable prices" are fixed by government power; the Chernovetz is only an accounting tag of planned economy. This idea is entirely parallel and equivalent to the idea of the "liquidation of classes" and "entry into the realm of socialism." Consistent in his half-heartedness, Stalin does not dare, however, to reject the theory of a gold reserve completely. No, a gold reserve "also" does not harm but its importance is only a secondary one. At any rate, it is needed for external trade, where payment must be made in specie. But for the well-being of the internal economy, stable prices fixed by the secretariat of the Central Committee or by its assignees are sufficient.

The rate of decline of the purchasing power of bills of exchange depends not only on the number of revolutions of the printing press but also on "the quantity of goods" is known to any student of economics. This law is applicable to capitalist as well as to planned economy. The difference is that in planned economy it is possible to hide inflation, or at any rate its results, for a much longer period. The more terrible therefore will be the day of reckoning! In any case, money regulated by administrative prices fixed for goods loses the ability to regulate such prices and consequently the ability to regulate plans. In this field as in others, "socialism" for the bureaucracy consists of freeing its will from any control: party, Soviet, trade union, or money . . .

### A Purely Bureaucratic Economy

Present Soviet economy is neither a monetary nor a planned one. It is an almost purely bureaucratic economy. Exaggerated and disproportionate industrialization undermined the foundations of agricultural economy. The peasantry tried to find salvation in collectivization. Very early experience showed that a collectivization of despair is not yet a socialist collectivization. The further decline of agricultural economy struck a hard blow at industry. To support unreliable and disproportionate tempos, a further intensification of pressure on the proletariat became imperative. Industry, freed from the material control of the producer, took on a super-social, that is, bureaucratic character. In consequence of which

humans wants even to the degree to which it had been accomplished by the less developed capitalist industry. Agricultural economy reloaded on the impotent cities under a war of exhaustion. Under the constant burden of disproportions between their productive efforts and the worsening conditions of existence, workers, kholhoz members and individual peasants lose interest in their work and are filled with irritation against the state. From this, and from this alone, and not from the malicious will of the "fragments" flows the necessity for the introduction of coercion into all cells of economic life (strengthening of the power of shop managers, laws against absentees, death penalty for spoliation of kholhoz property by its members, war measures in sowing campaigns and harvest collections, forcing of individual peasants to lend their horses to kholhozes, the passport system, political departments in the kholhoz village, etc., etc.)

Parallelism between the fate of money and the fate of the state looms up before us in a new and brilliant light. Disproportions of economy lead the bureaucracy to the road of ever growing paper-money inflation. Discontentment of the masses with the material results of economic disproportions, pushes the bureaucracy on the road of open coercion. Economic planning frees itself from value control as bureaucratic fancy frees itself from political control. The rejection of "objective causes," that is, of material limits for the acceleration of the tempos as well as the rejection of the gold basis of Soviet money, represent "theoretical" ravings of bureaucratic subjectivism.

### Stalinist System Exhausted

If the Soviet monetary system withers away, it withers away not in a socialist sense but in a capitalist one: in the form of inflation. Money ceases to be a working tool of planned economy and becomes a tool of its disorganization. It can be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat withers away in the form of bureaucratic inflation, that is, in the extreme swelling of coercion, persecutions and violence. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not dissolved in a classless society but degenerates into the omnipotence of bureaucracy over society.

In the sphere of money inflation as in that of bureaucratic arbitrariness is summed up all the falseness of the policy of centrism in the field of Soviet economy as well as in the field of the international proletarian movement. The Stalinist system is exhausted to the end and is doomed. Its break-up is approaching with the same inevitability with which the victory of Fascism approached in Germany. But Stalinism is not something isolated; as a parasitic growth it has wound itself around the trunk of the October revolution. The struggle for the salvation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparable from the struggle against Stalinism. This struggle has reached the decisive stage. The denouement is approaching. But the last word has not yet been spoken. The October revolution will yet know how to fend for itself.

— L. TROTSKY

# Unemployment & Political Parties

(Continued from page 1)  
the united front unemployed movement. Other issues exist, but unless this question is given a clear answer, the movement of the unemployed can easily disintegrate and founder. Under the best of conditions, an unemployed movement is the most difficult of all movements to hold together because of the natural looseness of organization, state of employment, etc., that conditions its existence.

The first question that must be answered is the political question: the matter of organic participation of the political parties and groups of the working class in the united front movement of the unemployed. At the national conference of unemployed movement groups in Chicago and at local conferences in New York, representatives of the Lovestone group came out for non-participation organizationally of the political parties or groups in the unemployed movement. In essence, their position was that the interests of the unemployed can best be served if the united front is made up organizationally only of the various organizations of the unemployed: Unemployed Councils, Association of the Unemployed, Workers Leagues, etc. The political parties and groups must be kept out and also, even labor unions should be represented only fraternally in the united front.

But the mere posing of the issue by the Lovestone Right Wing is sufficient reason for taking up the matter of relations of political forces to the unemployed, or for that matter of any other movement of labor. It has to be said plainly that Lovestone proposal, however intended, is an outright reactionary one, completely in line with the proposals and objectives of the A. F. of L. and other fakers in the labor movement.

This is a politically functioning age, as never before. Every group, one could almost say each individual, whether stupidly or intelligently, solves its problem in terms of class and government—that is, class interest and class power. The political question enters, and rightly so, into every step and action of the workers. It has been

discussed in the Lovestone group, and it is a test for all the tendencies within the labor movement.

## I.L.D. District Workers Meet

New York—On Sunday, May 21, a district meeting of the functionaries of the I.L.D. took place at Irving Plaza. The meeting had been called to discuss the new turn in I.L.D. policy. A turn in the policy of an organization is a very serious and important step and should arouse the interest and response of at least the leading members of the organization. However out of the 300 functionaries (branch executive members, section representatives, etc.) of the district, there were only about 75 to 100 present at this meeting and even this small number dwindled to about 40 after the recess.

This lack of response is merely a reflection of the condition of the I.L.D., which can best be described as stagnation. This fact is so glaringly obvious that it has not escaped the attention of even the top leadership, which is so busily engaged in faction fights for leadership, constantly changing its form of organization so as to either eliminate certain individuals, or secure vantage points for others.

And what better method could there be to explain away this lethargy among the membership than by an orgy of self-criticism?

The self-criticism was carried on in the best Stalinist, that is confusionist, manner. John Ballam, District Organizer, in his first report criticized the membership for its low political level, criticized the leadership because it does not function collectively. He admitted that the I.L.D. had put legal defense first and mass pressure second—an outright admission of the failure of the I.L.D. to accomplish that for which it was created. "All these shortcomings," he said, "must be remedied and the I.L.D. must become a mass organization and not a Legal Aid Society and a collection agency."

Why is the political level of the membership been so low? Isn't it because it has been miseducated along Stalinist lines? Why is there no collective leadership in the I.L.D.? Isn't it because the bureaucratic regime in the I.L.D. nurtures clique leadership in which appointments and dismissals "from above" play a large part?

Comrade Ballam should put the blame squarely where it belongs—on the line of the third period sectarianism—which the membership has been carrying out only too faithfully. The comrade from the Left Opposition speaking in the discussion, pointed out that Ballam had failed completely to mention work within the Right wing unions; that it was due to the absence of a Left wing within the reformist unions, which could exert pressure, that the leaders of these unions have been able to sabotage the Mooney, Scottsboro and other struggles which the Left wing is carrying on. We must break down the wall between ourselves and the Right wing workers and show them that the I.L.D. is ready to defend any worker regardless of his political and trade union affiliation. Every worker in the I.L.D. issues and work from within in both for individual membership and for collective affiliation of his union to the I.L.D. It is only in this manner that the I.L.D. can win back the confidence and prestige which it once enjoyed and become a really functioning organization.

## The Reactionary Character of the Lovestone Policy Among the Jobless

and is the aim of all capitalist politicians, and their lieutenants in the ranks of labor—the Greens, Wobbs, Levises, etc.—to keep the working class out of politics, that is, working class politics and action.

These frauds and deceivers have said to the workers: look only to your bread and butter, the economic side; and the not very far-seeing IWW and syndicalist echo the admonitions of the bourgeois liberal and working class opportunists to evade or keep away from the decisive, the political question.

### The Communist Position

Every movement of the working class is bound to have impressed upon it a political ideology. That outlook is determined essentially by the general conditions and outlook prevailing within society; within the labor movement itself, it is largely determined by the political force that most intelligently and consciously makes its class outlook and program felt upon the workers.

Communists take it for granted that every movement of the workers must be penetrated and fractions organized therein: trade unions, cooperatives, fraternal organizations, etc. Why exempt the organizations of the unemployed? What justification or reason can there be for the formal exclusion of the forces that really determine, for good or bad, the functioning and outcome, within limits of the objective situation, of the united front of the unemployed movement? Who is being fooled, what is being gained by the exclusion of the intelligence, the political force, the class expression of any movement? Nobody; least of all, the unemployed. Not maneuvers, but plain, direct speech and direction to the unemployed, on the immediate and ultimate class solution of unemployment is the way to advance the cause of the workers. Direct participation of the Communist party, the Communist League of America (Opposition), the socialist party, etc., is a test for all the tendencies within the labor movement.

Moreover, this can and must be done while maintaining the discipline of action of the united front. A united front movement is organized to achieve certain immediate objectives. In the case of Mooney and Billings to achieve the freedom of Mooney and Billings; in the case of the Scottsboro defendants, to free the Scottsboro boys; and likewise, with the objects of each united front movement that is built.

Shall the political parties, for instance, be excluded from direct participation in the Mooney United Front movement? The revolutionary would say, no. The capitalist politicians say, yes, for many reasons. And then these latter, at a proper moment, find ways and means for a Jimmy Walker to step in and represent himself as Mooney's and labor's savior.

### Stalinist Errors

And certainly in the case of the unemployed, of far greater significance than the Mooney issue, the possibilities for educating and winning the workers to a class viewpoint are at hand. Nothing is to be gained in such instances by "hiding the face" of the movement. The official Communist party (Stalinists) has gone in for that also a great deal lately, and in each instance the Stalinists have been wrong. Their outstanding error and crime is their formal ejection from the leadership of the struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. What needs to be remembered is: the political party joins the unemployed United Front. The Unemployed Council or group does not join the party.

The Unemployed movements will assert themselves politically. Witness Seattle and other places. The point is, shall the opportunists and fakers take over the political and class direction of the unemployed? This must not be.

The next logical step of those who would exclude the political parties from direct organizational part in the unemployed united front is to exclude the trade and labor unions. And the Lovestone group proposes exactly this!

Yet the failure of the labor unions to rally behind a united front of the unemployed is a basic cause of the movement's weakness today. The unions and the unemployed must be linked organizationally for the objectives of the united front. Moreover, such a correct relation within the united front should be an excellent means for organizing the unorganized unemployed, which means the overwhelming bulk, into the unions. An unemployed worker is no less a worker because he is unemployed, and there is no less, but more need to organize him into a labor union in his interest as well as in the interest of the employed worker to preserve and better working conditions.

Lastly, from a fundamental view, why do the Communists bring all possible support on behalf of the unemployed? Because we must develop, in whatever way is permitted, their political, their class consciousness. Otherwise, the actions and aims of the unemployed will prove valueless in a lasting sense. The class question must be raised, even as to the trade unions, or the really worth-while and positive side of the unemployed movement will be dissipated and disappear, and hard work will have gone to naught.

We have to develop class-conscious and revolutionary workers in the unemployed movement, while at the same time working militantly to achieve the immediate demands of the united front. All elements can try their hand at the task. But the Communist is the historical instrument for that task, functioning through his party or group. This is the standpoint of the Left Opposition.

— F.

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— F.

— MARTIN ABERN

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