WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

MILITA

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Unite on May 1st Against World Reaction!

Red Baiting in Illinois

In recent days, the reactionary were disorganized and defeated by ing to work up a "red scare" in time for the real militants, who inquiries from its readers and closure notice; the landlord served yet been rebuilt. We are still fac-Having failed to break the magni- their shoulders in struggle and an issue. No one, and least of all per company cut off our credit; the loss of our home. the Progressive Miners Union. ficent movement of the progressive miners by frontal attack, the coal experiences with Walker, Howat, operators have decided to supplement the physical terror of the state forces and the Lewis gangsters with a campaign of ideological terror within the union. They have developed a great solicitude about the political opinions of some of the leading miners in the union especially Gerry Allard. And with their well-known concern for the welfare of the miners they are warning them to get rid of him and all others whom they identify as Communists or class struggle militants. They are saying in effect to the miners: "We have nothing against you as coal diggers. As a matter of fact, in that capacity you are necessary for the production of our profits. What we object to is the fact that you have broken with the Lewis unionism, which suited us to perfection, and have begun to fight fection, and have begun to fight for your rights. If you will give Russian Movie; up this idea and stop listening to people who stir up the spirit of class militancy and resistance, we will be satisfied. In other words if you will transform 'yourselves into speep, we will eat you up and then we will have peace together.

The attack on Allard as a Communist, conducted in sensational articles in the "Taylorville Breeze" and other organs of the big interests, is obviously a part of the general campaign of reaction against the Progressive Miners. The object of the "red scare" is to discredit the union before public opinion and thus to prepare the ground for more terroristic aggression, to intimidate the membership and consolidate the conservative Right wing in the union (the 20 years of Russia life. concealed agents of Lewisism, and to drive the official leadership of the union at a faster pace on the path of conservatizing the organization. If they can succeed with union from within, then the Progressive Miners' organization as olutionists; the rise of the Bola center of resistance to the capitalists and an inspiration to the

The Enemy's Aim

The game of the operators and their agents is an old one. And film of the historic Russian revoluthere is only one way to meet it, tion. as all experience has shown. That is to assert the independence of the union. To reject all advice the New York Branch of the Comoffered to it by the class enemy. munist League of America. (Op-The union will not thrive and position). The Committee in charge pays out. grow by conciliating the bosses, by capitulating to their ideology, to the Film Club members that "domesticating" the union and they must obtain their SUBSCRIPmaking it acceptable to the bosses. TION TICKETS IN ADVANCE, if This is what the bosses want. This is what they are aiming at with the new Communist hunt. To under- no tickets can be obtained at the stand this and to fight against it is the elementary duty of the leading elements in the union, including Allard and the other individuals under attack.

But the response made to the attack in the "Progressive Miner" up till now does not in the least indicate an understanding of this strength of the enemy and underestimating the inner resources of the progressive miners' movement, as is always the case with "progressives" of all hues, they are gress Organization committee of cial democratic leadership (Hill-out a temporary agreement with as is always the case with "progressives of all hues, they are gress Organization committee of quit! O'Neal! Lee! et al.) decided trying to counter the brutal offen. New York United Front Free Tom quit! O'Neal! Lee! et al.) decided French capital, This latter persive of the class enemy with a Mooney Conference established that to withhold approval of the Chic-"clever" strategy of camouflage the course of the Stalinists in their ago Congress. By this they deliand capitulation. They seek to ward back-door bargaining with the So-berately sabotaged the movement off the attack-by denying the cialist party failed to bring the for Mooney's release. "charges" of any Communistic in- latter into the movement. Palmer The Committee's Statement on S. P. fluence in the union. Thus, by im- reported that on Thursday, April ency toward class struggle milit- negotiations committee that the ancy, which is what the bosses N. E. C. of the S. P. had decided Communism. Thus they lay the Congress. ground for the proscription not only of Communists but of all class lowed himself to fall in with this worthless strategy.

The class conscious members in the progressive miners' movement have to recognize the real purpose unionism of Lewis and, eventually, letter of which several copies must ly where it belongs—on the S. P.

sacrifice, to remember the bitter the small staff which struggles with and a number of other people dunand Edmondson and to say to all the leading forces in the new movement: "Nobody can lead us again onto this slippery path which leads to demoralization and defeat."

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

The present trend, however, is in this direction. The course of the official leadership over a considerable period now has been to seek "stabilization" of the union at the expense of its class struggle character. The negotiations and proposed agreement with Governor Horner, the ban on the demonstrations for the Taylorville prisoners, the new wage contract-in all these, and in a number of other important questions, the course of (Continued on Page 4)

May 6th,8 p.m.

Trotsky and other leaders of the

Comintern—this and more is to be

seen in this outstanding factual

The film is being shown under

of the details wishes to announce

they wish to view the film. This

is a limited, private showing and

Members, obtain your subscrip-

tion ticket at once at the head-

A fire burned up the keyboard. To repaired the press and linotype, tionalism, for the clarion of Marxheap Pelion on Ossa the press broke down. Just as these burdens were as before. A factory ninety per-

mountainous obstacles to get out ned us persistently.

the paper, has to be reminded of

in these times is, not merely a

time, but a political setback as

well. That is why the whole move-

ment watches the appearance of

is the reason. Our financial crisis

crisis of capitalism came to a

the Militant with such close

tention.

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

The prospects of inflation have up to a price above the present As announced in the previous issue of the Militant, a unique film been brought considerably closer market, and the redefinition of the a frightful picture of devastation of the Russian Revolution will be by two actions undertaken by gold dollar to mean a smaller of a once powerful revolutionary exhibited at a limited and private one showing on Saturday, May 6, 1933,

This film to be shown complete. The paper dollar international to be shown complete. The paper dollar international to be shown complete. This film to be shown complete ly, as well as nationally, from gold for the first time, reveals the actual and left it free to find its own maneuver of Roosevelt's under delivered the party, and with it and authentic pictures of all the level. The immediate result was pressure from the petty bourge the working class, gagged and and authentic pictures of all the a decline in the international price of the paper dollar to a discount bourgeoisie, terrined by the mili
The Socialist party is crifore, during and after the Russian of 16 percent, that is, an American tancy and direct action of the ra-Revolution, and covers a period of dollar became worth 84 cents in pidty developing Left wing of the 20 years of Russia life. any gold-standard currency such farmers' movement. The first test as the French, Dutch or Swiss, and of strength came in a bill for sildecade in the 20th century, from also in the English pound, which ver currency imitation, which was decade in the 20th century, from also in the highest pound, in the highest pound, in the highest pound and distillusionment and hope born the continued unions are beginning to feel the teeth, favored by a wave of unrest early Russia in Czarist in Czarist remained stable during this period defeated 43 to 33. The size of the Fascist lash. Many of their head- and disillusionment and hope born days through the death, of Lenin in relation to the gold currencies. minority and the continued agitaand the exile of Trotsky to Prin- Since then, the dollar has been risthis campaign of demoralizing the kipo; the July uprising; the Korling steadily, and as of April 28 Roosevelt to change his tactics, preparations are in full swing to capitalism, the organized forces of nilov movement; the Social Rev-

> sheviks; the role of Lenin and cents in gold. scenes of all the Russias; the \$131,000,000 than it paid against \$160,000,000 in 1931. This embargo and the speculative rise directly in gold. As long as the followed it; to be followed, in aclage and destroy are pierced by the favor of the United States, the ure put on the government by the ture chambers. The bestialities the auspices of the Film Club of dollar will tend to rise toward par, petty bourgeoisie, by as little con- which actually take place are inbecause it will tend to receive more cessions to their demand for in-describable. claims on the world's gold than it nation as practicable, the so-called

The gold embargo alone therepaper currency in comparison with rowing from the Federal Reserve Congress for legislation authorizing increased speculation in stocks and four different kinds of inflationquarters of the Communist League through bank credit; the issue of to obtain as much benefit or as unsecured greenbacks, the use of little loss as possible, in the domof America (Opposition), 126 East silver purchased in large quantities estic sphere. On the international

S.P. Sabotages Mooney Struggle

to drive it back into the Lewis camp. Now is the time to call to mind the tragic fate of the previous insurgent movements which and other objections of an equally vious insurgent movements which are considered by saying that taken by the gold embargo and the introduction of the four-way inflation bill, were considered by saying that taken by the gold embargo and the introduction of the four-way inflation bill, were constituted by saying that taken by the gold embargo and the introduction of the four-way inflation bill, were constituted by saying that taken by the march. The call asks all particular taken by the march.

The fourth session of the Con-Itrivial character, the sensitive so

Palmer went on to say that upon plication, they disavow any tend- 13, Clarence Senior informed the receiving this news, the negotiations committee decided to release a statement to the capitalist and a process of steady deflation, not of habeas corpus for two of the ment of the masses to greater really mean when they talk of not to approve the Chicago Mooney radical press summarizing the inflation at all. Since March 8, boys on various legal grounds. negotiations and stating the refus- the lowest point of the banking Our readers will remember that al of the S. P. to participate in the Chicago Congress. Palmer said the Chicago Congress. Palmer said the Chicago Congress. Palmer said the Chicago Congress and the struggle militants inside the union. And by that they concede the main Palmer of the Federated Press the C. P. L. A. Press include the reasons advanced by duced the total money in circula- in which we are fighting for the ers. And since the whole movedemands of the bosses. Allard and, as it is now revealed, Hath- the S. P. leaving it to them to do tion by over \$1,500,000,000, both de- democratic rights of the Negroes ment is being conducted under the too, who should know better, al- away and Stachel of the C. P. had so. The statement is unsatisfac- cidedly deflationary measures tend- and the unity of the black and banner of militant mass action been knocking on the back door of tory. It offers no analysis and ing to increase the value of paper white workers. In the forefront of which the whole working class the S. P., hat in hand, asking it certainly should have included the money in terms of bold, therefore the protest and defense movement knows, in this instance, to be the the S. P., hat in hand, asking it reasons advanced by the S. P. for participate in the Chicago Congress. The S. P. attacked the its refusal to participate in the Chicago Congress. Had this been dollar. The latest available fig. Congress in its press, delayed, laid Chicago Congress. Had this been ures, those for the week ending or this new attack of the class enemy on the ideological front. The operators and their tools have been unable to smash the movement in open struggle. Now they ment in open struggle. Now they are trying to demorphize the first wave of the statement in the operators and their tools have been unable to smash the movement would be more convincing even to the socialist workers. But it is something. It clearly shows that down ultimatist conditions and done the part played by the S. P. April 26, 1933, show that this dewrote a letter to Palmer in which something. It clearly shows that within, to rob it of the militancy he sharply criticized the course of efforts were made to draw the within, to rob it of the militancy which called it into life and sustained it in struggle—to purge it and objected to the present attitall of the sharply criticized the course of the sharply criticized the sharply criticized the sh tained it in struggle—to purge it and objected to the present atti-of those very qualities which have tude of the S. P. toward the Chic-to hills a united movement square. The three three three transfers of the struggle—to purge it land objected to the present atti-the responsibility for the failure that the demand for money is less the capital. With the entry of the first three transfers of the scene, the initiaor those very qualities which have true of the S. F. toward the Chief to build a united movement square—than the amount available for distinguished it from the corrupt ago Congress. A copy of this to build a united movement square—than the amount available for tive in organizing such a demonstrative in the contractive in organizing such a demonstrative in organizing such as demonstrative in organization or organization org build a united movement square of the square offer. Roosevelt's policies, up to stration passed into its hands. Palmer concluded by saying that the sharp turn taken by the gold Since then the Amsterdam News of the introduction of the introduction

pealing to them to help us in the diately-\$200. emergency. A mountain of correspondence had accumulated await the catastrophe and raise the nec Brown Shirt pest continues its But it could not be helped. Here ing postage. At this point let us essary sum—resolute sacrifice. The penetration of every club, of every say that even this form of assist- movement is straining itself to the street, of every home, Austria, a which has been deepening with the ance will be a great help in the limit. It calls now on all its small country but a tremendous increasing depth of the general circumstances. By almost unbelievable efforts,

Under these circumstances there

head last week with an accident which made our linotype useless. the situation remains as desperate tant! thrust on our shoulders our credit-cent completed is useless for pro-

scale, American inflation would

mean a loss of strategically advan-

tageous positions in the export of

capital, and would relatively

Inflation?—Rather Deflation!

rangemnts.

During the past week the Mili- hardest for payment. The linotpye necessary to insure the regular aptant received numerous, anxious company presented us with a fore-pearance of the Militant has not have carried the new movement on friends asking why it had to skip us with an eviction notice, the pa-

stration of their sympathy for the by straining every nerve and re ideas of the Left Opposition, for source to the breaking point we the ideas of revolutionary interna-They are working once more. But ism, the Militant. Save the Mili-

Air Mail! Wire! Rush funds immediately to THE MILITIANT, ors took it into their heads to press ductive purposes. The structure 126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.

Inflation Bill Deceptive Fascist Terror Rages Against

Fascist Germany presents today aimed blows. The Stalinist policy

The Socialist party is crippled cent, i. e., had risen from 84 to 92 have continued in bull-headed opcents in gold.

gans. All Communist and even social Democratic delegates are unwithout a struggle. In its dealings with other countries, in the exchange of commo- ance-capital as against all other factory councils and replaced by well as to the working class generally, will have become a thing of
the past.

The solution of Bolshevism; the Civil
dities, capital and services, the classes. Roosevelt's maneuver concils are not dissolved altogether
the past.

The solution of Bolshevism; the Civil
dities, capital and services, the classes. Roosevelt's maneuver concils are not dissolved altogether
the fact. Social democracy has

> fore does not constitute inflation, come necessary, finance-capital will the first serious act of treason which is a depreciation of the social democratic chieftains on August 4, 1914. This paper currency in comparison with banks, through depreciation of the thrown wide open by Roosevelt's second step, the demand from in the form of deposits, through depreciation of the later unbridled wrecking, the later unbridled wrecking in the form of deposits, through drowning in blood of the workers' the shelving of this duty for the second step, the demand from congress for legislation authorizing increased speculation in stocks and commodities to counterbalance losses in bank investments) so as Luvemburg the perfidious collaboration of this duty for the shelving of this duty for the utopian bureaugratic dream of "so-losses in bank investments) so as Luvemburg the perfidious collaboration in one country" that has Luxemburg, the perfidious collaboration in the restoration of capital-(Continued on Page 3)

It is simply unthinkable that these catastrophe will materialize. the fact that the loss of an issue was no alternative. We were forced to skip the issue. To make derstands that this is the danger technical setback and a loss of matters worse we were unable to and acts accordingly and promptly. rake together enough money to We must, we will overcome this get our letters to our friends ap crisis. We must have help imme-

There is only one way to avoid

German Masses

out, ance of inflation, through the gold and new elections prohibited.

The savage howls of the roaming balance is payable directly or in- in stocks and commodities which Fascist bandits who murder, pillbalance of payments remains in cordance with the amount of press- heart-rending groans from the tor-

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

The working class faces May cial democracy in the monstrous wave of international reaction, in a period of internal as well as external crisis. With bestial brutality bloody Fascism has smashed the proudest, the best organized, the traditionally strongest working class of capitalist Europe—the German proletariat. 50,000 thousand of its staunchest and most courageous fighters languish in the dungeons of sadistic Hitlerism. The friends to make a concrete demon-citadel of working class power stands next in order.

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

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

Never since the days of the catastrophe of 1914, has the working class faced such a difficult time never before has it been so threat ened with attacks from without and with disintegration from withapparently beyond recovery. Only in. The German debacle hangs by only by a struggle against disits parliamentary skeleton is still like an ominous shadow over the atempting to maintain an humble, future of the proletariat. Attacksubmissive existence. The trade ed by an enemy armed to the unions are beginning to feel the teeth, favored by a wave of unrest was quoted at a discount of 8 per- where Hoover would undoubtedly turn them into Fascist state or the working class of Germany have The treacherous role of the so-

cial democracy in this miserable long ago, in the first great debacle i August 4, 1914, gemonstrated its impotence and its capacity for working class betrayal. Nothing better could have been expected from it. Victory could come only upon the condition of the thorough unmasking of these traitors, upon This is the crowning height of tween them and the masses who "controlled inflation". Should in- the many bitter experiences suffer- tween them and the many bitter experiences suffer- have followed them. Victory could flation on a substantial scale bed by the German proletariat since come only if the Communist party carried out this task, if it Itself proved its capacity for struggle.

made the Stalinized Communist party of Germany and Communist International a partner of the so-

Day this year in the midst of a crime gainst the German working class, in the effortless capitulation before Nazidom. The betrayal of 1933 sounds the death-knell for both the social democracy and Stalinism, for the two great distortions of revolutionary Marxism, The struggle of the working class against capitalism is from now on inextricably tied up with the merciess extermination of these two

pestilent currents within its own . Left Opposition Must Lead

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

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

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

Socialist treachery and Stalinist oungling have helped the Nazis to turn May Day in Germany into a black day of the proletariat. The international holiday of the proletariat is celebrated in Berlin this year as a day of nationalist debauch under the flag of the hooked cross. The workers in the rest of Legally, the Scottsboro Case carry out this mass action and the the world and here in America working class is girding its loins

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

Socialist Party Sabotage In face of this, how criminal are the perfidious actions of the treacherous leaders of the Socialist party in splitting the ranks of the workers. These fakers have turned down the genuine offer of the united tion in New York. Their obsequi-It is from this point of view that ous, bootlicking services to the we criticize the preparations for capitalist class need no other proof

Scottsboro March On Capital

strengthen the position of French capital, and of English capital to the extent that it was able to work stands as follows: an appeal is I. L. D. is undisputed leader of must show their indignation. They being taken by the defense from the march, as, indeed, it should be. must protest against the Brown the death verdict of the Decatur spective, pointed out in the Milijury; the trial judge has continued tant of March 8, has been verified by the recently announced Anglo-French banking and currency ar-Actually what has happened judiced atmosphere on Liebowitz! ganized and militantly conducted since the "bank holiday" has been

During this period also, interest

If the I. L. D. is the undisputed Shirt May Day in Berlin by a powleader of the march then, leaving erful united Red demonstration of the cases of the other defendants objective conditions aside for the internationalism. They must show on the ground that a fair trial moment, the responsibility for its the Nazi murderers by this demonunder the present circumstances is success or failure as an organized stration that the international impossible; and, irony of ironies!, mass demonstration rests squarely he places the blame for the pre- on the I. L. D. A successfully or The L L. D. has applied for a writ march can raise the protest move heights. It can inspire the terror With the temporary-lull on the ized masses of the south to strug

the spontaneous protest of the of enthusiasm and contagion will Negro masses this paper issued a not be struck. The I. L. D. would Front May Day Committee, com-

ige of Communism in the eyes of

the march. The call asks all par-than this. Not content with this

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

League in Action in Philadelphia

Philadelphia.—A sectional united was called on March 30. The Unemployed Councils of West Philadelphia called it. The conference made an effort to be broad-in composition only. It was almost treason to connect local with national or international problems. No trade unions were represented,

one Y. P. S. L. local, one church. ence of social-Fascists" or of a out reserving the right to criticize. conference leader, feels like a fish in water. He said: "This conference was called to compel 'our representatives' in the legislature to only by mass action can the workers end their misery".

attacks of the bosses, "the real revolutionary aims and objectives fruit of our victory lies not in the of Communism. It did not even immediate result but in the everexpanding union of workers". At working class political party, a the conclusion of the speech Ro- Communist party. berts was given a good round of applause.

The Communist party as an or ganization was not represented ungoods, met with same rebuff.

conference leaders had completely they issued a leaflet one week beforgotten. They were: (1) against the commissary plan; (2) social insurance at the expense of the government and employers; (3) against Roosevelt's reforestation plan; (4) six-hour day, five-day week without reduction in pay. Of particular interest are the last two. ence proved a boomerang to the gram and principles. Stalinists. Resolution number 3 was met with the objection by a delegate from the Paole Zionists graphs added, others deleted, and but this was beyond the scope of on the basis of it proceeded to may be it will be carried through

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

* * * *

don delivered a lecture on "Danger and stammered out the "reasons". Signals in Soviet Economy". De The chairman drove the motion spite the rain the meeting was well through the meeting without allowmembers and sympathizers took date, and thus destroyed its united the floor in the discussion and front character, the party continued asked questions. Comrade Gordon to call it a united front, for well made it clear that we refuse to thought-out opportunist reasons. It conceal shortcomings by gloating is to be the name, the cover for the over doubtful successes. Comrade C. P. a demogagic frill, to pick up Gordon pointed out the reasons for workers and store-keepers votes. the weaknesses of Soviet economy The aldermanic candidates, all arrest. and the solutions for the difficult Communists, have election eards The Daily Worker of April 23, ies, to be found not in the Stal- bearing no mention of Communism, 1932 gave considerable prominence inist conception of socialism in one just "candidate on workers' tic- to the story of the arrests and country but in the Leninist theory ket". Leaflets are the same, carry-police brutalities, but failed to of the permanent revolution. A ing the name of the Conference mention the name of any of the fused, stating the I L. D never the revolutionists from the conference lively discussion ensued in which with occasional mention of "en- workers arrested except that of

The Anti-Nazi Demonstration

In Philadelphia permitted the rabbis, the capitalist fused Farmer-Labor party faction tims. politicians to capitalize on the leader in the Ward F. L. P. Club anti-Semitism of the Nazis (and who was chairman of this meeting unemployed worker Gramataikis ing for a long time, John Ballam to divert it into safe channels). ararnged by the Workmen Circle This Thursday, April 6 the C. P. branch, sided with the party arguof Phila. arranged a protest dements on an "election united monstration against Hitlerism unfront", cited the "wise" policy of On the expiration of this sentence, der its own name at Reyburn the party in the farmer-labor uni- he was sent to Ellis Island for Plaza. Not even the rain can acted front of 1924-28, greeted this deportation. count for the fact that only 500 "new" policy, and then unconsciworkers participated in the parade. oursly clinched the truth of our Preparation were extremely mea- contention for the party not to play during all these events, Gramatiger. Only the closest party circles with election united fronts. He kis was a member of the Spartakos participated. Almost all were for said, "Did not we have in this hall Club, the Party's Greek workers' eign born and Negro workers— (Workers Hall Ass'n.), a Left organization and he was defended who due to lessons of the past re- wing of four hundred followers, spond quickest against Fascist ter- did not the party lead us into the for a month or more at Ellis Is- At 12:30, Ballam had not appeared ror. Not all the cheers for the Farmer-Labor party? Why did it land, he was released on bail, a nor at 1 o'clock and although con-C. P. of Germany and the U. S. A. leave us there? Was it not because \$1,000 bond being put up for him. stant efforts were made to take could remove the doubt, still unvoiced, from the minds of these party?" The last election united

This bond was given by a surety the matter up later with him and against the exclusion of any section with others of the leaders of the of the working class.

In such a situation the independent organization that the matter up later with him and against the exclusion of any section.

In such a situation the workers as to the correctness of the front policy of the party founded, was provided by a member of the I. I. D., they successfully dodged. Stalinist policies.

tion should be an indication to the party members that only a sincere candidates in the city elections, and quired to put up a new bond. The I. L. D. and in the Spartakos Club and honest turn can bring results campaign for them on a clear-cut letter of notification was addressed to take up the case and demand gie whose purpose will be to fight munism among the masses.

Stalinist Opportunism In Mpls. Elections

Minneapolis.—On April 22 the front conference against evictions United Front Conference for the Workers Ticket Election Campaign was held in Minneapolis. The major part of the conference work was expended on clearing up wreckage wrought by the party's opportunist policy at the "preliminary" conference held some weeks before. The opportunism of the district leadership consisted in this: they attempted to get around the deep-Nothing was said at the confer- set prejudices of the reformistminded worker by approaching him pears ready to enter into united for the Communsit ticket would of completely decapitating the profronts with social reformists, with-allow the party to unite with individual candidates who have a In such united fronts Bender, the following in the labor movement iod" theorists of Stalinism, social and that would bring to the polls reformism in the United States is votes for the C. P. candidates on not dead, nor is it in the process the "Workers ticket". Just such an of extinction. The "span of life" individual did they have in Walter of reformism in this country is not keep their promises;" and "that Frank, a free-lancing radical who the point under discussion at preis at present flirting with the party comrade Roberts Criticized the in the F. S. U. and T. U. C. for under the given conditions and The bulk of the struggle was carnarrow parliamentary base as well (normhorment Insurance the was larged winder the given conditions and larged experiments). Chemployment Insurance. He was as the creation of illusions that under capitalism the workers can end contaminate the party-controlled ted States. And to this we must der capitaism the workers can end conference upon his endorsement of their misery. Only the dictatorthe "workers ticket" platform cry the "Fascist Hoover Governship of the proletariat can do that, when consisted primarily of immebut in order to lay the foundation digital demands and was void of the ment" and "Fascist Commissions" diate demands and was void of the

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

Walter Frank's first leaflet prac- deep roles in American capitalism. til reminded in the resolutions comrecognition of the Soviet Union, ing with this opportunist office-crisis is demonstrating to American recognition of the Soviet Union, seeker had to be exposed by the imperialism more clearly than do with the conference. A proposal Left Opposition. We frankly told that all workers' organizations from all party members we met that if the Soviet Union down to the small, the party registed in the the Soviet Union down to the small- the party persisted in its opportunits economy on a world scale. We est workers' group boycott German ism we would file a Communist will witness a greater participation candidate against Frank in that of the United States in world afward. As though the local Stalining some resolutions, which the ists saw the light from somewhere, fore the second "United Front Workers Ticket Conference" violently attacking Frank, repudiating

> At the conference proper they submitted a platform with paraplatform .A disgusting melee.

Meanwhile the Opposition delegates were unseated on the report of the credential committee. An honest party member made the report. When he came to the matter of why the Opposition should not be seated, he stopped, went into a On March 31 comrade Sam Gor- huddle with the leaders, came back

the point of view of the Left Op dorsed by C. P.". At an alder George Powers, the leader of the position was brought home. A manic campaign meeting the Op- demonstration. Two days later it great deal of literature was sold. position criticized this aspect of announced a mass protest demonthe party campaign. Petty func-stration against the police terror

tionaries rose one after another, to be held April 29th. It failed each giving a more confused, op- to report this demonstration and portunist, explanation of the "uni- never once did it mention the nurtured, and built the formidable Spartakos Club. The paraders were glad to see us reformist Farmer-Labor party, a of the Left Opposition in the march bulwark against Communism in the rels arose between Gramataikis to the Daily Worker, which has

program.

---L. R.

The S. P's. Continental Congress

The role of social reformism, how it arises and grows, has been sufficiently established by the Marx- Thru 'Closed Door' Policy ists since the post-war period. It grows simultaneously with the advance of the revolutionary movement. Its aim is to act as a brake upon rising tide of struggle. The more acute the clas struggle the more active do the reformists become. They pretend at a struggle, only to retreat, cripple and destroy such conflicts at their decisive moments. In the "democratic era" of capitalism they flourish like the proverbial mushrooms after a rain. When capitalism resorts to an open "united front from below". As a with a "united front workers' tic- and naked dictatorship (Fascism) matter of fact the party made a ket" behind which would hide the as in Germany they are thrust complete somersault and now ap- C. P. At the same time this form aside as a hindrance to the process

Quite contrary to the "third perhas made the circuit of all political sent. The decisive question is tendencies in Labor movement, and whether or not reformism has the possibilities of activity and growth as the Daily Worker does in its steps of American Fascism.

> Since the crisis a series of uninplace. This process is being comthus far, without apparent resistance by the working masses.

Whatever the level of recovery 'thrash" Frank for being what he by smashing the living standards

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

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

Growing Mood of Struggle

The crisis will prove to be a most delirious moments, results great impulsion to the class cononly in confusion and error. In scious development of the Amerdoing that it signifies that the path ican workers. This is evidenced by of reformism has already been a growing mood of struggle seen in beaten and is covered with the foot-great demonstrations of unemployed, the auto strikes, the movement of the Illinois miners and the re-Four years of crisis have torn cent organization of the "Progressive Trade Union Educational Com-They have posed weaknesses that mittee" at Gillespie. In all of mittee by comrade Hirsch of the no political party, but instead appeared absent during the "prothese events the Communists have posed weaknesses that mittee" at Gillespie. In all of appeared absent during the "prothese events the Communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have appeared absent during the "prothese events the Communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have posed absent during the "prothese events the Communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. In all of the communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie. The communists have posed weaknesses that mittee at Gillespie at Left Opposition. As usual, our "Workers Unity". The result was proposal of long-term credits to and that the party's back-stage dicker-proposal of long-term credits to and long-term credits to an accordance with the composition of the long-term credits to an accordance with the composition of the long-term credits to an accordance with the long-term credits to a long-term credit to a long-term credit to a long-term credit to a long-term credit to a long-term credits to a long-term credits to a long-term credit important to remember this.

With these remarks let us examine the call for a "Continental Congress of workers and farmers for Economic Reconstruction" to be held in Washington on May 6 and fairs on the political field, and an 7. The leading elements in framintensified activity in the sphere of ing the call and the conference are international economy. In prepar- the socialists and their allies in the ing for this stage, American cap- American Federation of Labor. italism must first of all settle ac- Page one of the call is adorned counts at home. It proceeds to with a cartoon showing how labor lower the standard of living of the is driving the moneybags out of American working class nationally, the Capitol. This cartoon is supposed to describe the statement of terrupted wage-cuts has taken William Green, arch-reactionary head of the A. F. of L., also appleted. And it is being completed pearing on page one, as an introduction to the call itself.

Green declares: "For we shall soon be on the march....We shall FIGHT with every legitimate always was in the united front, an of the masses. That is inherent in have come to what we are deteralways was in the united front, an of the masses. That is inherent in mixed shall be the END OF SUF- and destroy at once the growth of Now if you're very wise you'll the situation. American capitalism mined shall be the END OF SUFopportunist radical politician, the situation. American capitalism mined snan be the END OF SOF the revolutionary movement. To pay close attention and follow out do this it is not enough to organize our advice to the letter. Take two lesson from Germany. They must table, but we do not shun the BATers in the conference was that the ed with the problems of relief and table, but we do not shun the BAT- a united front movement in the dollars, shoot them in here for social insurance, with brutal callousness it has resisted every demand for these. To expect that LEAD the hosts of labor into a suffering unemployed. These peo- ring up a starter of few subs.

On April 22nd last year, Nick was required to give himself up at Communists. worker, Ellis Island so that he had no time

City Hall which was turned into a L. D. blood bath by the savage attacks In the morning at Ellis Island, spite the fair the metals at the metals at the metals at the desirous of the bolice. The city's "finest" the Commissioner, Barnes stated by workers desirous of the police. The city's "finest" the Commissioner, Barnes stated of the police. The city's "finest" the Commissioner, Barnes stated of the police. The city's "finest" the Commissioner, Barnes stated of the police. The city's "finest" the Commissioner, Barnes stated of the police. nearing the views of the Leit OF while the conference rejected on horseback, and afoot charged that it was not because the surety munist party, the T. U. U. L. and position. Several Communist party Frank, the only non-party canding the many was in process of liquidation. der hoofs and beating them with tion that Gramataikis was being olutionary wing of the proletariat clubs, men and women alike, in- taken into custody again, that are not invited. The intention is discriminately. When a woman there were many cases like his to build a movement that will go comrade was being brutally club- with the same surety company, but into "battle" for a "true freedom". bed, Nick Gramataikis fearlessly it was because the security put up What kind of a battle and what bed, Nick Gramataikis leariessly in this bed, Nick Gramataikis leariessly in the Spartakos Club had been kind of a pattle and what its appearance in the trace different field. The mechanical application

At the time of his arrest and by the I. L. D. After being held

Since that time, some petty quarwith them. Perhaps we were right masses. This last united front and the ruling clique at the Club, failed to publish it. after all? The comrades were un- election policy launched the opport the Stalin clique causing his exable to understand the absence of tunist Walter Frank into his race pulsion. Soon after this took place, ted to abandon a militant worker an attack on the socialist position. for political office with the label, he received a notification from the in his need. The Spartakos Club No campaign of clarification and of "workers candidate", fighting for Ellis Island authorities to present is trampling the banner of Comhonest explanation is undertaken. "workers unity". Despite the mas- himself there, informing him that munism in the dirt by putting Only this week has the party be- cuerade of 'names' and the comedy the surety company which had post- petty revenge above elementary gun a discussion. This demonstra- of endorsements, the Left Opposi- ed his bond was in the process of class duty and class solidarity. We and extend the influence of Com- out-spoken Communist banner and to him at the Spartakos Club and that their leaders take immediate was not delivered to him by them action to free Nick Gramataikis. -C. FORSEN. until the very evening before he

Gramatajkis, unemployed worker, this island so that he had a list this clear in the nature of overtime piling up a score toward socialism which made it possible to make any preparations what the call? To secure this aim all the three volumes of the History Demonstrate under the banner of was arrested while participating to make any performance the can: To secure this aim an the three volumes of the History Demonstrate under the canner of in the unemployed demonstration at ever, other than to notify the I. organizations are invited except of the Russian Revolution. What Leninist internationalism, under

> withdrawn. Another hearing was when the heart of the proletariat is of this policy by the Alternation Left wing in the A. F. L. to fight at once installed and Gramataikis to be excluded from participation? Painters Union is a half-hearted for the unity of the two organizaseverely grilled. A lawyer was representing the I. L. D., battle nor a true fredom if the worst errors of the old "Third 3. All the independent work of but when another bond was de- leaders of this movement carry Period" sectarianism. But Cen- the A. P. U. will be strengthened manded by the Government, he reputs up bail. Gramataikis was re- ence. The real aim is the building turned to a cell, this time in the of a reformist movement that will criminal section as a defaulter, to attempt to check the rising class tion. Without a real change there ganized workers that the bureaube deported at the earliest possible

moment. Sympathizing with the forlorn position of this militant worker, two of our comrades called on the The Stalinist policies and tactics ted front workers ticket". A con- names of these class struggle vic- I. L. D. headquarters and asked to talk the matter over with those in In the hands of the police, the charge. After keeping them waitwas frightfully beaten, causing him appeared and said he was busy, to be confined in the hospital at asking them to return at ten o'clock the next morning, which they did. They were then informed that Balam was not coming in that day but on insistence that he had made the appointment, were told Ballam would be in at 12:30 and asked to return then. In the meantime one of our comrades spoke to Nemser. who after listening, said there was nothing he could do, that it was necessary to speak to Ballam. Ballam was not coming in that day

The I. L. D. must not be permit-

-ESTHER FIELD.

Communists Must Break | THE BATTLE out of which labor (Emexpects a new America!"

phasis mine—G.) What strange words, coming from the reactionary leader of the organized labor movement who has done everything in his power to throttle the slightest note of militle for a new America!

farmers of the United States, to the objective requirements exist convene and "draw up a program for a successful drive. to right the grievous wrongs we have suffered and set up a nationtical groups; (e) Labor fraternal ting average is pretty high. bodies and unemployed leagues ENDEAVOR to win for all men, women and children of this Nation TRUE FREEDOM-FREEDOM ECONOMIC SECURITY". (Emphasis mine-G.) The mere statement of Green.

veneered with a dash of militancy, is an indication, above all, of a That is the goal every comrade fear of a developing movement of can shoot at. Let's repeat it so the American proletariat for mili-there'll be no misunderstanding tant struggle. This fear is accentuated by the thought that this developing movement may form under the leadership of the Communists out any strings tied to it a set of who have until now been the main factor in those class struggles already taking place. It is axiomatic that when a Green wishes to do battle in the interests of the proletariat the real purpose in such militancy is to check the movement of the workers, to choke it before it begins, or if unsuccessful in that, to canalize it into the stream of reformism.

Aim of Conference

In that respect at least there are no differences between Green and his socialist comrades who signed the call and have taken the initiative in bringing about the conference. They are going to bring about a true freedom, a freedom from poverty, hunger and economic these demands would have been BATTLE....The die is cast for ple must rely upon something else; Then you can go out and resell I.L.D. Refuses Aid to Greek Worker organization that will sound "reasonable and capable of achieveorganization that will sound "rea- you have your two dollars back.

> Isn't this clear in the nature workers. Even the single taxers called (!) are invited. But the Com-

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

and militant workers must break The painters in the city are dividthrough the closed-door policy of ed into three groups, the first bethe congress. The congress with ing the unorganized, who constiout doubt, will be attended by tute the macrity, the second are many workers' organizations of all the workers in the A. F. I. which shades of opinions and aims. While controls the bulk of the organized exposing the program of disunity painters and the third is the miliand reformsim, the Left wing must tant minority which is isolated in counter with the demand for a gen- the independent organizations the to present a counter-program of for unity, because the workers A report of this case was sent formism designed to the confusing re- experiencing drastic reductions of formism designed to throttle the their wages and working condigrowing class consciousness of the tions, widespread unemployment, intelligently and correctly carried of the painters, on the other, feel out, will win the support of the the need of a unified struggle and workers assembled in the congress. will support the militants if they It may prevent the emergence of are convinced that the militants an organization whose main pur- are really fighting for this policy pose will be that of fighting the This would also facilitate the task Communists, and turn it into an of organizing the unorganized. organization of militant class strugfor the interests of the working

-ALBERT GLOTZER.

NEW SUB DRIVE

Well we're back at you. We're fund. That's one name for it. But off on a new sub drive. This one call it what you will it's a swell is scheduled to run from now to the end of June, roughly about six weks. And it's got to hum from start to finish.

THE GERMAN CAMPAIGN

As a result of our German camtancy in its ranks. The apostle of paign, we're a bigger organization class collaboration will lead the now. We cover a greater amount hosts of labor into a battle, a bat- of territory. There are more us. The Militant reaches and This is the introduction to the read by a greater number of workcall addressed to the workers and ers. Interest in it is keener. All

It's just a question of putting your back into it. There is urgent al council of the working people reason to put this drive over with in the city, state and nation to en- a great big bang. The financial sure its realization". And to this situation of the Militant is not congress are invited: "(a) Pro-gressive organization of farmers; tuck to get the issue out. All kinds (b) Organization of Labor; (c) of troubles descend on us. One Cooperative Societies; (d) The So- week it's the press, the next it's cialist and Farmer-Labor Parties, the linotype. We laugh them off. single taxers, and other liberal poli- They're growing pains. Our bat-But how about it in the field? WHOSE PURPOSES ARE IN Are you in this thing? Are you

HARMONY WITH THE OBJECTS lying awake nights contriving OF THIS CONFERENCE." The schemes to get subs to put a call further declares: "Through sounder and firmer and wider base vigilance, the strength of a just under our paper? If you are you cause, and the pressure of our will welcome this drive. If you a united front with the Police Dedemocratic mass strength we shall have been sleeping too soundly partment! First they attempted, now is the time to get up and hop to it. Have you got all three volumes

FROM POVERTY, HUNGER AND of the History of the Russian Rev-operated with the police and have olution by comrade Trotsky? Here not attacked them", to get the nothing. All you have to do is to monstration the right to Union come out on top in this sub drive. Square on May 1st. about it. To the comrade who gets the greatest number of sub's by the 30 of June we will give withthe three volumes of the History rade Trotsky. And to console the runner up, to

salve that smart that you get from ruminating along that almost and if tangent we'll give a bound volume of the Militant, either format, new or old, according to your fancy. Now isn't that somep'n'? so whale away comrades.

CLUB PLAN SUBS

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

centrate on the club plan prepaid cards. That's where the heavy security. Under what kind of pro- scoring will be done. You haven't gram will this political, economic forgotten about them? You reand social change take place? Un- member they come in minimum der the program adopted at this units of four, prepaid (don't forget for toward a joint Communist and congress that will be attended by that; that's important). And each the widest variety of elements. Is one at 50c is good for a regular \$1 weapon at our command....We this a merely another utopian plan? half-year sub. And they count for tod at ungrice in an effort to sabotgae uni-

a substitute offering for social re- these cards. When you resell them Now shoot them in again for four ment" and yet be a far cry from more prepaid cards. As far as German proletariat will be avenged the revolutionary program of the you're concerned they're the same by learning the lessons of reformtwo dollars. But they're working ist betrayal and Stalinist national overtime piling up a score toward socialism which made it possible

way to build the Militant. If you don't like revolving funds

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

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

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

Unity on May Day

(Continued from page 1) with rotten congratulations to the new police commissioner to whom they stated: "We have always cois your chance to get a set for police to deny the united front de-

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

The workers must close their ranks in a united manifestation of international solidarity. The socialist brethren of Wels and Breitscheid and all those who have directly sold out the German workers to Fascism, have rejected every efsocialist demonstration. They have preferred, following the bosses' ted struggle. The American workers must show the socialist sabotof May, in spite of everything.

Workers, make the First of May, a day of united proletarian action! Show that the tragedy of the the Communists and revolutionary could be simplier. Somebody once the banner of the Bolshevik Left a revolving Opposition!

Alteration Painters United Front

its appearance in the trade union bership rights. through their purpose of excluding trism here also shows its half-ness in the meantime because the union and inadequancy to advance a pol- will be in a position to justify its icy and a persepctive that meets independent existence and to prove the demands of the present situa- to both the organized and unorcan be no improvement.

Union sent an open letter to the central bodies of the A. F. L. gle for unity. Painters Union, outlining the con- Even for such a proposal as ditions in the trade, and calling made in the open letter, this broad for the organization of a large conference representing the mem- action pending unification). The bership of both unions for united present proposal hangs in mid-air action for the improvement of the as it gives no perspectives, let conditions of the painters in this alone that of unity in one organicity.

It is quite obvious that this is not sufficient, as an examination of the problems and the relation The Communist, revolutionary of forces in the industry will show.

In such a situation the key to American workers. Such a tactic, on the one hand, and the disunity

This struggle for unity in the present situation should be formulated as folows: 1. Propose to the Districst

The "new United Front policy" Alteration Painters Union be adof the Comintern is now making mitted as a body with full mem-

crats in the A. F. L. are against Recently the Alteration Painters the unity of the painters and that

> tactic is necessary (call for united zation.

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

-WILLIAM KITT.

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Some Fundamental Aspects of the Present Crisis in Germany

(This is the second of two arti- working class and the peasantry as cles on this subject. The first ap the practical base of the proletarpeared in the Militant of April 1. ian dictatorship. The rejection of

situation favored the revolutionary policies flowing from it. solution of the German crisis under By repudiating the perspective of of declaring the social democracy in the problems which arose. exposed as "social Fascists"—twin brothers of Fascism). The pro-gress achieved by the Five Year ist evaluation of the imperialist Plan was a powerfully vivid de-monstration of the superiority of planned socialist economy (the Stalinists themselves even went further with monstrous exaggera- The petty bourgeois Stalinist butions of the successes and the pro-clamation of the establishment of self with the possibility of shuta classless society within the next ting itself off from the rest of the few years). What more could be world. On the basis of the theory desired? Yet the Communist Party of building a socialist society withof Germany failed miserably in the in the isolated Soviet state, Stalinface of the tasks and the possibilism proceeded to heap disaster up

It is impossible to grasp the ex- The problem of the Chinese rev tent of this failure and the respon- olution arose. The task there was sibility of the Stalinist faction for posed as one of not throwing great mass party and the Soviet it without considering the particu- Chiang Kai-Shek (the national lar policy, pursued in the light of bourgeoisie) into the arms of imfundamental perspectve. The high- perialism, of not giving the imperly unrealistic policy of the ultimatialists an occasion for intervention ist united front from below was not against Soviet Russia where socialaccidental. It flowed directly from ism could be established if foreign the whole zigzag course initiated by intervention was forestalled. The the rise of the petty bourgeois cur- defenders of the permanent revolurent of Stalinism within the Communist International. It is this ed out that the problem was one basic perspective—or rather, lack of strengthening the bonds between of perspective—which prepared the the Chinese masses and the Soviet ant advances in the past few it is to leave the masses under the German catastrophe and it is for that reason that the disastrous pol- could be won as fighting allies only of course, against the social demicy in Germany can and must be stigmatized as a policy of betrayal. Bolshevism grew and developed

in the struggle against the treacherous petty bourgeois ideology of social democracy. In this struggle it led the proletariat of Russia to victory and showed the working class of the world the way, creat- Kai-Shek, it handed over the Coming for it the Communist International in the fire of combat. Stalinism arose within the Bolshevik party and the Communist International as a reaction to Bolshevism, feeding upon the fatigue of the Soviet masses after the years of the strenuous civil war and upon the temporary defeats of the West European proletariat in the years 1918 to 1923. It was in all respects a hangover from the petty bourgeois ideology of the pre-Bolshevik period. Stalin had as late as March 1917 held on to the idea that it is the task of the provisional (deminish to the period of our light opportunism that followed imdemocracy was not a mobilization also dissolve the Nazi (Hitlerite) relates the beastly beatings that ocratic) government to "consolidate orientation toward "socialism in dispersion of the revolution the achievements" of the revolution toward "socialism in dispersion orientation orientation toward "socialism in dispersion orientation orientat actor. On the higher plane of the the Chinese revolution and the population; it was a plea with the mations is impossible according to A special confession was demanded mations is impossible according to A special confession was demanded

ent revolution even within the narrow bounds of their own country. They rejected the proletarian dictatorship for the Weimar Republic. Their basic motivation was the fear for the preservation of their bureaucratic powers, the little posts and positions which the petty bourgeois layer of the movement had matter to ask workers to suspend attained to. In the end, their their activities, pull up their shaky policy inevitably caught stakes, so to speak, and march to them within the trap of its own Washington at the risk of serious logic—and landed them in the lap fighting with the police and armed party is bringing to bear on the of Fascist reaction.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, raised by the October revolution is no petty bourgeois bureaucracy reproduced on a higher historical stage. The anxiety for its own self-preservation and perpetuation has also been its guiding line. It is along this line that Stalinism started on its career with an at-Stalin faction declared a struggle democratic rights of the Negroes to the end against the permanent to a higher political plane. It Marxism by setting up the theory

Within the framework of national boundaries the perspective of provisions in its constitution which ted front. Concretely now, that leaders of Austor-Marxism try to without (Mooney and the C. P.) the Local's delegate (Nelson of the the Possist energy will endersor to the Possist energy will enderso the Possist energy will be provided the Possist energy w the permanent revolution signified steering a course toward the proletarian dictatorship. Only the dictatorship of the working class could serve as a conclusive guarantee for the completion of the democratic revolution. On the international scene, created by the establishment of the first workers' republic, this perspective pointed out a course leading to the extension of the October revolution to the rest of the world. Only the victory of the proletarian dictatorship in several ganizations from coast to coast: of the advanced capitalist countries could assure the establishment of a socialist society in Soviet Russia with all its economic backwardness. This basic perspective called for a policy of intense attention and active aid to the development of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the capitalist world, in the first place. Secondly, it called for an internal the socialist sector in economy so rally the masses of workers be-

the fundamental perspective meant, All the elements of the objective in reality, also a rejection of the

the leadership of the Communist revolutionary realism the Stalinists party. The crisis was brought to deprived the Soviet government a head by the ravages of the world and the Communist International, economic depression. The social of which they had gained control democracy was becoming increas- of the possibility of conducting a ingly discredited by the collapse of all social legislation—"practical" with the practical tasks. The utoreformism-in the country (the pianism of their theory of social-Stalinist leadership of the party ism in one country predicated their even went to the fantastic extreme utterly barren strategy and tactics

The perspective of the permanent on the international proletariat tion, the Bolshevik-Leninists point through the development of the ocracy as the organized represenproletarian revolution and the set- tative of the workers. The latter cial democracy added a touch of ship. That required the independence of the Chinese Communist ing itself to baren protests and of the city and governor of the Party and a course toward Soviets. The Stalin faction had its way.

one country". The disasters of consequently, of the entire Viennese

extreme Left.

Communist International of its one movement in the International.

Again it was a matter of self
Again it was a matter of selfpreservation. Soviet economy was item in the balance sheet of ten at an impasse. The tactics of the years of the rule of bureaucratic "bloc of four classes" in China and Centrism in the Communist moveof the Anglo-Russian Committee ment. The course of Stalinism had only increased the isolation of which began with the repudaton of

the U. S. S. R. and undermined the the concept of permanent revlubasis of the bureaucracy itself. tion, has wound up in the most The zigzag to the ultra-Left which frightful isolation of the workers' initiated the famous "third period" fatherland. The Stalinist bureauclearly reevaled the political char- cracy too, has been caught within acter of Stalinism as that of a the trap of its own logic. It has vacillating bureaucratic Centrism. endangered the existence of the Its method appeared clearly as Soviet Union from without and from the method of empiricism, of trial within.

Hitler's Brown Shirts are on the and terror-lacking in all foresight and irresponsible in its consequ- march. The alliance between the of commands from above, was sub-tical basis of Soviet economy and stituted for the policy of opportunt the proletarian dictatorship—is beist blocs. In place of the united ing threatened by that same headfront with any one and every one less, un-Marxian course which has and under all conditions came the led to disaster in Germany, by the united front "from below only". course of vacillating bureaucratic The highest fruit of this blind pol- Centrism. No time is to be lost. If icy, which was accompanied by a Communism, if the Soviet Union is growing disinterestedness in the to live, Stalinism must be destroyprogress of the international Com- ed. Only the reestablshment of munist movement, was the debacle the Marxian perspective of the perof January 1933 in Germany. The manent revolution, only the return failure of the German Communist of its defenders-of L. D. Trotsky, Party to lead the working class Rakovsky and the Bolshevik-Leninagainst the Fascist onslaught, its ists-to their rightful posts can miserable disappearance from the aid in cleansing the working class and find their way to expression scene, is the culmination point of vanguard of the petty bourgeois the whole headless course of Stal- poison which had been paralyzing will attempt to relate a few examinism in the Communist Interna- it and clear the road for the effect ples culled from reports of eye-wittive defense of the fortress of the nesses, for obvious reasons not giv-The collapse of the Communist proletarian revolution and for a ing names of the reporters, whose Party of Germany deprives the new upsurge of the revolutionarqy veracity, however, need not in the

-SAM GORDON.

Social Democracy Passive Before Menace of Austrian Fascism

The Bonapartist regime in Aus- to attempt to convince them as to toward serious resistance, restrict- Seltz, the social democratic mayor meaningless gestures.

On March 31, the Dollfuss gov-For the sake of not losing Chiang ernment dissolved the Republican "Schultzbund", the socialist demunist party to the bourgeois puo fense organization, after more tion. Let some think that this Min Tang—bag and baggage. The than ten years of its existence. was a serious counter-action and result is well known. Chiang Kai- The "Schultzbund" has grouped a signal for active resistance to Shek and the Chinese bourgeoisle around it the most militant section the forces of reaction, it must be received all the Stalinist aid glee- of the Austrian proletariat and has explained: The proscription of the fully and in due time slaughtered always been the only real bulwark the vanguard of the working mass- against the ambitious putschists of the S. P. leader. Its "purpose" es; made their peace with the im- from the monarchist and Fascist to point out the "injustice" of perialists and in 1929 came to the camps. On the night when the the Dollfuss actions and to debrink of a war against the Soviet dissolution decree became known, monstrate the old social democratic the working class masses of Vien- principle of "Gleichberechtigung" The problem of the British Gen- na filled the thoroughfares in all equal rights. The "Heimwehr eral Strike and the movement that parts of the city with spontaneous leaders in the Vienna Landtag symbolically it some put in chains

tria has registered some import how much more to their advantage Union, that the Chinese masses weeks. All of these are directed, constraining direction of the S. P. leadership. To this servile whining, the so-

province of Vienna, came out with a pompous decree proscribing the "Heimwehr", the legitimitist (Hasburg) Fascist military organiza-"Heimwehr" was merely a gesture preceded it, is an equally illuminat- protest demonstrations and rallies. challenged the decree and inter-

Revolution, Stalinism reproduced all the basic defeats of the social democracy—its national reformism, its short sightedness.

The German social democratic bureaucracy, raised to power in the bureaucracy, raised to power in the trade unions and mass organizations by the struggle of the working masses within the framework of the bourgeois state, rejected the one and the power of the bourgeois state, rejected the one and all the lesser disasters consider the "consequences" of withdrawing the right of legal exwithdrawing the right of law, though Dolfrawa the law, though Dolfrawa the law, th

only on the social democrats, not means the organized workers. The on the Fascists, who appealed approach must be made to the against the governor to the Feder-

Practical result: the proscription the Stalinists voting for it.

Clarence Seniors! No hiding be-hind Frank Palmers and Mustes! excuse their passivity—with a ists.

| it is evident that the official Com-munist party, which has apparently to this aspect of the uni-In this work the Left Opposition happened to the big German and approach to this aspect of the uni- captured control of the Tom Mooney will do its loyal best as it has Italian social democracies? The ted front problem, had it ap Molders Defense Committee, is done for years in the Mooney case of the latter, it appears, proached the S. P. openly before bent upon running the 'show' for

"slower".... was assigned the task of distribut- the working class generally. The question of the participation of or social views."!! ing leaflets in Harlem calling on streets are still filled with march the S. P. in the Chicago Conrgess the workers to attend a monster ing proletarians. Will this fer- and succeeded in broadening the on their way to the Chicago Con- already pointing Eastward, will be Mooney-Scottsboro mass meeting. ment result in the breakdown of movement. The advantages to the gress from all parts of the coun-Our comrades are going on the social democratic impotence and movement and Communism in the try. Present reports indicate that march to Washington. And every the rise of a new and firm vanguard united front are clearly indicated it will be a very large gathering destroy the workers' republic. But where the Left Opposition is call- that will be able to show the way and need not be discussed at this with possibilities which extend far ing on the party to issue the call out in time? A skilfull tactic on point.

tured. A woman comrade was takting up of the proletarian dictator- is showing ever less inclination pathetic humor. On April 1, Karl into the barracks to be horsewhipout after they have been tortured: others never see daylight again. The "Kassemats" in Spandau is

commanders of these groups. It was to prove that the C. P. was

(Continued from Page 1) ism after the working class defeat of 1923, until the completed preparation of the road for Fascism. But to this must be added the bitter experience of the Communist party, numerically the strongest outside of the Soviet Union, but ernment cannot be underestimated. perfectly clear in his speech at Stalinized in every fibre of its bu- It is but one out of many similar Essen, on March 10, where re said: reaucratic apparatus, which has attempts, such as in the burning "I refuse to have the police appear now experienced its August the of the Reichstag building and in the role of protectors of Jewish ences. The policy of ultimatism, workers and peasants—the prac- Fourth. Though its leaders are others to stir up a popular hatred department stores. It is about time

Workers Under Bestial Tortures

be said out loud.

than the dribbling accounts would the Red Army. indicate which are smuggled out outside of the German borders. I least be doubted. Our comrade relates: "In the Nazi barracks they whip the Communists and break their fingers in order to get from them confessions and addresses.

"In the Nazi barracks in Hedebeen tortured until they were half down.'

taken into the barraks to be tor- disarmed. en from her bed at night, taken ped and thrown into a cellar. When consciousness returned she noticed that she was not alone but was surrounded by others groaning or dying. Some are allowed to go

an old antiquated prison to which teen year old boy as a hostage. most of the "bigger game" is being brought. There are incarcerated Thaelmann, Torgler, Pieck and Koenen, among many other Communists. But there are also such victims as Lehman Russbildt, the chairman of the "League for Peoleaving him unable to move for ing example of the period of outright opportunism that followed imdemocracy was not a mobilization

The official reply of the social information as to why he did not days at the time. An eye-witness were administered to Thaelmann every night so that the once robust

supported by the Soviet government, alleging the manner in which funds were turned over.

streams of blood and tears. The may object less to the return of horrible tales which come from the the Corridor to Fascist Germany. specially arranged Fascist torture In general the Fascist press conchambers almost defy description. cerns itself very studiously at the In their naked reality the actual present time with reports and estievents are much more hair-raising mates of the fighting capacity of

But the gruesome torture tales continue. Right along, corpses are found throughout the Reich and reported "killed by persons unknown." Eye-witnesses also relate having seen victims in the Berlin prison of the police presidium brought there from the Fascist barracks with their eyes cut out or ate prisoners being thrown on the manstrasse there lay in one room the abdomen. It is the Fascist vails in Germany. about 150 Communists who had storm troops who administer the tortures. This became too much prised at the ease and speed with and when they were naked had to even for some of the old hardened which their brutal onslaughts sucrun the gauntlet until they broke Schupos in the Berlin Moabit police tion in power. That fact we need station. About a dozen of them not doubt in the least. It is con-

> Ramer, who had once been a Fasc- ever greater provocation. This ist officer but remained loyal to the party had his legs so badly crush- Fasists to be so much more mercied in the prison tortures that it became necessary later to perform in their way. An army in open an amputation. Storm troops went retreat becomes an easier prey for to the home of Ruth Fischer, once the enemy whose ferocity increases a party leader, and not finding her with each step in pursuit. And in home, smashed all they could lay this case the tortures inflicted upon their hands on and took her thir- the working class are an integral

It is not only the Communist victims who suffer barbaric mutilations but social democrats as well. Karl Bockel, the editor of the Chemnitzer Volksstimme was beaten to a pulp and died in the street. However, the torture methods applied to the socialist member of symbolically it sems, put in chains, the Reichstag Sollman, from Saarbruecken, are of the kind which put the notorious Spanish inquisition entirely in the shadow. A Fascist storm troop broke into his home, destroyed all furniture and beat him into insensibility. To actor. On the higher plane of the october situation created by the October Revolution, Stalinism reproduced Revolution, Stalinism reproduced scale and all the lesser disasters consider the "consequences" of ocracy will in no case break the tion all made ready for him to at-

orgy was over, it was thrown into a coal cellar.

Some of the capitalist papers. fearing that the terror may bring too serious repercurssions, at times endeavor to soothe the pains a bit by explaining this regular part of the Fascist system as merely some isolated excesses. That, however, The significance of the attempted is not at all the viewpoint in high direct connection of the Soviet gov- Fascist circles. Goering made that now undergoing the most horrify- of the Soviet Union and pave the to put a stop to every scoundrel ing tortures nevertheless this must road for intervention. There are calling for police protection. When among the flamboyant declarations you claim that here or there peoof Goering the one proposing to ple have been captured and malcarve out a bigger piece of the treated, one can only answer that: The Nazis are advancing through Ukraine for Poland so that she Where anyone planes, there the shavings fly."

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

The Fascists themselves were surall Communists were arrested and protested and were immediately firmed by events. The absence of resistance from the workers increased the tempo of the attacks to A certain C. P. functionary, B. a speed which in itself became an lack of resistance only caused the less, not needing to fear anything part of the Fascist consolidation of

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

The German proletariat was dis-Splits Mooney Fight armed by the illusions which inevitably resulted from the perfidious policy of its social democratic leadership. They, who became the Congress which is calculated to inheritors of the monarchy, allowmitigate the disappointment of the ed and themselves helped to preparty members who still have faith pare for the counter-revolution to agement Committee are included lesson embodied in their rule from "such well known socialists as Noske through the bourgeois coali-Professor Robert Morss Lovett, tions, the emergency decrees of Professor Reinhold Niebuhr and Bruening, Papen and Schleicher to Hitler. The German proletariat was disarmed by the Stalinists sabotage of every correct measure tee and the developments reported of defense. In this lies the sad testimony to the serious weakness of a revolutionary party which rests upon the foundation of false ideology and is paralyzed by bureaucratic incompetence. The German proletariat failed to receive the support from its international basis—the Soviet Union and the Comintern. And it must be said plainly that the guilt of the catastrophic defeat suffered is not only to be laid at the doors of those who were directly charged with the leadership of the German working class but must be traced to the highest seat of Stalinism in the Comintern and the Communist vealing head, "Union Hits N. Y. party of the Soviet Union. Its de-Great opportunities lie before us. ganizations were "dissolved" in a saying that the S. P. must parsocialist society in a single country
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correction of the entire nation the Communists will lead a march on the
correction of the demand that capitalism declare it- ment and set the masses in motion. alogies and all kinds of sentiment- unity. This reflects the pressure that the Eexcutive Committee of world movement which is fraught self openly on the question of those The key to the problem is the unital all appeals to the past that the on the S. P. leadership both from the Local approved the action of future. One may rest assured that "guarantee" to the Negro masses means the open approach to the cover up their own "democratic" and the penetration of this influ- Lovestone group) in withdrawing the Fascist enemy will endeavor to from the March 12 New York Uni- pursue its gains relentlessly. Its mission of destroying the German working class organizations is not finally completed so long the Soviet Union remains a bulwark.

With frightful accuracy the Left Opposition warnings of the course of events have come true. They were given correctly and in time because they rested upon the basis of a Marxian analysis. But they were not heeded. It is on this basis also that we have long ago sounded the alarm in regard to the course which will be pursued in the next stage. That is the one concentrated upon the efforts to forthcoming issues of the Militant. placable struggle against Stalinism. -ARNE SWABECK.

Scottsboro Marchon Wash.For, the men who serve the ideas, continue to exist... (Needless to say, this rhetpric had its effect

(Continued from Page 1) presentatives to provide transportation for them. It is not a little participate in the march.

The Scottsboro Bill

present a bill to Congress. This front movement to get the Scottsbill, the Civil Rights Bill, provides boro boys out of jail. tack upon the Marxian conception for the enforcement of the thirof the permanent revolution defend- teenth, fourteenth and fifteenth to strike at the reactionary restriced by L. D. Tortsky and the Rus- amendments to the U. S. Constitu- tions against Negroes in the A. F. Bolshevik-Leninists. The tion. This raises the fight for the of L. unions. Here is the weapon and warned the leaders that such view of the latest developments in revolution in 1923. Two years ladramatically focuses attention on Crowism. Here is a means of and Danneburgs now reply with E. C. of the S. P. voted six to five ter it broadened this breach with one of the burning problems of the forging the unity of the white and another feeble warning Watch out, against participation in the Chic-American revolution. Before the of the possibility of establishing a eyes of the entire nation the Comsocialist society in a single country munists will lead a march on the political equality with the white S. P. and A. F. of L. for united bankruptcy and helplessness. To ence into the socialist movement

> Such a march can acquire a remendous force and significance if it is a culminating point in a mass movement. That is the weakness of this march. It is not the highest wave in an organized protest movement. Preceding it there have been no united front conferences of working class or-There has been a burst of protest against the Decatur verdict. This is the basis for the organization of a protest movement, but it cannot replace the protest movement itself. And it is a fatal error to try, even with the best and sincerest of motives, to make it a substitute for an organized protest movement.

But the march is projected. The as to maintain the alliance of the hind it. In the first instance this

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

The terrific pressure which the a way to encourage workers to from below to one which comes among the social democrats.) question. If the party means it seriously it will apply that press of the "Heimwehr" was annuled ure now on the A. F. of L. and S.

Here is the weapon with which

Negro masses in struggle.

the New York Branch of the League to place itself at the disposal of the Scottsboro Action Commovement.

(Continued from Page 1) a matter between the united front ciple of equal rights for all....For The Left Opposition protested a neutral Austria... (Seitz goes on against this pessimistic and capito explain that the reactionary tulationist attitude. We moved parties can only lead either to that the Congress Organization submission to Hitler-Germany or Committee issue a leastet to the forces of the state. Workers will S. P. leadership over the Mooney Mussolini Italy)....Austria must S. P. and A. F. of L. workers callask: how are we to be fed, trans- and May Day issues is the direct remain the State and Vienna the ing on them to raise the question The Statinist bureaucracy, raised ported there and back, and defendto power within the Soviet state ported there and back, and defendresult of its turn from the ultra city of that classical German culin their organizations and to deed if attacked? The preparations Leftist policy of the united front ture, German civiligation, German mand that their organidations parmore and no less than this same, do not answer these questions in fromb clow to one which comes democracy." (Stormy applause ticipate in the Chicago Congress. The motion carried unanimously,

This was the same motion made by the Dollfuss cabinet the very by us at the first session of the One purpose of the march is to P. bureaucracies to enter a united next day, the proscription of the Committee in March. At that time "Schultzbund" stands. The social the Stalinists exerted themselves democracy tried to counter with to defeat our proposal. The rethe formation of inner-party "ush- sponsibility for the loss of time is ers' corps". The Federal govern on their shoulders. The loss of ment immediately proscribed these time acquires great significance in Negro masses in struggle.

Great opportunities lie before us.

Only last year the Hitler S. A. or ago Conference. Thomas is quoted ganizations were "dissolved" in as saying that the S. P. must parfront conferences. This the party their own impatient working class itself. The entire Chicago Yipsel ted Front Free Tom Mooney Conmust do without delay, openly be- fololwing they address themselves movement has had its charter refore the eyes of the working class. with pleas for "discipline" and voked because of its participation No back door negotiations with the "moderation". Before them they in united fronts with the Commun-

for united front conferences and the part of the Communists could But Hathaway, Stachel, Palmer Mooney is standing trial on the —is also disarming the proletarian policy of strengthening the Soviet party and the I. L. D. must bend approach the S. P. and A. F. of L. best assure this. It remains to be and Muste, having drawn losing last indictment against him. Both fatherland. Its defense can be regime by increasing the share of every effort to organize it and to build the defense and protest seen whether the latter have learn-cards against the S. P. bureau-events will be reported in the secured only through the most improved the secured only through the secured only through the most improved the secured only through the secured only through the secured only through the most improved the secured only through the secured only ed anything from fourteen years crats, have rigged up a Manage--T. STAMM. of a vegetative existence or not. ment Committee for the Chicago

trade unions. No time must be al government)....The first princilest.

| Conference and the S. P. but a matter between Mooney and the S. P. but a matter bet Frans Daniels!

The reoprts of the sessions of the Congress Organization Commitin the labor and radical press have served to illuminate the roles of the S. P., the Stalinists and the "progressives" in the Mooney move-

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

Lovestoneites in Local 22. How this influence is exerted to build the movement for Mooney's release can be seen from the same issue of the paper. Under the reference.

The reason speaks for itself. "From the report of our delegates movement. The delegation sent by proves that it is necessary to go the eyes of the members of both its own aggrandizement, and is parties and the entire working determined—under all circum-There is, no doubt, a substantial class, it could have increased the stances not to permit a genuine ferment within the ranks of the pressure on the S. P. leadership, united front of all workers' organimittee for work in the movement Austrian social democracy and in forced it to vote favorably on the zations, regardless of their political

As we go to press delegates are beyond the defense movement. And from revolutionary internationalism

Is Next in Order

(Continued from last issue) are attacked", the Austro-Marxists reveal their genuine suffering, they still hope that they will be left in peace, that things, God help us, will not go beyond mutual threats a self-sufficient means for the developments in order to the sake of the most modest mass activities. But in so modest mass activities. But in so dictatorship can no longer be mainmodest mass activities. But in so dictatorship can no longer be mainmodest mass activities of new imperialist wars, will not surpass one hundredfold the sacrifices of all revolutions, past as if the victims of modest mass activities. But in so dictatorship can no longer be mainmodest mass activities at the most dictatorship can no longer be mainmodest mass activities. But in so doing the Communists must give themselves a clear accounting of the tasks that are posed by the most dictatorship can no longer be mainmodest mass activities. But in so doing the Communists must give themselves a clear accounting of the tasks that are posed by the march of developments in order to like themselves a clear accounting of the tasks that are posed by the most dictatorship can no longer be mainmodest mass activities. But in so doing the Communists must give themselves a clear accounting of the tasks that are posed by the march of developments in order to like themselves a clear accounting of the tasks that are posed by the march of developments in order to like themselves and the like themselves a clear accounting of the tasks that are posed by the march of developments in order to like themselves and the l will not go beyond mutual threats a self-sufficient means for the deand waving of fists. What this fense of an impotent democracy but TODAY, THE KEY TO THE means is that they are chloroforming the proletariat to facilitate Fascist surgery. A genuine proleparian politician on the contrary would be duty bound to explain to the Austrian workers that their class enemy, himself, has been caught between the paws of history; that no other way out remains for him except to destroy acordance with all the rules of revolutionary strategy and .tactic.

have heard it more than once in to a general strike, but to do so one must fight and not play hide battle must be issued, one must up these words in order to imme- could have done so with immeasurorganize for the struggle, arm for diately deduce reasons in favor of ably and incomparably less sacrithe struggle, widen and deepen the "moderation" and "cautiousness". channel of struggle, not confining For, is it permissible for a party of the Fascist regime? The same oneself to the legal forms of strug! to take upon itself the grandiose must also be said about the Ausgle, i. e., the framework dictated "risk" involved in the revolutionby the armed enemy. And first of any methods of struggle? As if all, the party itself must be per- the Austrian proletariat has the ted front is obligatory at present meated through and through with freedom of choice! As if millions also for Austria. But the united the idea that unless it engages in of workers can depart for their front is no panacea; the crux of a decisive battle, it is lost.

It is quite possible that the Cen tral Committee will actually issue a call for a general strike, after the "open", (that is to say, the decisive) blow had been dealt. But this would mean that after leaving the stage, one calls upon the masses to a naked protest, or manifestation of impotence. Just so did ceived from Germany. the liberal opposition call upon the people not to pay their taxes after the monarch had told it to go to House in a large German city, with hell. As a rule, nothing ever came a long workers' tradition, occurred of it. In all probability, the work- in the following manner: of it. In all probability, the workof it. In all probability, the workof it. In all probability, the workof the line indicated in the morning of the line indicated in the line indicated ers will not respond at all to the belated and hopeless appeal of a the police occupied the Peoples Wals gold "Every one of your proparty already smashed.

But let us allow that the Fascists will give the social democracy time enough to call for a general strike at the last minute, and that ed, on being asked by the adminimous majority." (Applause from which play in the life of the counnet reducing expenses). The rethe goal of the general strike? What must it achieve? In what occupation by the Storm Troops. forms must it develop? How should That is the usual subterfuge of take the necessary steps. people who have nothing to say, who hope in their hearts to get along without fighting, and who consequently shy away in coward- us at all, the police will save us

The (socialist) administration tried to calm and pacify the work- tried to calm and pacify the work- ers by saying: "That will not help us at all, the police will save us the flexessary septiments of the flexessary septiments.

Frankfurter Zeitung of March 25, 1933. Poor Hitler, you come only after Noske; you haven't the honor of being the first.

confine oneself only to the mobili- At this time the C. P. was already ner of democracy and socialism" have reached their highest intenof civil war.

The general strike could prove to be a sufficient means for repelling the counter-revolutionary overturn only in the event that the enemy is unprepared and lacks sufficient forces and experience (the Kapp) Putch). But even in the latter case, after having repelled the adventuristic onset the general strike only restored fundamentally that situation which obtained on the eve of the conflict, and consequently gave the enemy opportunity to utilize the experience of his own defeat and to prepare better for a new attack. But the general strike turns out to be completely insufficient even for defensive purposes in the event that the enemy is guides, to the House and demand difficulty. Unfortunately the Nazis about it. Create a Communist plainly, without exaggeration or Its preservation and further de the reduction of unemployment will powerful and experienced, all the more so if he leans upon the state apparatus, or even has at his disposal its benevolent "neutrality". No matter what the basic reason for the conflict may be, under the order to break the ominous danger cards. with a single blow. In so far as | Naturally, they have sent a vigthe general strike remains only a orous telegram of protest to presistrike it inevitably under these con- dent Hindenburg who will surely ditions dooms itself to defeat. In make good use of it. They have order to snatch victory the strategy not forgotten to paste up a placard failed. We need a new leadership the appeal of the E. C. C. I. ap- hoarding, substitutions, unjustified show that the rank and file can be of the strike must grow into the calling for quiet and the mainten- composed of the best remaining peared, which the party distribut- price advances, etc. On such a mobilized to fight on these lines. strategy of the revolution, it must ance of order.

only as one of the weapons in the SITUATION IN THE HANDS OF gruity between the political goal combined struggle of two camps. THE AUSTRIAN PROLETARIAT. and the reformist methods. The strike must be accompanied with and supplemented by the arm- tic amazement the fact that the with and supplemented by the arming of the workers, the disarming German workers gave seven million ocratic and Communist workers for tagonisms which break out in it ing of the workers, the disarming of workers gave seven million beyond the confines of the two destroy the democratic structure of Fascist bands, the removal or votes to the social democratic structure lief century is the most disturbed opposite poles but twins". It is Bonapartists from power, and the lection, despite the closing parties and outside of the trade unjust as world antagonisms are decentury within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull undoubtedly true, that social democratic structure lief century within the memory of hull lief century within th seizure of the material apparatus down of the newspapers, etc., etc. of the state.

this instance there is no escaping tablishment of a Soviet regime ing articles. They have conned the mortal struggle; and that this cannot be realized without the the mortal struggle; and that this construct society on the basis of Marx and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society of the construct society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society of the construct society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society of the construct society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the heritage of old antagonisms consider a society of the construct society on the basis of mark and the history of Europe and the his the mortal struggle; and that this scannot be realized without the Marx and the history of seizure of power by the Communist struggle must be prepared for in seizure of power by the Communist but they have not the suffice for the suffice orable correlation of forces in the Outo bauer has been miling that attion of democracy, even temporar- professing is assured of a leaderin the event of a direct attack on the part of the enemy, the workers tria without the previous seizure of the part of the enemy, the workers tria without the previous seizure of the service of the service of the previous seizure of the service of the part of the enemy, the workers will resort to a general strike. But will resort to a general strike. But will resort to a general strike. But will resort to a general strike by the social democracy if sponds to the historical background. will resort to a general strike. But this to is an empty threat. We the locality worker's portry is not lend to any degree corrections and factor-process to the historical background. If sponds to the historical background. It is considered the locality worker's portry is not lend to any degree corrections and factor-process to the historical background. It is the locality worker's portry is not lend to any degree corrections and factor-process to the historical background. Germany. The general strike can to be produced out of one's vest one be produced out of one's vest of the produced. The workers may be led can only hasten the crushing of the proletariat.

any danger! As if the victims of democracy for the sake of the most wardness of countries seized by

Otto Bauer welcomed with ecsta-These people opine that the emo-Once again we repeat if the estions and the thoughts of the pro-

riers blocking their road to hege-The Austro-philistine will catch mony, and moreover that they fices then the inevitable sacrifices

Of course, the policy of the univillas in Switzerland like Otto the matter lies in the context of

Voices From Germany

The occupation of the People's

though the searches were fruitless remaining in order to prevnt its

The People's House was surit defend itself against military rounded by workers. There were and police repressions, and against around 200,000 of them. Immedithe Fascist pogrom? Wiseacres ately after the occupation, the facwill reply that it is impossible to tories were informed of it and they answer such questions beforehand. demanded that the administration stroy Bolshevism," (that is, the

ice and superstitution from questiron the Fascist hordes. It is usemethods.

The general strike is only the mobilization of revolutionary forces but still not war. To utilize the general strike successfully as a workers. Here a very large of the successfully as a workers. Here a very large of the property of their initiative they can conquer minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go their chains. And by their initiative they can conquer minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go their chains. And by their initiative they can conquer say and socialism, prime minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go their chains. And by their initiative they can conquer because it minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go their initiative they can conquer because it minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go their chains. And by their initiative they can conquer because it minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go their chains. And by their initiative they can conquer because it minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go their chains. And by their initiative they can conquer because it minister of Prussia, has resigned his seat as member of the Reichstag and the Landtag in order to retire from political life and to go their chains. general strike successfully as a workers' Home. However, the to Switzerland to rest. True pil demonstration or a threat, i. e., to workers remained at their post. lar of the social democracy, "banzation of forces, without engaging absent, it had abandoned the field. in battle—that is possible only About 4 o'clock in the afternoon within strictly defined historical several Storm Troop contingents launching the illegal organizations. day the N. Y. miniatures of the

conditions; whenever matters touch arived; they cleared the streets They recommend to their followers, German Brown Shirts came to an important but still a partial, with blackjacks and revolvers in in the sport organizations, to join Teutonia Hall to gorge thmeselves task; when the enemy wavers and hand. Between the time that the the Steel Helmets and to continue with food and drink in celebration waits only for a push in order to workers left the factories and the their athletics there, but on the of butcher Hitler's 44th birthday. retreat; when the possessing socialist party gave the express or condition of no political activity. classes are still left with a wide ders to come immediately from the field for retreat and maneuver. None factory to the Home, the People's of this obtains at present, at the House, guarded by the police, was Reichsbanner headquarters, they the workers they came surrounded time when all the contradictions in the possession of the Storm carry on the struggle against Fasc-Troops. It is noteworthy that the ism and for democracy and socialsity and when every serious conflict puts on the agenda the ques- hands of the social democrats, the organization is dissolved of itself; tion opposite Teutonia Hall. tion of power and the perspective chief of police was a social democrat and 80 percent of the policemen were members of the social

democratic party. After the streets were cleared, the Fascist hordes arrived at the People's House, the police opened the doors to them and they seized blows from their blackjacks they chased the secretaries and the thing was in the hands of the Fascfunctionaries from their desks. The ists.

House is still occupied today. The economic administration was maintained in order to provide for the Storm Troops. All food products are consumed by these mur-

house. The Nazis organize visits, with passed over to Fascism without 30 Pfennig admission so as to fill shut the door in their face and de-

their coffers. workers' Home.

The trade union bureaucrats are strike will close the ranks of bourgeois parties, the state apparatus ship because they did not save a and the Fascist bands, and in this united front of the bourgeoisie the more they have facilitated that is a fact that there were work in common so as to build from the common in the saloons and are wracking united front of the bourgeoisie the more, they have facilitated the task 80 votes in the preceding election, preponderance will fall inevitably for the Fascists: the better funcinto the hands of the most extreme tionaries are abandoned to reand determined elements, i. e., the prisals, for the membership cards out fraud? Fascists. When face to face with carry all the necessary information the general strike, the counter- as to party membership, etc....The revolution will be compelled to greatest crime is that of not havstake all its forces on one card in ing safeguarded the membership

ages from a series of letters recial Fascism", that is, Fascism Once set in motion the German protects its twin brother, as Stalin proletariat would immediately prove

eyes of the workers.

House promising to leave immedi- Wels, said, "Every one of your pro- lation of forces. The Austrian soately if they found nothing. Al- possils regarding the interests of cial democracy has behind it apthe workers, the peasants, the emproximately the same percentage ing more money, or gambling on the police, nevertheless, remained players could be accepted, if not of votes. But whereas the Nazis an increase in prices or rate of in possession. The police pretend-unanimously, at least by an enorthe workers will respond solidly stration as to why they did not the social democrats, laughter from to the call. What then? What is evacuate the House, that they were the Right.) See the Saarbruck Volkstimme of March 25, 1933.

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

Wels said: "We, the socialist party, were the first to try to derevolutionary workers) says the Frankfurter Zeitung of March 25, 1933. Poor Hitler, you come only

sleep.

The social democracy of Saxony

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

that after the occupation every-

VIII. Reichstag deputy, Yanke, and Schulbert, deputy in the Saxon ists" that, with flag unfurled, they right go? manded a probation consisting of The swastika flag "adorns" the petty treason and espionage on the C. P. These Stalinists will swallow this also.

IX. whilst they only received 1 or 2

The betrayal of the social democrats has provoked such indignasocial democratic leader, we will view and open eyes". beat him up.

the policies, in the slogans and in the methods of mass actions. With the reservation of preserving complete freedom of mutual criticismand this reservation is unalterable Bonapartism and Fascism Braun! As if a class can duck —the Communists must be preparmortal danger without incurring ed to make an alliance with social

signify a summation of social dem- The national and international anions there still remain Catholic stroying the democratic structure workers and unorganized masses. Not a single one of the old forms the progressive class shows itself fore anything has chosen a bad the proletarian revolution. But the tablishment of a Soviet regime letariat are created by their piddl- of organization which are laden seizure of power by the Communist but they have not the slightest party—and we admit that this is inkling of what inexpossible reparty—and we admit that this is inkling of what inexhaustible realing the united front. A real mobilization of the most brutal, anti-culturalization of the most brutal, anti-culturalization of the most brutal anti-culturalization of the most brut orable correlation of forces in the servoirs of power, entities and creativeness the immediate future—then the restorproletariat is capable of unfolding gans which directly represent the ic fact annears in Hitler's victory at the treatment of the servoirs of power, entities and power, entities and interest of the methods, the extreme expression ist Germany has lost faith in delions. The mission of Fascism, however, is to destroy both. A defendance of the destroy both and directly represent the ic fact annears in Hitler's victory. tion of the masses is unthinkable at methods, the extreme expression ist Germany has lost faith in delions. The mission of Fascism, howimmediate future—then the restor—belling the converted and of the conver sponds to the distortion background. Tiguous layers of the population cal industry democracy may be desible because Socialism, the party The workers were left divided, desired to the population cal industry democracy may be desired to the party of despair was only post-leaders refused to take this line. which gravitate toward the prole- fined as a system of switches and of hope, was unable to seize power. fenseless, without plan or prospects, the leading worker's party is not had there obtained a far-seeing prepared to bring the struggle to had there obtained a far-seeing training the struggle to had there obtained a far-seeing training the struggle to had there obtained a far-seeing training the struggle to had there obtained a far-seeing training the struggle to had there obtained a far-seeing training tra strike by snarpening the situation long since overthrown all the bar-can only hasten the crushing of the long since overthrown all the bar-their nature. The duty of the Com-their nature. The duty of the Com-their nature. The duty of the Com-their nature. The duty of the Communists is to persistently bring for- gonisms as our own. The switch- ent. ward this slogan in the process of es of democracy are fusing or The social democrats, with their struggle. The circumstance that Austria is

many and lags behind the latter in dictatorship." its internal evolution could play a decisive role in the salvation of der a bold and virile policy of the Austria would immediately become Piedmont for the ntire German proletariat. The victory of the Austrian workers would provide the German workers with what they lack at present, with a material drill ground, a comprehensible plan We extract the following. pass- this is also an illustration of "so- of action and hope for victory. itself to be immeasurably more This fact should open wide the powerful than all its enemies taken together. Upon the parliamentary democratic plane, Hitler with his Otto Braun, active fighter for to lose but their chains. And by

VOLKSEITUNG SALESMEN We wish to record a little in cident here which was insignificant in its results but highly illumina-The social democratic leaders are tive while it lasted. Last Satur Several scores of them attended this monstrous anniversary. And In Magdeburg, the seat of the to protect them from the wrath of by a veritable cordon of cops.

About a hundred and fifty party members held a protest demonstra Several party speakers spoke from the platform regaling the audience on Roosevelt Fascism, etc. It began to look to little like a uniwas so greatly "concerned' with or- ted front so the party chairman ganizing and preparing the strug-summoned the editor of the Volksgle against the Fascist bands that zeitung, a reformist sheet from the it had no time to hide a single crowd. He took the platform mak it, clearing out the workers. With file, a single membership list, so ing an outrageously reformist and pacifist speech. All the party mem bers applauded vociferously. The Left Oppositoin was denied a

Then came the piece de resistance of the evening. The chairman of this party controlled and attend ed meeting distributed the Volksderers and better; yet the personnel Landitag, good Stalinists up to zeitung from the platform! How must be paid by the trade union yesterday, are such "marxist-Lenin- far will the party swing to the

> party ready to struggle, that is our answer.

I have deceived myself. Continue one hears it said: if we catch a continue to fight but ,with clear

XIII. elevate itself to the level of resolute actions, replying with a double blow to every blow. In other defends the workers' interests. But asking us what we intend to do not originate from the E. C. C. I.! revolutionary demands could, under Communist of the fight the socialist party and that it could leadership, deevlop to the "boldest equal to it."

eon Trotsky on Hitler's Victory

The old view about the backmarch of developments in order to by developed controlled country in

There is one common reason for the collapse of democracy: capital-The united front cannot merely ist society has outlived its strength. of the League of Nations. Where who wants peace and comfort be-fend the bourgeois regime against unable to seize power so as to time to be born.

My opponents relied on the fact

Reprint of Article in 'Manchester Guardian'

begins with the little finger or the progresses till it reaches the heart. For many the choice between

A Desperate People

breaking under the violent pres- peculiar conservative limitations, sure of class and international hoped, along with the other parliaantagonisms. That is the kernel mentary parties, to "educate" Fascseparated governmentally from Ger-which explains the rapid rise of ism gradually. They gave the position of chief drill sergeant to Hindenburg, the Field Marshall of that the process had only laid hold the Hohenzollerns; they voted for relation to that regime, and the in-Germany and of all Europe —un- of the fringe of the civilized world. him. The workers had the right But I replied: "The strength of in-instincts and wanted to fight. But proletarian vanguard. Proletarian ternal and world antagonisms is the social democrats held them not declining but growing....Gout back, promising to give the signal ful."

Inflation Bill Deceptive

(Continued from Page 1) decidedly deflationary also-the balancing of the budget by reducthrough against the workers in ment relief is the proletarian anslean upon the social by-products taxes to bring in more money while try a secondary and to a major forestation program, the addition degree a parastic role, there is be to being a step toward the milithind the Austrian social democracy arization of the homeless youth the flower of the nation. The ac- and the unemployed, was also a tual relative weight of the Austr- deflationary step, making it easier ian social democracy exceeds over for private capital to cut wages against inflation linked up with ten times the relative weight of all down to the standard set by the the ultimate aims of the revolu-

completely revealed only in action. The development of the cyclical slogans and thereby opportunistic The initiative for revolutionary accrisis during the period following made for carrying these demands tion can come at present only from the bank holiday showed the pre-the Austrian proletariat. What is sence of forces making for the tion of workers' representatives on there necessary for it? Courage, kind of limited and unstable im-The Austrian workers have nothing in the framework of the general a national scale to determine the Nazis won 107 seats in the Reichcrisis of capitalism. Steel production, electric power consumption, carloadings, and similar indices showed a steady increase during this period, apart from the usual seasonal chanegs. Its noteworthy that this was in spite of the actual deflation which was going on during this period, which would normally tend to reduce business activity.

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

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

In the Militant of March 10 we said, "The workers must be told hysteria, that there is a possibility that the present banking crisis may militant policy which is impossible the workers. The spring which develop into a period of inflation, The leader of the party in Wed- which will amount to a wage cut. ding, one of the strongest workers' Such a situation must be met with districts, has called upon us to a demand for higher dollar wages, A party comrade read, by acci- crease needed. The struggle for dent, comrade Trotsky's pamphlet, such higher wages must be waged on March 5. Is this possible with"How to Defeat Fascism". After on as broad a front as possible, as out fraud?

on so broad a front as possible, as for if it allows the operators to further gestures and phrases cannot fraud?

for if it allows the operators to further gestures and phrases cannot fraud? been blind for years. I had con- on a national a basis and be profidence in our C. C. Now I see that portionately weaker if it has to be fought out from shop to shop". We tion in the German proletariat that to give me literature. I want to also proposed that such workers' committees could well carry along with them the petty bourgeois attack of the reactionary press. masses. organized into consumers' XI. Here is how the party sowed con-Reformism and Stalinism have fusion among its members; when suppression of abuses such as printed in the "Progressive Miner" forces. 2,000 social democratic ed, many comrades of the C. P. basis, the struggle for immediate. This example shows how well workers, forming part of the de- said it was a fake, a maneuver of demands could, under Communist of the fight and leaders who are

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

organize to fight higher prices". It means attempting to carry on of German National Socialism.' the economic class struggle at the point of consumption, in the grocery store, instead of at the point the vast political literature devotof production, in the factory, a ed to this question I shall only Proudhonist and not a Marxist refer to a speech made by the of-

approach. Nowhere is the struggle for immediate demands in the fight the Executive Committee of the the German Fascists. This can be government, of \$1 a day and keep, tion; they remain purely isolated pessimists—i. e., people who were tion of workers' representatives on path....We are convinced that the concealed behind inflation. The that now he cannot expect to do function of a Communist party is better, only worse. Our estimate leadership, not the mouthing of of the development of that party

mere pious wishes. The party should immediately Today the Fascists have no reason proceed to the elaboration of a to be pleased." proceed to concrete program for the organization of the fight for higher wages beginning as a defense against inflation, and should agitate among all strata of the workers for the of the leaders of both the workers' calling of a nation-wide united parties. fror conference to fight inflation.

-B. J. FIELD. P. M. A. Under Fire

(Continued from Page 1)

the official policy has tended to

narrow down the differences be-

the type of unionism against which the rank and file rose in revolt. movement the Left Opposition has es. In point of social consciouswarned against a repetition of the ness they are human dust. cruel experiences of the past and

its forces for a resolute counter- hands. Hitler's struggle for conattack. In the circumstances the trol is only beginning. His main strategy of the militant forces can- difficulties are before him. The Progressive Miners of America is in Hitler's favor but in favor of velopment depends on a sustained increase the self-consciousness of Communists in the union. The must ease itself. After the extraprogressive character of the union, ordinary decline of the workers' ing of Communists. At the pre- with confidence. sent stage this is precisely the crux of the problem of the P. M. before him, like his principal strugship? An open fight for the right immediate future. He has too long of workers of all political opinions and sanguinary a war to fight out cipate freely in the life of the union is the only way to reply to the On the other hand, he will try with

What is needed is an organization

-J. P. CANNON.

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

The policy of the Communist party has been thoroughly wrong. Bolshevism and Fascism is rather Its leaders started from the absurd like a choice between Satan and axiom that social democrats and Beelzebub. I shall find it difficult National Socialsits represented to say anything comforting about "two varieties of Fascism", that this. It is clear that the twent-they were, in Stalin's formula, not ieth century is the most disturbed opposite poles but twins". It is manity. Any contemporary of ours ocracy, like Fascism, stands to demethods of the two parties are entirely different. Social democracy Hitler's movement has been lift- is unthinkable without parliamented to victory by 17,000,000 desper- ary government and mass organizaate people; it proves that capital-tions of the workers in trade un-

Predictions

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

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

"The advance of the National Socialists to power means, above all, The Daily Worker has finally the extermination of the flower of waked up to the fact that the fight the German proletariat, the breaking expenditures was forced for higher wages and unemploy up of its organizations, the destruction of faith in itself and in its government service, the veterans and pensioners (the inflationary the first slogan in a group of seven er ferocity and bitterness of social At the Reichstag session of 44 percent of human dust appears and pensioners (the inflationary demands. The last of these, how-partagonisms in Germany, the hellway of balancing the budget would ever, is ridiculously impractical ish work of Italian Fascism will have been through increasing bor- and anti-Marxian — "Housewives, probably appear mild and almost humane when compared with that

The Stalinist faction said that this was panic-mongering. Out of ficial leader of the German Communist Party, Thaelmann, before Communist International in April 1931, when he exposed so-called lowing words:

"We have not allowed panicmongering to divert us from our has been confirmed by events....

That quotation is enough! Thus, while bourgeois democracy was collapsing Fascism was assisted to power by the united efforts

Hitler's Difficulties

Hitler's government has lost no time in setting a fast pace. It announces that it will educate the Communists concentration camps. Hitler promises to exterminate the social democrats, that is, to achieve, in much harder conditions, the task which was beyond the strength of Bismarck and Wiltween the Progressive Miners and helm II. Hitler's political army is made up of officials, clerks, shopkeepers, tradesmen, peasants, all Since the inception of the new the intermediate and doubtful class-

It is a paradox that Hitler, for urged the militant elements to all his anti-parliamentarism, is much consolidate their forces in a firm stronger in the parliamentary than Left wing on a policy of class in the social plane. The Fascist struggle. This warning must be dust remains dust after each new repeated again now when the de- counting of heads. On the other moralizing agitation of the bosses hand, the workers are united by is reaching into the union and find- the process of production. The ing direct and indirect supporters productive forces of the nation are there. The Left wing must rally strongly concentrated in their not reconcile itself with that of the change of trade and industry is leading circles in the union. The changing the relation of forces not the product of a miners' revolt. the proletariat. The mere fact of without a free participation of has been too tightly compressed which has distingiushed it from the standard of living during the years Lewis organization, cannot be of crisis a period of widespread maintained it it permits the hound-economic struggles can be expected

Hitler's principal difficulties are A. What is a progressive union gles. In the international arena -including Communists-to parti-inside Germany for him to think seriously of war against France. all his strength to prove to France The resolutions of the local un- and the other capitalist states the necessity of supporting him in his providential mission of fighting Bolshevism. Allowing for all diversion, the foreign policy of Fascist Germany is essentially directed against the Soviet Union. Prinkipo, March 1933

-L. TROTSKY.