## EDITORIAL NOTES

#### SCOTTSBORO

The Scottsboro case reveals American capitalism in one of its most hideous aspects, and offers to the Communists an exceptional opportunity to deal the whole system a mighty, world-resounding blow. The deliberately planned assassination of the unfortunate negro children is notice to the entire world that imperialist America, this pretended pacifist and friend of justice, is in fact a monster. The endeavor to thwart its bloody designs in the present case calls out the deepest and best human instincts. The words solidarity and justice acquire fresh values, they become new again in the struggle for the liberation of the helpless young negro boys who await their fate in the Alabama jail. It is hard to think of a cause that could appeal more strongly to the hearts of the workers and all the oppressed than that of these obscure and friendless symbols of

doubly persecuted race and class. From the revolutionary standpoint, the struggle, of course, goes far beyond the immediate objectives of the court appeals. To save the lives of the intended victims and restore their liberty is indeed our aim; but the only hope of accomplishing this is to set a really immense movement into motion. And such an achievement could have great implications for the strengthening of the Communist influence over the workers and the Negro masses. All of this is bound up together with the concrete fight for the freedom of the prisoners. To separate the one from the other, as the liberal and socialist snivellers try to do, would only make the sacrifice of the prisoners doubly certain.

The problem consists primarily in the mobilization of the white workers for the fight. In our opinion it is incorrect to view the Scottsboro case as a "Negro issue"; it is wrong to direct the main agitation toward the negro people and concrete the organization work around them, including their churches and lodges. Such a tactic will not be able WHY SO HOT? to arouse a movement of the necessary will fail even to make the desired impression on the Negro people.

they cannot help being conscious of their to the patient or to the thermometer. make them accessible to the Communist organizers of that movement.

defense movement is the organization of body will admit is the case with the

the white workers for the fight. Once a good start is made along this line, the enlistment of huge Negro contingents in the common struggle will be a comparatively simple matter. In this question, as in every important undertaking in the class struggle, the trade union movement exhibits its decisive importance. The trade unions ought to be alive at this moment with Communist agitation on the Scottsboro case. Here is an unexampled opportunity to explain to the organized workers the necessity of solidarity with their black brothers, and to dramatize the argument with the monstrous story of Scottsboro.

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Assuming a Communist Party that knows how to work in the trade unions, a big response can be expected from this agitation. The sympathies of the organized workers can be quickly crystallized into a net-work of conferences. The movement of the unions in this direction will give a tremendous impetus to the propaganda among the Negroes; they will join in the movement with enthusiasm and hope. The concrete demonstrations of white and Negro solidarity, ominously foreshadowing their coming union in the revolution, will impress the judical hirelings more than a thousand lawyers' briefs; will make them pause and weigh the possible consequences of their murders. The Communists, as the organizers and leaders of the unprecedented demonstration, as the loyal and capable champions of the most oppressed and persecuted, will gain an enormous prestige.

In such a perspective there is nothing fantastic. It assumes merely an active Communist party which understands the essence of the Negro question, which applies the tactic of the united front, and has not isolated itself from the trade union movement. Even in the present situation the deficiencies can be made up by a timely correction of policy. The best way to serve the Scottsboro case is to press for this.

We have been watching with considerbreadth and power. And, moreover, it able interest, and even with a little alarm, the steadily rising temperature of of nothing else but to concentrate their the editors of the Workers' Age about There is no doubt that the Negro "the poison of chauvinism" which is masses burn with indignation at the seeping into the Party in their absence. Scottsboro outrage and suffer their own If it is a real fever, and if it hangs on thousand-fold wrongs again in sympathy much longer and continues to get hotwith the prisoners. But along with that ter, something is bound to happen, either

position as a hopeless racial minority. Of course, it may be an artificial tem-What they need to inspire them for perature. We have heard of such cases. struggle is the prospect, or at least the A few years ago a girl in the middle hope, of victory. Direct agitation alone West baffled the doctors with what ap-The sight of peared to be a chronic fever, far higher a significant movement of white wrok- in degree than the human system normalers fighting on their side is the agitator ly can withstand. Every time they took that will really move the Negroes and her temperature the thermometer regis tered 110 or over. In spite of that the patient appeared to remain hale and The central problem of the Scottsboro hearty and in good appetite, as every-

burned-up Lovestoneites. The mystery was solved when the doctors caught the was solved when the doctors caught the patient napping and discovered that her temperature had been induced by hot water bags concealed about her person. She was only fooling.

If the Right wingers are simulating de lirium by some dodge of this nature, an extenuating circumstance must be acknowledged: it is not often that they have a chance to get excited about the opportunism of other people. And they the Japanese diplomats from America is ago. But, as the saying goes, every season has its vegetable, and we will not stop to quibble over definitions. The point now is that the Lovetsoneites, view ing the present situation darkly, expect

Are they really so disturbed? And i so, why? It is true that the slogan of the Party leaders is a false one, and it is likewise true that it contains the germ of a social-patriotic deviation. But the motivation of the slogan is far from outright chauvinism. As a matter of fact it is not inspired directly by the attitude of the Stalinists toward American imperialism, but by their mistaken conception of the defense of the Soviet Union, which they disconnect from its basic foundation of internationalism and international revolution. Under the tutelage and corrupting pressure of Stalin these ex-revolutionists and hired functionaries have replaced proletarian in ternationalism with the theory of socialism in one country. "Socialism" is to be built in the Soviet Union. and the mission of the Comintern is . . . to prevent intervention. The revolutionary workers in the other countries are assigned to the debasing role of pacifist frontier guards.

Motivated by these conceptions, the Stalinists of the American Party, imagining the chief danger to the Soviet Union at the moment to be an attack by Japan (and there also mistakenly), can think attack on Japanese imperialism. The conclusion is not without a certain logic. It is false because the theory from which it flows is false to the core.

But the Right wing were united with the Stalin Centrists in the manufacture of this counterfeit theory, and they still defend it no less ardently. National socialism is the foundation theory of gitation against a slogan that derives as it increases in volume. This suggests the idea that they have a perfect control over their own fever. In this case an early return to normality on their part may be expected.

## Book Review:

THE STRANGE CAREER OF

By John S. Hamil. Wm. Faro, Inc.

This book is a forerunner of a series of books now published on the life of come in advance, would sell out their Hoover. In spite of its attempt at sen- stock and leave the "public holding the naturally make the most of it. We now sation throughout, the book has value in bag." Or the process was worked in the learn from the Workers' Age that the portraying the character of the indivi-Stalinists' demand for the expulsion of dual who stands at the head of the Am- not yield repayment for initial work, erican government. To the author the Hoover was to send in reports showing chauvinistic, and that chauvinism in character of Hoover is responsible for the turn is "the crassest form of opportun- present crisis and the general difficulties from twenty to hundred percent profit. ism". This is precisely the way they confronting the economic life of the Again stocks sold by the hundreds of characterized "Trotskyism" a few years country. The individual is all-importious and the "insiders" were becomtant and therein lies the explanation of ing rich-the public duped again and everything-that is the explanation of left "holding teh bag". This was the Hamil. If someone else were president manner in which Hoover served his apthings would be different. With this ap- prenticeship with this company until he proach we have nothing in common. We become one of its partners. He had things to get worse and worse. Chauv- regard the individual as part of the inism, they say, "is being pumped into system of capitalism and its politics. We the veins of our Party, in ever greater are concerned with the why and wherequantities and in ever more virulent fore of the choice of the capitalist party at the helm of the government. In this sense the book offers an excellent ex- and one or two others. Once a partner, planation. It shows Hoover in his true light-as the individudal who is best suited to lead his class and follow the known as a hater of labor. There he dictates of Wall Street. More than that attempts to get the ban on Asiatic labor it is a profound exhibit of Hoover's class ideology and his hatred for the working class.

The book begins with Hoover's orphanage and his boyhood life with his uncle, a real estate "shark", in Oregon. His uncle was in the business of selling real estate that never existed. The town where these lots were supposed to be, could not be found to this day, even by the official surveyors of the government. Hoover got his first training here. His uncle, a fraudulent land speculator was his first teacher.

At that time the Leiand Stanford University was being organized and Hoover was dispatched there as a student. The records of the school show him to be an extremely poor student who could not master the rudiments of English. Here bing the Chinese of their holdings. He he studied geology, on the basis of which participated in the steal of the Kaiping representative of the capitalists with an he later passed off as a mining engineer. But a school just organized could not safe to steal deeds covering the owner- is a typical representative of Wall Street afford to fail its students and Hoover was graduated notwithstanding his poor South Africa promoting fake mines and all the qualities needed for one whose scholastic achievements.

The most important turning point in his life was his job with the Bewick Moreing & Co. of London. This concern dealt in mine speculations. Hoover was hired not as geologist but as "a claim jumper, a snooper and a spy." In a company. His work consisted in going mines. The result: 200,000 Chinese were promoter to president; really not a to send in reports on the conditions of gineering and Mining Co., Ltd. did the to Australia as their "mining engineer" Right wing politics. That is why their the gold mines owned and promoted by job. And why not? They received \$10 tremely low. There his task consisted of sending in glowing reports of gold to be mined. On the basis of his reports which were published, new stock was put on the market to be sold. When the public had been sufficiently duped, stock

sold for hundreds of thousands of dol-MR. HOOVER-Under Two Flags lars, Hoover's task then turned to that of sending in detrimental reports. The 384 pages, \$3.75 result of these reports would be a decline in the stock values of this or that company. The "insiders" knowing the outproven himself.

> that of manipulating stocks to the advantage of Moreing, Stanley Rowe, himself Hoover began to show more interest in the work. In Australia he becomes from the Orient with the object of destroying the then powerful Australian miners' union. On failing in this attempt, he begins a campaign "against the present high rates of working costs". In other words, lowering wages, increasing working hours, and refusing to make better the working conditions of the mines. The death rate among the miners grows at an alarming pace. He wrote at that time: "The disregard for human life permits mining by economy in timber and the aggrieved relatives are amply compensated by the regular payment of \$30 per man lost." And again, "men were cheaper than timber".

The whole history of his work was

The company expands. In China Hoover's object was exploiting and rob-Coal mines, even to personally rob a intense hatred of the working class. He ship of this rich mine. We find him in who adorns the presidential chair with filching the small stock-holders of Bri- job consists of leading his class against tain. The "promoter" together with his the workers. Selling Chinese workers associates conceives of a daring plan. into slavery, manipulating stocks, frau-Why not hire coolie labor to work the dulent mine promotions, sponging on mines in the Transvaal region. The big charity and the sentiments of the peocampaign begins. In China the workers ple built up during a war period, makare promised a virtual fairyland if they ing himself rich by intense exploitation would agree to work in the Transvaal of mine workers he has succeeded-from sold into slavery. Hoover's Chinese En- strange career at all. for each Chinaman secured and \$25 each ships. From Johannesburg he wrote the following, describing this slave business as: "the great sciene of extracting the help. It can be given by collecting funds greatest possible amount of money from for their defense. Send all funds to some other human being.

The war breaks out. Hoover discovers St, Chicago, Ill

another "business". Preying on the charity angle we see him now organizing the food relief to Belgium. This "job" consisted of buying huge food supplies, secured through the money raised by exploiting the sentiments of the people during the war, and then selling this food to Belgium at huge profits. It was easily done, Ince the head of the Belgian Relief was his business associate. Francqui, who assumed the role of the virtual dictator of Belgium in those days -the government having moved its capital to northern France upon the occupation of Belgium by the Germans. But it was precisely in those years that Belgium experienced the largest crops and during the first years of the war had more than sufficient food. Through arrangements with the Germans, the Belgium produce was to be sent to Germany, and the food Hoover supplied was to go to Belgium. Germany paid for its food to Belgium and Belgium paid for its food to Hoover. Between Francqui

and himself the spoils were divided. The rest of his career is well known. He returned to the States after twenty years' absence. He was made. Hoover becomes a "worker" for the government. He becomes a member of Harding's cabinet and participates in the infamous oil scandal. The myth of the "great engineer" is thrown at the people. He is elected president and in that capacity lifted in order to bring in cheap labor has more than once exhibited his intense hatred for the working class.

Hamil effectively destroys the myth of the "engineer" who was really a promoter and who in all the years of his business life helped in a grand steal that even made the ordinary business "ethics" blush with shame. The author points out a mining engineer must know chemistry, physics, mechanics, electricity, assaying, metallurgy-and of all of these Hoover was totally ignorant. But he was suited for his job with Bewick, Moreing & Co. He manipulated stocks, welched on his debts, was sued by China for his steal of the Kaiping Mines and through these years developed into the fit candidate of president.

He stands out today, built up by a great organizing campaign, as an able

-ALBERT GLOTZER.

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# DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM by LEON TROTSKY

erroneous views which originate in "the liberal interpretation of the contradictions between Fascism and bourgeois democracy and the outright Fascist forms" ... The gist of this Stalinist philosophy is quite plain: from the Marxist denial of the absolute contradiction it deduces the general negation of the contradiction, even of the relative contradiction. This error is typical of vulgar radicalism. For if there be no contradiction whatsoever between democracy and Fascism,even in the sphere of the form of the rule of the bourdemocracy = Fascism. For some reason, however, gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly social democracy is dubbed social Fascism. And the and immediately, all the organs and institutions of meaning of the term "social" in this connection has

been left unexplained to this very moment.\* Nevertheless, the nature of things does not change in accordance with the decisions of the E. C. C. I plenums. A contradiction does exist between democracy and Fascism. It is not at all "absolute", or putting it in the language of Marxism, it doesn't a all denote the rule of two irreconciliable classes. But it does denote different systems of the domination of one and the same class. These two systems: the one, parliamentary-democratic; the other, Fascist, derive their support from different combinations of the oppressed and exploited classes; and they unavoidably come to a sharp clash with each other.

The social democracy, which is today the chief representative of the parliamentary-bourgeois régime, derives its support from the workers. Fascism is supported by the petty bourgeoisie. The social democracy without the mass organizations of the workers can have no influence. Fascism cannot intrench itself in power without annihilating the workers' organizations. The parliament is the main arena of the social democracy. The system of Fascism is based upon the destruction of parliamentarism. For the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the parliamentary and Fascist it has recourse to one or the other, depending upon the historical conditions. But for both the social

The XIth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. came to the with their parliamentary screens, no longer suffice to decision that it was imperative to put an end to those hold society in a state of equilibrium—the turn of the Fascist régime arrives. Through the Fascist agency, capitalism sets in motion the masses of the crazed petty bourgeoisie, and bands of the de-classed demoralized lumpenproletariat; all the countless human beings whom finance capital itself has brought to desperation and frenzy. From Fascism the bourgeoisie demands a thorough job; once it has resorted to methods of civil war, it insists on having peace for a period of years. And the Fascist agency by utilizing the petty bourgeoisic as a battering ram, by overgeoisie,-then these two régimes obviously enough whelming all obstacles in its path, does a thorough must be equivalent. Whence the conclusion social job. After Fascism is victorious, finance capital sovereignty, the executie, administrative and educational powers of the state: the entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the co-operatives. When a state turns Fascist, it doesn't only mean that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the patterns set by Mussolini—the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role—but it means, first of all for the most part, that the workers organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of Fascism.

The above is not at all contradicted by the fact that, during a given period, between the democratic and the Fascist systems, a transitional régime is established, which combines the features of both: such, in general, is the law that governs the displacement of one social system by another, even though they are in Molotov's ear the great idea of "the third period". irreconciliably inimical to each other. There are periods during which the bourgeoisie leans upon both front rank of the revolutionary offensive." The seizthe social democracy and Fascism, that is, during ure of power was proclaimed to be the immediate task which it simultaneously manipulates its electoral and And since, in the face of the uprising of the proletarrégimes represent only different vehicles of dominion; terroristic agencies. Such, in a certain sense, was the lat, all parties, except the Communist, are countergovernment of Kerensky during the last months of its revolutionary, it was no longer necessary to distinexistence, when it leaned partly on the Soviets and at guish between Fascism and social democracy. The democracy and Fascism, the choice of one or the other the same time conspired with Kornilov. Such is the theory of social Fascism was ordained. And the funcvehicle has an independent significance, more than government of Bruening as it dances on a tightrope tionaries of the Comintern lost no time in re-aligning that, for them it is a question of political life or death. between two irreconciliable camps, balancing itself with themselves. Ercoli made haste to prove that precious the Stallnists: they'll let loose a few more choice epithets— At the moment that the "normal" police and mili- the emergency decrees instead of a pole. But such a as truth was to him, Molotov was more precious, and and that's all. And meanwhile the fate of the revolutions in

period, during which the social democracy is on the verge of exhausting its mission, while, in that same period, neither Communism nor Fascism is ready as yet to seize power.

The Italian Communists, who have had to study the problems of Fascism for a long time, have protested time and again against the wide-spread abuse of these concepts. Formerly, at the VIth Congress of the Comintern, Ercoli was still formulating views on the question of Fascism which are now credited as "Trotskyist". Ercoli at that time defined Fascism as being the most thorough and uncomprising system of reaction, and he explained: "this administration supports itself not by the cruelty of its terroristic acts, not by murdering large numbers of workers and peasants, not by applying on a large scale varied methods of brutal torture, not by the severity of its law courts; but it depends upon the systematic annihilation of each and every form of the independent organization of the masses." In this Ercoli is abso lutely correct: the gist of Fascism and its task consist in a complete suppression of all workers' organi zations and in the prevention of their revival. In developed capitalist society this goal cannot be achiev ed by police methods alone. There is only one method for it and that is by directly opposing the pressure of the proletariat-the moment it weakens-by the pressure of the desperate masses of the petty bourgeoisie. It is this particular system of capitalist reaction that has entered history under the name of Fascism.

"All questions as to the relation between Fascism and social democracy," wrote Ercoli, "belong to the same sphere (the irreconciliability of Fascism with the existence of workers' organizations). It is in this re lation that Fascism clearly differentiates itself from all other reactionary régimes established hitherto is the contemporary capitalist world. It rejects al compromise with the social democracy; it persecutes it relentlessly; it deprives it of all legal means of existence; it forces it to emigrate."

So reads an article published in the leading organs of the Comintern! Subsequently, Manuilsky buzzed France, Germany and Poland were assigned to "the tary resources of the bourgeois dictatorship, together condition of the state and of the administration is he . . . wrote a report in defense of the theory of the Orient is tied up with this question

temporary in character. It signalizes the transition [social Fascism. "The Italian social democracy", he announced in February 1930, "turns Fascist with the greatest readiness." Alas, the functionaries of official Communism turn flunkies even more readily.

As was to be expected, our criticism of the theory and application of "the third period" was decreed counter-revolutionary. Nevertheless, the cruel experiences that cost the proletarian vanguard dearly, forced an about face in this sphere also. "The third period" was pensioned off, and so was Molotov himself-from the Comintern. But the theory of social Fascism remained behind as the lone ripe fruit of the third period. No changes could take place here: only Molotov was tied up with the third period; but Stalin himself was enmeshed in social Fascism.

DIE ROTE FAHNE begins its researches into social Fascism with Stalin's words, "Fascism is the military organization of the bourgeoisie which leans upon the social democracy for active support. The socal democracy, objectively speaking, is the moderate wing of Fascism." Objectively speaking, it is a habit with Stalin, when he attempts to generalize, to contradict the first phrase by the second and to conclude in the second what doesn't at all follow from the first. There is no debating that the bourgeoisie leans on the social democracy, and that Fascism is a military organization of the bourgeoisie; and this has been remarked upon a long time ago. The only conclusion which follows from this is that the social democracy as well as Fascism are the tools of the big bourgeoisie. How the social democracy becomes thereby also a "wing" of Fascism is incomprehensible. Equally profound is another observation by the same author: Fascism and social democracy are not enemies, they are twins. Now twins may be the bitterest enemies: while on the other hand allies need not be born necessarily on one and the same day and from identical parents. Stalin's constructions lack even formal logic, to say nothing of dialectics. Their strength lies in the fact that none dares challenge them.

(Continued in next issue)

←L. TROTSKY.

 Metaphysicians (people who do not reason dialectically assign to one and the same abstraction two, three or more designations, often directly contradictory. "Democracy" in general and "Fascism" in general, so we are told, are in no torship of workers and peasants" (for China, India, Spain) Proletaran dictatorship? No! Capitalist, dictatorship, per haps? No! What then? A democratic one! Somewhere in the universe, it appears, there exists a pure classless democracy. Yet according to the XIth plenum of the E. C. C. I., democracy differs in no wise from Fascism. That being so, wherein does "the democratic dictatorship" from . . . the Fascist dictatorship?

Only a person utterly naive will expect to get a serious