WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

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«I MUST SPEAK OUT»

Warns Party on Germany

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

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

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

At the Brink of the Abyss

The ruthless military dictatorship established by the reactionary Junkers is pushing Germany to the brink of the Fascist abyss. A disunited German working class is facing an increasingly arrogant and confident army of Fascism marching to power. Germany is already in the midst of a civil war. The bloodthirsty hordes of Hitlerism are on the streets, shooting down the militant workers, creating an atmosphere of terrorism, while behind the scenes the final preparations are being made to drive the the seizure of power by Fascism. The slogan of "National and Social Emancigovernment of Von Papen is only a stopgap. It is there only to clear the path Hitlerite referendum (July 1931) in for the triumph of Hitler.

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

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

Arouse the Working Class!

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

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

"I Must Speak Out Now"

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

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

serious danger of confusing the workers by throwing the Fascists and the reformists into one pot under the theory of has occurred and where we stand. "Social Fascism". They correctly reof the united front in the struggle against Fascism.

My studies and observations have prought me to the following serious conclusions: The viewpoint of Trotsky and

The Party's False Course

Our party leadership in Germany and the C. I. have been following a false and dangerous course toward the danger of Fascism on the one hand, and the social democracy on the other. While the Fascist danger was minimized for a long time, the party continued to set up a wall between itself and the socialist workers by the theory and practice of "Social Fascism". Instead of proposing a united front of all the workers against the onward march of Hitler's bands (Continued on page 3)

Seb. Pappas Expelled

As we go to press, we learn from from the Communist Party of the U. tive element".

were printed and distributed to party he not only disagrees but attacks the line of the party. He accused the They found nothing Party leadership and the Comintern of following a false and dangerous course toward Fascism and social democracy. He proposes that the Party and the Comintern make an open demand for united front with the social Fascist leaders and disagrees with the party's estimation of the social democratic leaders as social Fascists," (Daily Worker of Thursday August 18, 1932.)

Stalinist Silence Broken

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

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

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

The party document of comrade Pappas, which the bureaucrats of the Stalinist apparatus are attempting to the Communist workers judge for themselves!

THE ONLY ROAD

VON PAPEN & HITLER

By Leon Trotsky

stated from the first the Leninist policy Bruening government had at its disposal regime of the military-police dictator the support of the parliament for ruling ship. As soon as the struggle of two social democratic leaders said: "In this nots, the exploiter and the exploitedmanner we shall block the road to power reaches its highest tension, the condiof Fascism". The Stalinist bureaucracy tions are given for the domination of the Left Opposition in the German situal said: "No, Fascism has already triumph bureaucracy, police, soldiery. The gov tion has been fully confirmed by the ed, it is the Bruening regime which is ernment becomes "independent" of soevents. It is now absolutely necessary to Fascism." Both were false. The social ciety. Let us once more recall: if two give full attention to this viewpoint and democrats palmed off a passive reced- forks are stuck symmetrically into a International may draw immediately and against Fascism. The Stalinists pre- head of a pin. That's precisely the without delay the greatest benefits from sented the matter as if the victory of schema of Bonapartism. To be sure, fighting power of the proletariat was the clerk of the property-owners. Yet sapped by both sides and the triumph of the clerk sits on the back of the boss, the enemy facilitated and brought closer.

Let us endeavor briefly to realize what I In its time, we designated the Bruen ing government as Bonapartism ("carica-Thanks to the social democracy, the ture of Bonapartism"), that is, as a with the aid of emergency decrees. The social strata—the haves and the haveing before Fascism as the struggle cork, the latter can stand even on the Fascism was already behind them. The such a government does not cease being (Continued on page 4)

Illinois Miners Revolt Spreads Thru State

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

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

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

chorus of jeers and threats rose higher

and the number of worker's grew to al-

most a thousand. They looked on in am-

azement and confusion. It was obvious

that they could see no reason why we

A second time the Stalinist rushed

and a second time he was repulsed. The

Stalinist chorus rose still higher. No

word the speaker uttered could be heard

A third time the Stalinists rushed

through a gap in our defense and be-

fore their assault the platform gave way.

Like a pack of wolves waiting for their

prey to be brought down the Stalinists

closed in on us. Comrade Gordon was

two Stalinists. A maniacal Stalinist

sympathizers received blows, marks of

We defended ourselves as best we could.

Some workers from the crowd rushed

in to stop the fight and the Stalinists,

With the announcement to the assem-

delivering its message to the working

class by the Stalinists or by anyone we

marched off in a body singing the Inter-

for free speech for every faction of the

working class movement they saw the

honor in the struggle for the ideas

revolutionary internationalism.

of Leninism.

should not speak.

even by himself.

us ruefully.

The Illinois coal fields are again seeth-| ment has sprung up in which the young ing with revolt spreading throughout the militant miner Gerry Allard is one of various sections and directed against the the leading spirits, gigantic mass meetmost brazen official treachery yet relings have been held from which marches corded. A powerful rank and file move- are being organized to close down the mines which reopened under the operators' reduced scale of wages.

Since April first, the Illinois miners have been on strike refusing to retreat from the basic wage scale of \$6.10 per day formerly obtaining. The operators With the rising tide of Fascism in many questions and bought our literature. hundred workers. Our speaker mounted called it a suspension and meanwhile Germany and the enormous crime being Not all of our meetings have been the platform while our comrades formed prepared to have their trusted agents in concocted in the Stalinist kitchens the as successful as the two just reported. a ring around it. With the usual words control of the union, John L. Lewis and Left Opposition has been struggling to Last Saturday, August 13, our meeting of address, "comrades and fellow work- his handmaid, "weeping" Johnny Walker, Communist party underground and—for our party compromised itself with the discharge the great tasks imposed on at Avenue A and Seventh Street was ers", a tremendous boo arose from the make all arrangements ready for the it by the historic situation. The League broken up by an organized gang of party Stalinists who surrounded the platform treacherous sell-out. A new contract and the ring of our comrades around it. with a reduced basic wage scale was For almost an hour this continued. offered. It was submitted to a refer-Prussia. Our party played into the hands at its disposal to reach the masses of doors away. From the account which Every time the speaker opened his mouth endum and defeated by a vote of more of Fascism by this policy and made it workers who are instinctively watching follows it can be seen that they were a tremendous boo arose. With the boos than 20 to 1. But this did not at all whipped into a lynching spirit by the was growing a mingled chorus of threats deter the official leeches. They had more party bureaucrats in retaliation for the and dirty epithets. Gradually the Stal- ways than one to attempt to defeat the powerful blows we have dealt them at inists who outnumbered us many times will of the rank and file and pursue their the Anti-War Conference and in connec- were working up the small stock of deadly work of destroying the union. So tion with the German situation. Not courage to the point at which they could they arranged to have the tabulated since the battles in the Labor Temple in attack the revolutionary representatives tally sheets of the referendum vote stolen, declared an emergency, signed a Finally a Stalinist more frenzied than new contract providing for a \$5.00 a day the rest rushed the platform only to be thrown back by the defense squad. The

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

the union itself which is at stake.

The Illinois coal fields harbor the last stronghold of the United Mine Workers of America, and practically the last of the organized miners' movement which, thoroughly proletarian in composition, has established such a glorious tradition in American labor history. It is due to the indomitable spirit of the rank and file, despite wreckage of treason inflicted upon them, that they have been able to preserve an organization. But the bled workers and Stalinists that the Left biggest job still lies ahead of them. Opposition would not be prevented from There can now be no thought whatever of further preserving the union until that job is finished, until the whole crew of corrupt officialdom is completely cleaned out. In this sense the movement must What the thousand or more workers be clear on its double aim, viz: To dewho were attracted to the scene witness- feat the attempts of the operators to ed, was a battle between two factions of further reduce the now miserable standard of living prevailing and to clean out, root and branch, their agents in the official union positions.

Extent of Present Movement There are good indications that such is actually the aim of the present movement. Despite the great confusion deliberately provoked by the whole method of defeating and betraying the referendum vote, the opposition to the sell-out is rapidly organizing. Reports at this stage of developments are still somewhat unclear, but it appear's that everywhere the local unions are meeting and deciding to reject the put-over agreement and to prevent the mines from resumof the sub districts remaining solid on

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

Opposition Campaign

pation" and by its active support to the has opened a national campaign of mass meetings in an attempt with the forces possible for the social democratic trait- the development of the German situaors to continue their murderous policy tion with the greatest interest. We have printed and are distributing thirty-two thousand leaflets stating our position on the German situation.

Yorkville Meeting

In New York City we have increased the number of our street meetings in addition to our other activities. Recently we have broken into new territory up with such premeditated and organized where we have shown the face of the Left Opposition for the first time and delivered our message. In Yorkville the Daily Worker of the expulsion of Sebastian Pappas, leading Communist have held a number of successful meetmilitant and strike leader in many of lings. The last one was attended by bethe battles of the Food Workers In-dustrial Union. Pappas is expelled They listened attentively to the speak-The specific charge against him is the fatal policy of the central comand non-party workers. In his letter | if the workers are not to be deluged in stand and overthrew it.

in what we said, asked a num quiet and listen.

Brownsville Meeting

of Brownsville. We spoke to an inter-second attempt to hold the meeting. ested audience of about a hundred work-

members and members of the local Unemployed Council which is situated a few the early days of the Opposition and the tours of comrade Cannon and Shachtman has an Opposition meeting been broken

violence. The meeting was one organized by us in our regular schedule of speaking activities. Comrades Milton, Carmody, Glee and Wynne attempted to open the meeting with comrade Milton on the speaker's stand distributing our leasiet on the German situation. In a few miners' analysis of the German situation, utes a crowd of more than one hundred S. A. "as a Trotskyite and a disrup- the unspeakable, despicably treacherous workers gathered around the stand to role of the degenerate social democracy, listen to the speaker. Across the street a party bureaucrat mustered his misthat he "recently issued a letter to mittee of the German C. P., the coward-guided gang. Suddenly they rushed the party, hundred of copies of which | ly and treacherous silence of the Stalin- across to the stand, snatched our literaized Comintern, and what must be done ture, hurled comrade Milton from the To the credit of some party members

They found nothing "counter-revolu- it must be said that they protested verb- thrown face down to the ground by ally against such gangsteristic ber of questions which revealed their and a few even attempted to assist our female scratched comrade Beardslee's intense interest in the German situation comrades physically. One Y. C. L.er face. Other comrades and some of our and their slowly growing grasp of the said in the heat of his indignation that nature and role of the International he was going to resign from the Y. C. L. Left. So systematic were they that when Our comrades retired to another corner late-comers, party members on their way with the platform to await help for home from other meetings, tried to dis- which one comrade was sent. When all More than one Stalinist will remember rupt our meeting by heckling they warn- the comrades that could be mustered on ed the misguided party members to keep short notice had assembled, a short meeting among themselves was held to organize the defense of the meeting. Our disappointed in not rousing the workers More recently we broke new territory comrades then returned to the corner to the same lynching mania, desisted. in a section of Brooklyn, the outskirts from which they had been driven, in a

They set up the platform unmolested ers who appeared to be impressed by our amid an ominous silence. By this time position on the German situaton, asked the crowd has grown to more than five

New York Tailors on Strike

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

New York Clothing shops. The ostensi-(1) stop wage cutting; (2) stop the exodus of bundles to sweat shops; (3) reestablish union control of labor conditions in plants in which such control is now lacking.

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

facturers, considering the situation un- ists. Instead of seeing the Communists favorable and even disastrous for a everywhere in the front rank of the fight strike.

Hillman Grants Cuts

The biggest shops of the Clothiers' Ex- Stalinists break up a meeting of the Left change received considerable wage cuts Opposition before it had begun. amounting in some cases to 25%. What ed by the A. C. W. officialdom, is the of their misery, have clutched at this for workers to attend our meetings and strike. enforcement of the following demands: stoppage as a drowning man grasps at help us defend them against all attempts to break up our meetings, (Continued on page 3)

the Communists initiated by the Stalin-

The League will return to this corner is the purpose, then, of this sudden gen-to explain to the workers the significance eral stoppage? Despite these sus- of what they saw last Saturday. And in picious circumstances, the masses of so far as we are able we will redeem tailors left their shops, manifesting trem-| the prestige of Communism squandered endous courage on the picket lines, con- so heedlessly by the Stalinist masters of ducting a heroic fight against the scab the party. And we will explain to the expressmen and the police, exposing workers what our position is on the Gertheir bodies to the police clubs and bul- man situation and why the Stalinists lets. Only their intolerable conditions attempt to beat us up for speaking the ing operation by throwing strong picket A stoppage has been declared in the and their desperation can explain this truth about Hitler and about Stalin. We lines around them. In rapid succession fact. The tailors in this stoppage, just invite all party members and all work the locals are falling in line with most ble purpose of this stoppage, as present- as in last year's, looking for a way out ers who are interested in free speech

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

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

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

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

Remember Sacco and Vanzetti. shining martyrs of the proletariat! Unite in millions to save the

Scottsboro boys from murder! Join hands to liberate our political

Stalinists Split Trade Unions in Spain

Third T. U. Center Formed We reproduce below extracts from the circular issued by our Spanish

comrades relative to the creation in

Spain of a third "trade union center."

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

It will be said that the Conference of words, we have seen the culmination of the working class disarmed before the a split in the name of unity, in order to give satisfaction to the ambitions of some and in order to secure their positions. No matter what name is given to will occupy the first place, by demonwhat has been perpetrated at Madrid, the fact remains that the conference created an organism called the "Unitary General Labor Confederation".

Conference a Swindle

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

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

Opposition Fights in Trade Unions

We have said what in our opinion constitutes the correct manner of arriving at the unification of all the Spanish trade union forces by normal means-by beginning with the penetration of the unrevolutionary and unitary points of view. of the revolutionary movement. But we That is why, in spite of the splitting ac- have no choice and since we must strike tion of the elements who convoked the a balance we advise all our readers and conference in question, the militants of sympathizers who have not done so yet the Communist Left will remain within to buy their copies at once before it is the trade unions and will fight inside of too late.

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

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

The working class must be aroused against the maneuvers of those who place above the interests of the proletarian organizations the interests of their jobs and servile obedience to those who hand out the pay. A fratricidal struggle is being started in the trade unions. In order to achieve the thing which the it will be claimed that it was not a masses mock at as a miserable abortion matter of creating a new trade union of a new trade union center, the trade center. But in reality, underneath the union movement is to be enfeebled and enemy!

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

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

Letter to the Zurich Workers

(Continued from page 4)

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

I hope that every Zurich worker, the social democratic worker included, will deeply reflect upon these events and upon ers have played in them in order to posals of the employers for wage cuts, Haldeman Julius, editor of the socialist Communist party declaration, of such a plauding the attackers and egging them draw the necessary political conclusions. one after another. In Le Borinage, the Only then will we be able to say that presumptuousness of the bosses gets its cialist party candidate for Senator in could adopt it—words, commas, exclama- a quarter of an hour of this pogrom, the June victims will not have been sacrificed in vain.

LEON TROTSKY. Prinkipo, June 25, 1932.

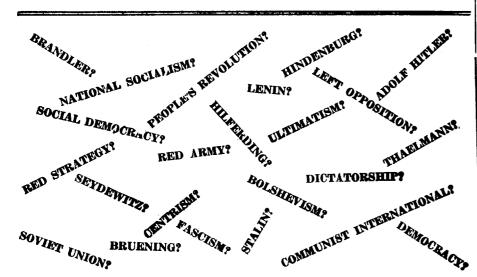
BOUND VOUMES OF COMRADE TROTSKY'S PAMPHETS

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

point of being unable to supply what

HATINES

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat



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

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Bolshevik-Leninists Head Miners Strike in Belgium

Left Oppositionists on the Charleroi Firing Line!

Bulletin:

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

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

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

A Letter from our Charleroi Comrades

Dear comrades:

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

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

The Miners' Situation

The situation of the Belgian miners had sunk to a level of misery and deprivation which they could no longer endure. For some time great dissatisfaction has been current without finding any means of expression. The diplomacy of the trade union leadership succeeded to rest among the miners participating in leaders maneuver desperately to localize inage, who know that, isolated, without Unemployment and the Five Year Plan" Le Centre, march forward toward Char- has been practised in recent times. Chevaliers du Travail (Knights of Lawatch them go with mingled feelings: the pits to show their solidarity and to happy to see them reach workers who establish a program of action. Monster their contents; sorry to realize that with ate declaration of the general strike is each one we are getting closer to the decided. The miners in every pit prevent the transport of coal right in the ions for the purpose of propagating our we consider the texts of the future cadres middle of the night—a thing that has never yet happened in the Belgian labor movement. The miners demand lamps go down into the shafts, persuade their comrades to lay down their tools andd proclaim the general strike in the places of work. In the morning the strike is universal in the mines, in the metal industry and in all the other labor unions. The worker has had enough of misery. he wants to banish it by struggle.

The activity of the working masses take place, calling for the stoppage of at Moscow, March 2-26, 1919, under the hat Next? in their next issue? all work and for a drive to victory. The title, BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE KEY-OUT OF PRINT and completely under the influence of 82 pages; Limited number on hand. the Communist Left Opposition.

The Bourgeoisie Acts Against the militant zeal and will of the masses to go through to the bitter

end, the bourgeoisie employed radical

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

ions had shut themselves in, in their The winds is our sails and although hall. Immediately upon entering, they Maisons du Peuple, their citadels, in we have momentarily been weakened by were intimidated by the bureaucrat fear of the wrath of the thousands of the many arrests, our activity will go Reynaud, who called out to our comworkers who wanted to confront their on as always. We are counting upon rades in his wrath: leaders. Even Vandervelde could not a serious strengthening of our group get their attention and called for the after this battle. police, fleeing shamefully under the propolice were posted in front of the reform- and of the numerous wounded. On the In the Maison du Peuple at Gilly, the has been sworn to against the police meeting room. center of the revolutionary forces, the hordes. To the soldiers a fraternal hand; police forced their way through to the has been extended. bureau, to chase out the workers and had the soldiers clear the nearby build-

ings. awakening! A new stage begins. The sense that the workers wanted more socialists beat a retreat. The influence than the programs proposed. The work- himself almost entirely to an attack full of the Communist Left Opposition is on ers have realized more than ever the the increase in the region of Charleroi. necessity of creating for themselves a

Opposition Progress

Under this threat to the bourgeoisieit is not over yet-numerous arrests were ed. At the present moment, that is quite proletariat. an unsalutary bargain. But we shall do all that is necessary to see that our paper, La Voix Communiste (The Communist Voice) appears twice a week. July 16, 1932.

heads of the active elements, who for the most part belong to the federation of the Chevaliers du Travail (miners), the socialists are coming out of their ers and are attempting to get the workers under their control. They are making parliamentary maneuvers with the work. It still remains to be seen what situation in Germany at the Salle Bulthe workers will do about these new lier proposals of capitulation which are being The French Left Opposition immediatemade by the three big parties, the ly welcomed this important step and an-

tions of a regime which can never satisfy

We can openly say that this struggle, which is not ended yet, arose from the Signs of the times! The workers depths of the proletariat. We could

This struggle is a precious experience made among the Communist elements. for the working class youth of Belgium, From the ranks of the Oppositionists, which had already forgotten the history our comrades Lesoil, Huet, Vander of the struggles of 1883. The year 1932 borght, Henin and Lebrun were arrest is a new stage for the entire Belgian

Who Was Actually "Caught"?

the Daily Worker about ten days ago ex- radicalism sweeping over the fields and one youth comrade was beaten till he the last day in suppressing this need posed a flagrant swindle practised by the mines of Kansas. Is it, then, possible lost consciousness. All this time, Semthe role which the socal democratic lead- and in carrying through all of the pro- well-known socialist mountebank, Mr. E. that he found Foster's speech, an official and the chairman were excitedly apweekly, the American Freeman, and So- nature that as a social reformist he on right from the platform. After about first shock. The poor standard of living, Kansas. This respectable elder had sim- tion marks and all-without altering a our comrades were bodily ejected from the spreading strike and the newly plan- ply taken the official acceptance speech line. Is it possible that the C. P. platform the hall. ned wage reductions serve to stir up un- of William Z. Foster, the Communist is cut, trimmed and styled by the Honorparty candidate for president, copied it able Socialist Candidate for Senator from an isolated strike. The social democratic word for word, and presented it to his the State of Kansas? We find it hard to readers as the platform of the Socialist believe. the conflict, which in spite of everything, party. Virtually the only change made expands over the entire region. In this in the whole text was where the word manner, the leaders of the district cen- "Communist" was replaced by the word plagiarism which must undoubtedly be ter of the reformist miners are forced "Socialist". The two texts, Foster's very embarrassing for him to answer; of the meeting room protested and some to declare a strike. The militant spirit original and Haldeman-Julius' bald nor has he answered. May we be per- even left the place in protest. The specrises swiftly. The miners of the Bor- plagiarism, were published side by side by mitted to put our question to the Daily tacle of the Salle Bullier has not gone the Daily Worker and the merest glance Worker? the support of the miners in the rest of at the two reveals one of the most de-Program of the Comintern", and "World the country, they will be defeated, occupy spicable pieces of political fraud that

leroi, to call upon all for solidarity in

But in its rightful indignation, the the bound volumes of Trotsky's pamthe struggle. The federation of the Daily Worker fails to note a feature of This is to re-The number of these bound volumes | bor) quickly issues a call on the evening indicating. Mr. Haldeman-Julius is a this theft which we cannot refrain from is small and slowly diminishing. We of July 8, appealing to the miners in all fairly notorious social reformist, who does not even enjoy that distinction of paganda work. These are the Commundubious "radicalism" to which the shoddy will study them and carefully weigh mass meetings are called. The immeditends. We are hardly inclined to believe that he felt obliged to decorate himself

36666666666666666666666666666666666 REVOLUTIONARY **LESSONS**

By N. Leniu

leadership of the movement in the Char- THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROleroi district lay in the hands of the LETARIAT; A LESSON ON TACTICS; many—the Key to the International Sit-Chevaliers du Travail, led in its entirety and other short pieces. Paper cover— uation, is out of print. The only way

> Price 25 Cents (no discount) Order at once from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Under a sensational headline "Caught!", form because of a wave of revolutionary

was caught? Wasn't somebody else caught too, or almost caught?

PROBLEMS OF THE

The second wave of sales of Problems Nation, the New Republic and the Labor Containing Lenin's famous APRIL Age have undertaken to review it. The THESIS with which, in comrade Trot- Modern Quarterly which is edited by sky's phrase, the Bolshevik party was Schmalhaussen and to which Sidney rearmed; the Thesis submitted by Lenin Hook contributes will review both Prorises everywhere, monster demonstrations to the First Congress of the Comintern blems of the Chinese Revolution and

a dwindling number.

We have a very few of the Key in

Now, when the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the social democrats, demand the cellars. They are returning to the strik- Bureaucrats Resort to Violence bourgeoisie, achieving only wretched of the Communist Party of France, and promises, which in the last analysis can under pressure of the events themselves change nothing in the situation of the as well as the alarm of the party memproletariat. Above all, they are attempt- bership, the Stalinist bureaucrats in Paris ing to instigate the strikers to return to were forced to call a meeting on the

The socialist leaders of the trade un-the demands of the working class.

In the course of the skirmishes, we

Need for Revolutionary Leadership revolutionary leadership. It is lacking in the present action

—The Left Opposition of the C. P. B. The Charleroi Group.

Norman Thomas questions concerning the sult and venom.

,Was it Haldeman_Julius alone who

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

CHINESE REVOLUTION

As we warned in the last issue. Gerof the Bound Volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets of which we still have

German and Greek

German Campaign

After months of intense agitation by our French comrades inside and outside

Catholics, the Liberals and the Socialists. nounced by placards all over the city But these are only plasters on a wood-that representatives of the Opposition en leg which will break again and once would be on hand to present the Leuin-

On the date of the meeting, July 28, our comrades took their places in the

"You had better make sure you've

some iodine and bandages on hand." From that moment on our comrades tection of the bourgeois powers. Then have had to mourn the loss of the dead were subjected to an uninterrupted barpage of provocations, which they met ist citadels, to guard them against the other hand, class consciousness has risen with fearless discipline, marching in workers who had wanted to storm them. tremendously. An irreconcilable hatred group formation to the center of the

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

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

About fifty of the bureaucrat's henchmen immediately pounced on the Opposttion comrades. At their head was the whole bureaucracy of the Paris district. A disgraceful and repugnant scene ensued. Oppositionists were thrown to the ground, kicked in stomach, in the head,

The bureaucrat Thorez took the floor after this incident. He raised his foot demonstratively and pointed to it: "This is the method to deal with them!" and The Daily Worker has been asking then proceeded to spout his share of in-

Numerous party comrades in all parts without effect. Letters from party memhers and militant workers are streaming in daily to La Verite, the central organ of our French comrades, declaring their sympathy with us and their disillusionment with the Stalinist bureaucracy. subscribing to our journal and enclosing donations. Whole columns of the current issue of La Verite are filled with these letters.

Bureaucratic Impotence-All over

the World As in New York, in Athens, in Shanghai and everywhere, so in France too the bureaucrats of the Stalinist camp express their bankrupt despair, their utter political impotence by violent physical assault against the Left Opposition. But these arguments will not hold. The Communist workers very well know the of the Chinese Revolution is about to meaning of this argument with the fist, break. A number of publications like the from their struggles against the bosses and against their yellow reformist agents. They will not fail to draw their conclusions-In France and internationally. Our French comrades have only intensified and accelerated their campaign for the German revolution—the key to the international situation-with even greater determination since the incident of the Salle Bullier. Fresh from battle with our own-American Stalinist bureaucrats, we send them our revolutionto get a copy now is by buying a copy ary salutations. The Left Opposition is driving ahead with invincible force. The cause of Proletarian Internationalism, of the world revolution, will pierce its

way through. "Bolshevik-Leninists, Forward!"

military organization. They have the

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

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

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

P. M.: First by fearlessly exposing the social Fascists, and then by resolutely applying the correct party line: the united front from below. Opp.: What do you call a united front

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

Opp.: How have the workers of Germany responded to your tactics? Did they accept them? Not at all. The union between the Socialist and Communist workers takes on an entirely different and a spontaneous form. Workers all band as workers without in any way accepting one or the other leadership. The Communists support a Socialistde- P. M.: United front with the workers, monstration and join them in fighting the Nazis; the Socialists in turn help and support the Communists in the same way. That is not the tactic of the united front from below, but an inevitable step toward the program of Opp.: Comrade, you must wake up, and a true united front, as it was outlined in the Opposition program; real unity without forcing party leadership upon Socialist workers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

will force it.

Revolt of Illinois Miners

Miners on Strike against Lewis Machine and Wage-Cuts

(Continued from page 1)

tendance of 10,000 revolting miners, sim- supporters in the Illinois coal fields will ilar big meetings have been held in bend all their efforts. Springfield and elsewhere. At the time Legion were recruited into a hastily formed home guard to repel any invasion." This town was also the scene of military forces moving in rapidly during the ill-fated strike of the National Miners Union in 1929.

The rebel movement is feverishly organizing its forces knowing that quick and decisive action is imperative. It a straw. has entrusted the leadership to an elected policy committee. Petitions have been was "quickly cut off the air by radio constitutes. station WEBO, when he launched into a vehement attack on union officers who in the present stoppage (?) signify? supported the \$5.00 agreement."

This was under date line of Aug. 12th. The reports are that Gerry Allard and highly deceptive. Hillman has not made his wife, Irene, have been arrested in it clear that this means the return of Wesct Frankfort. Such, of course, are the last wage-cuts which he granted the tion in strikes and stoppages of the Amthe celebrated capitalist methods—to manufacturers in recent weeks, since the algamated because it is a "company unstrike the heavy blows at the militant last decision of the union to that effect. lenders. There need be no doubt that The tailors are deluding themselves a powerful answer will be given by the that this is what the point means. They rebel movement.

Illinois, Scene of Many Bevolin

ment.

Howatt combination, ostensibly in op- the swindle with success. position to Lewis, proved a disastrous deception and illusion. The revolt led the present stoppage is the strengthening by the Edmonddson-Musteite combination, of the considerably weakened union machwhich lacked backbone and a clear pro- ine. The financial situation is close to

Mahoning Valley, Ohio,

lesson of what the revolutionary forces clearly reveal this aim and the cause rectly with the revolutionary goal of the must not do. It is the policy pursued by the official party which led to isola- Hillman's declaration not so long ago was nowhere apparent. In fact its abstion and impotence of the Left wing. Its that a strike or stoppage is impracticmistakes in this respect began with the able. stupid boycott of the revolt movement As for the tailors, they have been which found its expression in the Walker- drawn into this stoppage, first of all, Fishwick-Howatt combination, and re- as I mentioned before, because of their peated toward the Edmondson-Musteite- deplorable conditions, and second because led revolt. The serious consequences of of deceptive slogans. Were there a wellthese stupid tactics are not to be meas-lorganized Left wing in the Amalgamated, ured alone by the shortcomings and fail- it would be possible to convert the stopures or betrayals of the revolt movements page into a genuine strike struggle made an "analysis" of the failure of the but more so by the isolation and final against wage-cuts and for the smashing disappearance of an organized Left wing of Hillman's plans.

Duties of the Revolt Movement

in a measure on the mistakes made and Association and certain trucking express to regain the time and opportunities companies which carry the cut work and lost. The present revolt movement has a piece goods into the clothing shops. This

success of which the Left Opposition

To make the present strike state-wide of this writing miners are marching up- is, of course, imperative. That is the on Taylorville where the Peabody Coal direction of the present movement. In Company is making desperate efforts to this the Illinois miners are now carryreopen its four mines. Though the min- ing the brunt of the burden of leading ers march without arms this company the working class as a whole forward has already succeeded in making a vir- in resistance upon the attacks on their tual armed camp out of their little com- standard of living. Closely bound up munity. One press dispatch says: "Busi- with this must be the completion of the nessmen and members of the American long overdue task of cleaning out the treacherous officials and asving the union from destruction.

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

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

Who Is Leading the Barbusse Congress

The window-front of the "World Con-| cases have in no way stood the test. gress Against War" organized by the The Communist International of Lenin this war aim? Or are we to any extent a number of shining lights from the lit- tions of the revolutionary anti-war strug- as to confuse and disorganize our allies, erary and scientific world. The initia- gle. The pacifists of all shades embody weaken our internal will and strengthen tive for organizing an international ga- the miserable tradition of treachery dur- the enemy? thering to mobilize the working class ing the last war and opium peddling those of the National Miners Union, with for a struggle against imperialist war to the people in between wars. A glance has been handed by the Stalinists at the records and standpoints of some to a group of pacifists. Behind them, of the leading figures chosen by the the Stalinist apparatus maneuvers with Stalinist apparatus to lead and organize ent Germany. Either Germany has to its opportunistic line of policy. The open the struggle against war will indicate, Leninist fight against the war danger first, what reliance can be placed by the is replaced by a melange of pacifism and proletariat in such a leadership, and confusion directed by individuals largely second, what a sinister masquerade of disconnected from the live stream of opportunism the Stalinists themselves -A. S. | the class struggle who, moreover, in most are engaged in.

The Case of H. G. Wells

Among the members of the "International Committee" of the Barbusse-Stalin-H. G. Wells. Wells is a notorious petty bourgeois philistine who has covered all the partners in question. They all and File Committee in the direction of a himself with a thin socialistic veneer Hillman and his assistants, the local live at the expense of the workers, tail- true Leninist course. We regret, how- throughout his literary career. During officials of the New York organization, ors, who are gripped in their vise. The ever, that this step was taken at the the last World War, Wells was to be to wage-cuts. The developments of the of the ruling class. An inkling of his position during those crucial days, an whole record speak in his favor? As we go to press, the stoppage still Hillman machine. But the militancy of At Issue", written at the height of the is usually to be found expressing his

> of the war, the aim to which all other aims are subsidiary. It is, we have ever against any such deliberate aggression as Germany prepared for forty years and brought to a climax when she crossed the Belgian frontier in 1914. We The present stoppage contains tremen- want to make anything of that kind on dous possibilites for the Left wing, pro- the part of Germany, or of any other vided it develops into a serious strike. power, henceforth impossible in this war, no responsible statesman dare claim The situation in the men's clothing in- them as anything but subsidary to that;

> > -ALBERT ORLAND. | are we all logically, sincerely, and fully

carrying out the plain implications of Communist International, is composed of and Trotsky alone embodies the tradi- muddling about with it in such a way "Now the plain meaning of this supreme declared war aim is that we are

asking Germany to alter her ways. We are asking Germany to become a differbe utterly smashed up and destroyed or else Germany has to cease to be an aggressive military imperialism. . .

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

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

Ay, to speak in favor of peace during look of this latter-day assistant of Stal- times of peace-that costs nothing. Noinism, may be gained from the following body is "in favor" of war during peace excerpt from his article, "The Question times. Even the most rabid militarist horror at war, his opposition to it. At "First let us deal with that postcard the same time he systematically prepares (on which, according to Wells, the gist the ground for imperialist war. The softest pacifist is always opposed to war Ed.) and say what is the essential aim in peace times. When it breaks out, his love for peace is so strong that he urges his fellow-countrymen to support the war of the fatherland in order that it may, you understand, be brought to a speedy conclusion at the end of which, isn't it logical?, peace may prevail again. Wells is one of these pacifists in "Reinkultur" as the Germans say-in a chemically pure state. He is the man to whom Stalin is sending the class conscious workers for leadership in . . . the struggle against war.

The Case of Romain Rolland

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

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

But Rolland is a pacifist, the most honest and sincere amongst them, but a pacifist nevertheless. His profound admiration for Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution is vitiated by his equally ardent admiration for Sun Yat Sen . . . ing a serious approach to the socialist distinguish the yawning gap that divides conference, as the reporter's speech workers and the workers in the A. F. of ian revolutionary tribune. In a word, he is unable to distinguish between the ployed Councils of the U. S. A. has is- furiously in a circle from which the treacherous morass of Ghandism and the eminance of Marxism. One cannot be a Ghandhist or Sun Yat Senist for Asia When Winter was through the floor and a Leninist for Europe. That impossible combination was attempted by Stalin and Bucharin all during the revolutionary upsurge in China in 1925-1927. chairman announced that the floor was The result is commonly known: the Chiopen for discussion and that the first nese revolution was not only inundated speaker would be comrade so and so from in its own blood but the war danger, the Gold Dust Lodge. When the comrade particularly against the Soviet Union, was through the chairman informed us was greatly accentuated. This dreadful that the way to get the floor was to experiment is a warning against itself.

"the next speaker will be " It, of Sun Yat Sen and Ghandi: Brothers, struggle of the exploited of the earth against the imperialist slavedrivers. Ghandi is a name which stands for the bartering of the interests of the oppressed masses to the imperialist overlord of the native colonial bourgeoisie. No man can stand for both Lenin and Gan-

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

The presentation of the leadership of a struggle against imperialist war to a Winter reached the pinnacle of Stalin- out a genuine Leninist program for re- man like Rolland, however eminent, is to build a movement on a slope at the end of which lies defeat.—S.

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Arne Swabeck

SATURDAY AUGUST 20, 1932 Vol. V., No. 34 (Whole No. 130) eign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy.

Hillman «Leads» the New York Amalgamated in a Stoppage tional Committee" of the Barbusse-Stalin-Rolland Committee, we find the name of

(Continued from page 1)

placed in circulation among the local have been utilizing the situation created unions calling for a special state con- by the economic crisis to justify the pol- breaking this combination, smashing the vention to abrogate the put-over agree- icies of betrayal they have been pursu- Hillman bureaucratic machine and thus the struggle, to create the possibility for jingoist mob that drove the proletariat ment, and, as inevitably must follow, ing in all these years. They have been releasing their own organized forces in decisive success and for real resistance into the trenches for the greater glory to clean out the traitorous officials. throwing sand in the eyes of the members the struggle for better conditions. Meanwhile John L. Lewis is doing his bit and the general public, covering up the for the operators sending proclamations fact that their present concessions to Left wing must be turned in this directive above-mentioned position unless insight into the political and social outto the miners' locals that "picketing and the employers are only a link in the long tion. mass meetings must cease", and that op- chain of betrayals which they began to position leaders are to be penalized. In practise several years before the crisis under the control of the Communist this he is in complete accord with the had set in. They want the tailors to Party (the Rank and File Committee) agencies of the capitalist forces, includ- forget all the crimes up till now and to has up to now not made clear its tasks the tailors and the active participation war: ing the government. It is reported that allow themselves to be caught by the in the Amalgamated. It continues to of the Left wingers who march in the the young militant leader Gerry Allard new swindle which the present stoppage

What do the above-mentioned demands

Hillman's Points

The point about stopping wage-cuts is will be bitterly disappointed.

The other two points on stopping the The history of the Illinois coal fields exodus of bundles to sweat-shops and the is replete with rank and file revolts re-establishment of union control over dating back to the days of the Verdin labor conditions in the shops, do not battle and even farther. Here was often have the same significance to Hillman as found the backbone of the fight to they have for the general public. To break the stranglehold of John L. Lewis him, union control means an agreement upon the union. But this is yet an un- with the bosses to collect dues and asfinished task because of the various ways sessments from the workers and not unin which the miners were time and again ion conditions in the shops. Such agreeswitched off the path by their resistance ments have been made by him with manubeing insufficiently organized, by leader- facturers and employers in numerous ship which faltered in the decisive mo- towns around New York. The conditions This is the best means of unmasking the situation. Will it apply the proper tac black tyranny of this imperialist threat. ments or by other groups of corrupt ele-there are just as rotten as in the nonments capitalizing on the situation leav-union shops. But for the tailors, he ing the miners to suffer new disillusion-) seeks to create the impression that he aims to keep the work inside genuine In the above is contained a serious union shops. This is how he practises

The true aim of Hillman's call for the standard of living are in progress a little more sustenance for the impov- real estate sharks and landlords, etc. also in the Indiana coal fields and the erished bureaucrats. This is the aim of etc. In the above is conatined a serious man is concerned. The near future will order-provided they are linked up cor-

A Vicious Combination

Hillman's machine supports itself upor It, is yet time, however, to make good the Clothiers' Exchange, the Contractors very serious duty to perform for the combination brings in enormous profits,

when it is working harmoniously, for | We greeted this new step of the Rank

In the present hour, the tactics of the coming days will find the Left wing in

The Left wing in the Amalgamated, swing between the tactic of isolation of front ranks and were the only ones to

policy that there should be no participaion". Although the old policy has been changed, the Left wing has stood on tive without the vigilance of the ranks. the side-lines, ridiculing and disparaging any real activity in the A. C. W. This attitude gained them the result that the tailors regard them as light-minded! recent years.

The Rank and File Committee

continues on the lines drawn by the

speedy preparations are made.

the "Third Period" and the recently al- receive blows at the hands of the police, of the war dispute could be written. tered new tactic which is far from being have already had a certain effect upon clear and comprehensible to the broad the bureaucrats and their assistants. Thus, they have been compelled to make Up to the present stoppage, the Rank a number of settlements without wage- heard repeated again and again by every and File Committee has adhered to the cuts. Coming from Hillman, this is "too statesman of importance in every allied good to be true". The previous wage- country, to defeat and destroy military cuts conceded by him cannot but press imperialism, to make the world safe forheavily upon the present settlements. rendering them temporary and ineffec-

Possibilities for Left wing

babblers. Their influence among the Will the party come to the aid of the world. That is our great aim. Whattailors has considerably diminished in Rank and File Committee with the sup- ever other objects may be sought in this port so essential at the moment?

In the present stoppage, the Rank and dustry is highly serious. The struggle one can say in fact this is our sole File Committee has adopted a different there is no less important than it is else- aim, our other aims being but parts of position. It has made the decision to where. Until now it has been the weak- it. Better that millions should die now, participate in the picket lines together est point of the Left wing. The party, we declare, than that hundreds of milwith the other tailors and to seek to con- with its false tactics, bears a large mea- lions still unborn should go on living, vert the stoppage into a genuine strike sure of responsibility for the present generation after generation, under the Hillman bureaucracy and smashing its tics to the very end, and help to build "There is our common agreement. So

plans in the stoppage, to strengthen the up a genuine Left wing movement in the far at any rate we are united. The influence of the Left wing in the Amal- A. C. W.? It now has the opportunity to question I would put the reader is this:

The Opposition and N.Y. «United Front» Unemployment Confab gressive program, failed utterly. But the bankruptcy. For weeks and months, ployed Council of New York under the discarded but still living god. Relief, any ent from those which the moveresults in both of these instances is to be the officials have received no salaries. direction of the Communist party at the kind of relief, was the note of the con- ment has been struggling to carry accounted for in large measure by the The bosses are seeking to evade the pay- Manhattan Lyceum, August 15 "to work ference. This is not a new development out. As these are contained in failure of the Left wing under the official ment of unemployment (?) insurance, out a plan to further advance the fight of the party's efforts to build a move their entirety in the Draft Program of party leadership to penetrate these The work sent out of New York slips for immediate relief and unemployment ment or relief from the crisis. It is only the Unemployed Councils we will deal movements and its subsequent complete into new shops, out of town, not under insurance" was a pure brew of opportune the latest phase of the opportunist turn with them next week. Here it is necesisolation.

Now the Illinois miners are marching again. The deepseated discontent is sent stoppage Hillman hopes to tighten again flaring into a mighty flame. Ten- up the machine, oil it and put it into fakery of the relief agencies, the colacious struggles against the lowering of faster operation, in order to squeeze out lusion of the city government with the

> the present stoppage in so far as Hill- In themselves these exposures are in which led to the sudden stoppage after working class and the Communists. This ence made it impossible to distinguish the ideological approach of the conference from a Left wing socialist meet

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

Insurance Relegated Even unemployment insurance was re-

legated to the background. It was men-

The difference lies in the fact that this showed, had a programmatic character, L. unions. In short Winter left us stand-The National Committee of the Unem- ing exactly where we were, marking time sued a "Proposed Draft Program of Winters, big and little, cannot lead us. Fighting Methods and Organization Forms of the Unemployed Councils." Whereas before the party pursued its the party press it is now definitely committed to a program opportunistic through and through. We will return to this program in the next issue. Time is needed to plough through the swamp and reduce it to its opportunist elements.

The conference was a model of bursmoothly on all six cyclinders of mechanical control and ideological oil. The conference was opened by Winter who in ple fear and hate the Left Opposition! | means the unrelenting revolutionary the name of the arrangement committee nominated Wiseman, organizer of the Unnights in memory.

correct policy of the party. He also smashed their way through all obstacles. subcribed to the Stalinist article of

tion on September 10 which the conference was called to organize, from "Bread Parade" to "Relief March". The reason? Shades of Marx and Lenin! Said Winter: This is not to be just another demonstraist pap any more palatable.

The tasks which Winter imposed

The "conference" called by the Unem-1 tioned only by way of obeisance to a the movement were no whit differ-

was thrown open for discussion. The opportunistic way by twists and turns in procedure was amazingly simple. The hand a slip of paper bearing the name asy to the U.S.S.R. of Lenin", eaucratis machine control. It ran of the delegate and his organization— writes Rolland, "and I say to the Asia was beautifully simple. How these peo- count on me!" Lenin is a name which

It will help them nothing. From such employed Council. Attempts to make other bureaucratic stultification can come nothnominations were ignored and Wiseman ing but confusion. No serious worker rode into the chairmanship on a wave can learn anything more about his proof "ayes". Wiseman introduced the main blems from such spectacles, then he can reporter, Winter, "who will speak for from the Corpus Christi processions of forty minutes". Winter consumed an the Roman Catholic Church. What the hour and a half of one of the hottest Stalinists must be made to realize is that the ideas of Marxian-Leninism, cannot He outlined the fakery of the relief be stifled by bureaucratic machines in agencies, the collusion of the city gov- the Stalinist era any more than they ernment with the landlords in evicting were by the corrupt and degenerate soworkers; he spoke much of "our" fail- cial democratic bureaucracies in the ure to embrace masses of workers but days when the Leninist tactics of the failed to explain its causes in the in- Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky

We will yet throw down the wall that faith, that the line is correct, benedictum separates us from the party rank and file. We will, together with them, work ist theory and logic in explaining that lief from the crisis. It will be a revthe arrangement committee some time olutionary program from which every means a crushing defeat of the working prior to the convening of the conference vestige of opportunism will be rooted

Due to extreme technical difficulties Young Spartacus, the youth organ of March 3, 1879. tion limited to our members and sym-the Left Opposition, was compelled to decision lies in the hands of our German pathizers shouting the same slogan for omit its August issue. The next issue relief and unemployent insurance. It is will of course appear in September. This the correct decision. We must show our to be a march of workers already strug- will be the first issue of the 8-page Young genuine solidarity with it in its hour of gling for relief. We are going to indic- Spartacus, and will appear with a new Martin Abern ate that we are going to carry on con- and more attractive mast head. Because crete struggles in every flop house of the doubling of the number of pages, The words and music ae only too fam- new features and richer content, more iliar to our readers. Winter's little and better articles are promised by its quirk did not make this sort of Stalin- editorial committee. Bundle orders and subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; forsubscriptions should be sent in immedi

Pappas Appeals for a United Front Against Hitlerism in Germany

(Continued from page 1) against the advances of the Brown

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

For a United Front

The situation cries aloud for action What is imperative is that our German brother party adopt the policy of Lenin, the policy of the united front. Against

I the Bolsheviks made a united front with American proletariat to their internaof restraining their followers from strug- the Mensheviks and Social Revolution tional duties just as we awakened them gle and from unity with the Communists ists. By this means, Kornilov was in the early days of the Russian Revcrushed, the Mensheviks and S. R.s were olution. The party comrades here must weakened and the Bolsheviks enormously raise the demand: an immediate discusstrengthened, and the door was opened sion of the burning problems of the Gerdirectly for the revolutionary victory in man situation in their units and in the October. The same problem confronts trade unions. Civil war has broken out sit, but the execution poor. German Bolshevism today. The party and we must act before it is too late! there must make a radical and frank turn in its policy. It must make an open demand for a united front to the Social Democratic party, the socialist trade class of the world and a direct threat had changed the name of the demonstra-out. unions and the Reichsbanner—a united to the life of the Soviet Union! front to crush the Fascist monster, to stamp it out before it reaches power. A unified proletariat can accomplish this new era of revolutionary struggles and aim without great difficulty. The inter- triumphs throughout the entire world! ests of the proletarian revolution, the fate of the Communist International. hang upon the achievement in the speediest possible time of this objective.

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

Comrades! Days count now where months counted before. We Communists in America have our part to play. We must help our German comrades tread the danger of Kornilov's putsch in 1917, the correct road. We must awaken the August 1, 1932.

Remember, comrades: The victory of Fascism in Germany

The victory of the proletariat of Germany over Fascism means opening of a

We still have time left to choose. The brother party! We must help it make need-right now.

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

Fraternally.

The Only Road

Bonapartism and Fascism

An Analysis of the Present Moment in the German Situation

(Continued from page 1) rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate ment of their domination. Yet this is testing), are incapable of commanding a at times to dig his boots into his face. bound up with convulsions, with the nation of sixty-five millions, torn by the ing would hold on until the final solution. Yet, in the course of events, and ism, as the Italian example shows, leads in the interplay of forces, and not the other link inserted itself: the Papen in the end to a militarist-bureaucratic decisive one. government. Were we to be exact, we dictatorship of the Bonapartist type. should have to make a rectification of But for that it requires a number of our old designation: the Bruening government was a pre-Bonapartist government. Bruening was only a precursor. In a perfected form, Bonapartism came upon the scene in the Papen-Schleicher

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

BRUENING AND THE BUREAUCRACY

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

The Bruening government bore a clerical-bureaucratic-police character. The Reichswehr still remained in remarks impersonal cutting point of great his its own workers for the role of a healts upon capitalism but upon Communism. Next to the police, the "Iron Front" torical forces. Its independent weight in Hitler's locomotive,—then in this gase in defense of its actions against the served as a direct prop of Order. It is next to nil. Therefore it could do only the unconcealed extra-parliament- Zurich workers, the social is precisely in wiping out the dependence nothing but take fright at its own ges- ary road remains. A combination with- writes: of the "Iron Front" that lay the essence of the Hindenburg-Papen coup d'Etat. The Generality moves up automatically to first place.

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

Unfortunately, however, the Communist party has also been taken completely by surprise by the events. The Stalthat? At first they contended that Reichswehr in no way represents a sub-"counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" could hands of that group of people at whose speak of it as something in the future. Now it turns out that to pass over from Bruening to Papen-for the present not to Hitler but only to Papen—a whole "coup d'Etat" was necessary. Yet the class content of Severing, Bruening and Hitler, these sages taught us, is "one and the same thing." Then whence and wherefore the coup d'Etat?

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

FINISHING OFF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The less prepared the workers were, the more the appearance of the Papen government on the scene had to arouse the impression of strength: complete ignoring of the parties, new emergency decrees, dissolution of the Reichstag, tion which brought on the last world pressive measures, state of seige in war and now has developed to greater the capital, abolition of the Prussian proportions, endangering the proletariat permanent revolution has nothing in "Democracy". And with what ease! A of the world and the Soviet Union. The lion you kill with a shot; the flea you real solution of this problem can be which on the basis of the October revsquash between the fingernails; social had only on the basis of the proletarian democratic ministers are finished off world revolution. with a fillip.

Only, in spite of the appearance of concentrated forces, the Papen govern- of the American imperialists, to which ment "as such" is weaker yet than its predecessor. The Bonapartist regime can attain a comparatively stable and durable character only in the event that it of a more menacing character. Each brings a revolutionary epoch to a close; delay in "solving" the question of the rewhen the relationship of forces has al- division of the earth enlarges the proready been tested in battles; when the spects of the extension of the October revolutionary classes are already spent revolution, of the social revolution. On while the possessing classes have not yet the other hand, each step toward the let us follow the process of the class freed themelves from the fear: will not "solution" of the problem of the redivithe morrow bring new convulsions? sion of the earth sets into motion the Without this basic condition, that is, forces of the social revolution. This American imperialism. without a preceding exhaustion of the clearly reveals the present stage of capmass energies in battles, the Bonapartist italism as the decay stage. regime is in no position to develop.

barons, the magnates of capital and the imperialists by obtaining markets, by tionary theory there can be no revolubankers have undertaken the attempt to establishing Fascism in Germany, by tion." In 1917, Lenin and Trotsky filled the middle of the 19th century, by Marx secure their weal by means of the police smashing the Soviet Union is possible. this formula with reality by applying and his adherents, in opposition to the and the regular army. The idea of giv- A lease of life for capitalism depends the theory of the Permanent Revolution democratic ideology which, as is known, ing up all power to Hitler, who sup- as much upon the action or rather, in- to the weakest link in the capitalist presumed that all questions should be ports himself upon the raging and unleashed bands of the petty bourgeoisie, is far from a pleasant one to them. They perialists. do not, of course, doubt that in the long

run Hitler will be a submissive instru- steeled they may be (which still requires It might have been assumed that Bruen- risk of a long and weary civil war profoundest social antagonisms. The and great expenses. To be sure, Fasc- Reichswehr represents only one element years even in the event of a complete uation in the country which has led to many than in Italy. It is clear that the ment without a majority, with irreconpossessing classes would prefer a more cilable wings, offers an obvious and irreeconomical path, that is, the path of futable argument in favor of dictatorspeak of the fact that Schleicher him- ocracy emerge in all their obviousness. self prefers it that way.

of the Papen government consists in the ary arithmetic that decides. What deneutralization of the irreconcilable cides is the struggle. camps, in no way signifies, of course, PROSPECTS FOR that the forces of the revolutionary pro- TOMORROW letariat and of the reactionary petty

present day. WHAT PAPEN REPRESENTS

ticulations and grow dizzy from the out the Center would more easily and voids arising on all sides of it. By this speedily insure the predominance of the and only by this is to be explained that National-Socialists. If the latter do not now there have been two parts of cow-the same time do not pass over to the ardice to each part of audacity. With immediate assault, then the Bonapartist Prussia. that is, the social democracy, character of the government will have to the government played a sure game: it knew that these gentlemen would offer no resistance. But after it had dissolved the Reichstag, it summoned new elections proclaiming the state of martial law, to facilitate the capitulation without a

However, isn't there a Reichswehr? designated the state of the armed de- to fulfill this task? That depends not ich social democracy. tachments of people with material auxiinist bureaucracy was unable to foresee liaries in the form of prisons, etc. With a thing. Today Thaelmann, Remmele respect to the present governmental and others speak on every occasion of power, it can even be said that the "the coup d'Etat of July 20." How is Reichswehr alone really exists. But the Fascism is already here and that only missive and guaranteed instrument in the

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

But with all its preponderance over the government, the Reichswehr can nevertheless lay no claim to any independent political role. A hundred thousand soldiers, no matter how fused and

In its fashion, the new Reichswehr does not reflect baldly the political sitvictory: a longer span of years in Ger- the Bonapartist experiment. The parlia-Schleicher and not of Hitler, not to ship. Once more the confines of dem-Where it is a question of the foundations The fact that the source of existence of society itself, it is not parliament-

bourgeoisie weigh equally on the scale afar what road the attempts at formthe revolutionary way out for the work- would signify the "legalization" of the talism do not fell them beforehand. ers. With a correct leadership of the seizure of power by the National-Socialproletariat, Fascism would be extermin- ists, that is, the most suitable cloak for to Fascism.

> emerge more sharply: von Schleicher would have his "hundred days" . .

without the preceding Napoleonic years. Hundred days-no, we are figuring far too generously. The Reichswehr does not decide. Schleicher does not suffice. The only upon the evil will of Fascism, but also upon the pevolutionary will of the to the overthrow of bourgeois society, proletariat.

-L. TROTSKY. Prinkipo, August 2, 1932.

> READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

etter to the Workers of Zuric In the night of the 15th of June, violent encounters took place in Zurich be Trotsky Replies to a Calumny the minutes the following extract from my reply:

tween the workers and the police. I learned of these events from the cables of the bourgeois press agencies, which were, consequently, very tendencious and hostile to the workers. But even without knowing the details, it is not very difficult to get a general idea of the character of these events. Encounters between workers, especially striking workers or the jobless, and the police are abundant in the whole history of capitalism. The present terrible crisis which is revealing all the rottenness of the capitalist system is stretching the neryous tension of the bourgeoisie to the extreme and is driving it to make use of the police and the army at the slightest alarm. On the other hand, the very just indignation of the workers against the bourgeoisie is growing and is seeking a way out. No matter what political tendency was heading the strike and tha demonstration at Zurich, the character We shall not undertake to counsel from same. Capitalism has reduced the workers to starvation, to misery, to despair. of history. The whole question shifts ing a government will take in the next Capitalism is throwing them out into the chased out the parasites from their palhere onto the field of politics. Through days. Our hypotheses would come streets. Capitalism is beating them down the mechanics of the "Iron Front" the tardily in any case, and besides, it is by armed force. The lackeys of the them, deprived the exploiters of their cause: the social democracy cannot pose social democracy paralyzes the proletar- not the possible transitional forms and capitalist press calumniate the workers iat. With the policy of brainless ultim- combinations which decide the question. and the capitalist judges condemn the and the weapons in the hands of the its leaders themselves serve the capitalist. atism the Stalinist bureaucracy blocks A bloc of the Right wing with the Center "leaders" to jail if the bullets of capi-

This was the simple and obvious explanation I gave, far from Zurich, to the ated without difficulty and not a chink the Fascist coup d'Etat. What relation- events of June 15 and 16. Today, on could remain open for Bonapartism. Un- ships would develop in the early days June 25, I have received from friends a fortunately that is not the situation. The between Hitler, Schleicher and the Cen- leaflet issued by the "Socialist Party paralyzed strength of the proletariat has ter leaders, is more important for them of Zurich" entitled "Settling Accounts assumed the deceptive form of a than it is for the German people. Polit- with the Communists.'. In this docu-"strength" of the Bonapartist clique. ically, all the conceivable combinations ment the Zurich Social Democracy, Therein lies the political formula of the with Hitler signify the distolution of which is running the municipality in bureaucracy, courts, police and army in- that town, attempts to vindicate itself of all responsibility for the repression If it is assumed that the Center will against the strikers and the demonstratnot agree to a coalition, in which is orn. According to this document, the The Papen government represents the would have to pay with a rapture with that of the conflict is incumbent not

"Lenin and Trotsky, in similar situations, were severe against all the ultrain the deeds of the government up to immediately unite with Papen and at Left syndicalists of the anarchist tend-

all the putschists."

This leaslet has instigated me to adiress myself by means of the present letter to the Zurich workers. It is the aim of the present letter to denounce this calumny. Lenin and myself have more than one been the objects of calumny. You doubtless know that we it hastened to explain: It is only in order extra-parliamentary dictatorship of the were even accused of being in the ser Junkers and the magnates of financial vice of the German general staff. Never capital can be stood firmly on its feet theless I have never known a more menonly by the method of a wearisome and dacious and a baser calumny than the We are not inclined to forget it. Engels relentless civil war. Will Hitler be able one cast on us by the leaflet of the Zur- as long as the classes continue to exist.

> The whole life of Lenin was dedicated of its state, its privileges, its laws, its justice, its police, its prisons and its

of the Social Democrats

and continue to serve in so far as my forces permit me, the cause of the emancipation of the working class.

-But the Soviet power, the Messrs.

Social Democratic journalists will reply, didn't it employ measures of reprisal against the anarchists of the Left Social Revolutionists who attempted to organize an insurrection? To be sure! But the difference lies precisely in this—an insignificant difference, isn't it, comrades, workers?--that with us it was a matter rection (1917) by means of which the ed gentry and the officers who attempted previously organized the October insurproletariat overthrew the bourgeoisie, of the bloody encounter is one and the took possession of its banks and factor ies, confiscated the land of the rural gentry and turned it over to the peasants. aces and put up the workers' children in employs this violence. And for good voting rights, concentrated the power this question openly and honestly, since workers and thus guarded the first pro- ist regime. In the petty local questions, letarian state against its enemies. It is the secondary ones, for example—the precisely therein that the regime of the municipal questions, the social democracy proletarian dictatorship consists. Yes we have defended this regime effectively with guns in hand. For its defense we created the Red Army. Social democracy of the entire world condemned us and hurled all sorts of curses on our heads. The German social democracy supported the Hohenzollerns who tried to strangle the Soviet republic. But the Bolsheviks did not allow themselves to be strangled. With an iron fist they defended the side of the exploiters. It has once more workers' state. The domestic enemies of the proletarian dictatorship were the bourgeoisie divested of their rights, the bourgeois officers and students, gentlemen of the type of Conradi who assasdemocracy sinated my friend Vorovsky. The Russian social democrats (the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists) directly and indirectly supported this struggle against the workers' state. In all inency. They pitilessly crushed in blood stances in which they rose against it with guns in hand, we treated them without mercy.

But the Zurich social democracy is deceiving you when it refers to Lenin against the workers rising against the sure, in both instances. Wherever the struggle, in the last analysis, we always sorted to. This will always be the case But the whole question is determined by what class exercises the violence.

At one of the sessions of the Brest-Litovsk conference, on January 14, 1918. General Hoffman, the actual head of the army. How then can anyone employ the German General Staff on the Eastern name of Lenin to justify the reprisals of Front, protested against the violence emthe bourgeoisie against the workers. I ployed by the Soviet governmet. I take agent of the class enemy. The social also protest against the utilization of the occasion to quote verbatim from

my reply: "The honorable general has remarked that our government rests on force and employs violence against all those who my name because during the thirty-five profess adverse ideas which are stigmayears of my conscious life I have served tized as counter-revolutionary. The honorable general is absolutely correct when he says that our government rests on force. Up to the present, history has not known any other type of government. As long as society will be composed of classes engaged in struggle, the state will inevitably be an arm of compulsion. and will make use of a coercive apparatus . . . That, in our actions, which astonishes and outrages the governments of other countries—is the fact that we arrest not the strikers but the capitalists who lock out the workers, the fact a proletarian state. The Bolsheviks had that we do not shoot down the peasants who demand the land but arrest the landto shoot down the peasants."

> The leaders of the Zurich democracy have not gone any further tha General Hoffman in so far as they speak of violence without defining the class which attempts to bargain with capitalism for the workers, in order to maintain its authority among them. But wherever it is a matter of the fundamental interest of the capitalist order and of private property, the very foundations of the exploitation of man by man, there the social democracy, in Switzerland, in Germany, in Austria, in France and in the entire world, invariably takes the demonstrated this in a striking fashion by the June events in Zurich.

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

The Theory of Permanent Revolution and American Imperialism | must be smashed. The October revolution must be extended. The iron ring of the world capitalists, (with the back-

National Reformism

ating position in the world chain of capitalism ever since the world war. Prior to the world war American capitalism struggled to obtain this position. Now other capitalist nations. This new posithe United States in the maintenance of

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

The solution of this contradiction is not possible under the rule of the American capitalists or any other capitalists. At the bottom, it is the same contradic-

The imperialist struggle for the rediva other problems are subordinated. But within this imperialist problem there is contained another contradiction

The American imperialists are as garia, in Germany in 1923 and in China, garded the bourgeois revolution as the 1931.

the American imperialists must wage a much concerned with the world revolu- but all were drowned in the workers' constant struggle to maintain and extend tion as the Communists are, but for op- blood. Weak links and favorable obthis power against the onslaughts of the posite reasons. Therefore, the interven- jective situations but-wrong policies. tion of the U.S. dollar, for economic tion places greater responsibilities upon or military purpose, to hold in check the October revolution has been a major task of the American Imperialists since 1917. The danger of the extension of the October revolution is a life and death matter for world capitalism and the United States representing the dominating factor. This compels Wall Street to pro- tion of the theory of the Permanent ceed in a fashion altogether contrary to Revolution. Stalinism as a bud and now Therein lies the permanent character of In Russia with Lenin and Trotsky, the

the 19th century. The burning question of the capitalproblem of the proletariat. Our problem is the understanding and application of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. Theirs—the defeat of the Per manent Revolution.

The word permanent, like the word dialectic or imperialism or a whole series of other words are used in the political sense and not in the bourgeois dictionary sense. The theory of the common with the old Bucharin concept, olution, estimates that a mounting wave of revolutions, one right on top of the other, would sweep capitalism from the ision of the earth is the central problem earth in one straight line. The theory of the Permanent Revolution does not donsider as "permanent", the time element in the series of revolution. The theory of the Permanent Revolution considers the development of the revolution from country to country, in their interrelationship, regardless of ebbs and flows, PERMANENT until the class problems of the proletariat are SOLVED. struggle, explaining the meaning of the

The most important Marxian concept to-

The vanguard fighters already know the role social democracy played in these revolutions. It is the task of the Left Opposition to explain the role Stalinism played in these revolutions since 1923. as the flower of the reaction against the social revolution as such." October did not then, nor does it now, understand the theory of the Permanent ists is the opposite side of the burning Revolution. Stalinism has merely usurped the heritage of the October Revolution, which is the first fruit of the

> theory of the Permanent Revolution. There are reasons for the one success- principle, but a theoretical and political ful revolution and the many failures reflection of the character of world eco that followed. The determining factor nomy, of the world development of proin the problem was not the objective ductive forces, and the world scale of tion through the Dawes Plan and then condition which was the most favorable, the class struggle. The social revoluthe Young Plan. And likewise, in every but the vanguard and its policies or lack tion begins on national grounds. But it other revolutionary situation, the world of policies. The major defeats of the cannot be completed on these grounds." capitalists intervened at the start but proletariat and the Communist vanguard "In an isolated proletarian dictator- were only successful to the degree that commenced with the 1923 revolution in ship, the internal and external contradic the policies of the vanguard deviated Germany. Up to that time the Russian tions grow inevitably together with the from Marxism, from the theory of the revolution under the leadership of Lenin growing successes. Remaining isolated, Permanent Revolution. Correct theory and Trotsky was consolidating itself, the proletarian state must finally bethe International was building a world come a victim of these contradictions. party, and the workers were in motion The way out for it lies only in the vicagainst world capitalism. Upon the de- tory of the proletariat of the advanced feat of the 1923 revolution the American countries. Viewed from this standpoint, dollar propped up decay capitalism, and the national revolution is not a self-suf-Stalinism replaced Marxism in the Com- ficient whole! it is only a link in the inmunist International. The theory of ternational chain. The international revsocialism in one country replaced the olution presents a permanent process in fight accordingly. Today we have another theory of the Permanent Revolution, na- spite of all fleeting rises and falls."* tional reformism replaced international-

The theory of the Permanent Revolu-Permanent Revolution and its relation to tion may be outlined in the following manner: "First, it embraces the problem of the transition of the democratic revday, repeated by Stalinism in dead form olution into the socialist. This is really Although a solution for capitalism is but not understood in living reality, is the historic origin of the theory. The Through the Papen government, the not possible, a breathing spell for some the Lenin formula, "Without a revolu- conception of the permanent revolution was set up by the great Communists of action of the proletarian vanguard as it chain. Other weak links of the capital settled peacefully, in the reformist or does upon the action of the leading im- ist chain followed, in Italy, in Germany evolutionary way, by the erection of the 1918, in Hungary, in Finland, in Bul- 'rational' or democratic state. Marx re- The Permanent Revolution, New York, ent Revolution.

The United States has held the domin- The Conflict Between Proletarian Internationalism and Stalinist direct introduction to the proletarian

"The second aspect of the 'permanent' theory already characterizes the socialist revolution as such. For an indefinitely particularly the economic pressure of long time and in constant internal struggle all social relations are transformed. The process necessarily retains a political character, that is, it develops through hands of world capitalism in their fight collisions of various groups of society in transformation. Outbreaks of Civil War and foreign wars alternate with per- italists on the "weak link". The interiods of 'peaceful' reforms. Revolutions History will look to Stalinism for an in economy, technique, science, the famanswer. And the question can only be ily, morals and usages develop in com- becomes effective when the vanguard of answered upon the basis of the applica- plicated reciprocal action and do not the proletariat does not present a policy allow society to reach an equilibrium. based on a Marxian revolutionary theory.

> social revolution which constitutes the vention. But the non-Marxian revoluthird aspect of the theory of the per- tionary theory of Stalinism, for a series manent revolution, results from the state of revolutions, since 1923 did not enable of economy and social structure of hu- the proletariat to hold in check the counmanity. Internationalism is no abstract ter-offensive of the imperialists.

What is the relation of American imperialism to this theory, or to be more exact, the continuation of the Russian one country. A theory which stifles and revolution to the world revolution? The checks the action of the Communist United States as the strongest link of parties in the struggle to extend the world capitalism struggles to prevent the October revolution. proletarian revolution from absorbing the world, no matter where the civil war means to understand the relation of Ambreaks out. World capitalism, which in-erican Imperialism to world capitalism cludes American Imperialism as the and world economy. To extend the Octdynamo of the system of reaction, in- ober revolution means to reject the Staltervenes in every class struggle between inist revisionist theory of socialism in the exploiters and exploited.

The weak links of the capitalist chain

* All quotations from L. D. Trotsky,

ing of the American dollar) around the Soviet Union must be broken. The extension of the October revolution means to fight, not only the national bourgeoisie, but to fight world capitalism and American imperialism.

The break-down of capitalism, in the economic and political crisis stays the against the world proletariat and the revolutionary workers fighting the capvention of the imperialists in support of correct revolutionary theory and action "The international character of the held at bay the world capitalist inter-

> Only after the defeat of the German revolution in 1923 were the world imperialists successful in their intervenand correct action is no guarantee to victory but only through the Marxian policy and action can the proletariat gain power.

> American imperialism in its "peace role" stands as the bulwark against the extension of the October revolution. We expect nothing else from America and problem. Stalinism is a new growth of revisionism, poisoning the Marxian stream with the theory of socialism in

> To extend the October revolution, one country and all that flows from it. To extend the October revolution means in the first place, to arm the vanguard with the Marxian theory of the Perman-