Trotsky to the Austrian S. D. Opposition SUB DRIVE Stalin Diplomacy& Marxian Fundamentals

Several Austrian social demo-crats, in opposition to their leader- A Reply to Some Concrete Danneberg, Seltz and Co. (all of ship, have done me the honor of asking me for political advice or answers to several concrete ques- pline, the statutes and the unity of tions. Needless to say, I am wholly the party. ready to answer the questions put to me, within the limits prescribed by my absence from the scene of What are we to understand by immediate struggle.

unfavorable state of mind of the greatest advantage for the prolemasses. Doubtless, everything that tarian revolution, could have been done from above has been done to discourage and Austrian social democratic opposidemoralize the workers. But the spirit of the masses is a variable magnitude. If a fighting and encouraging Left faction raises its the Opposition has not yet presen- stances can only be realized by the voice in time, the state of mind ted itself before the working armed strength of the workers. conflict between the Nazis and the facilitate the task of Bauer and government can be a favorable sitworkers. A revolutionary should be: to speak out what is. not give up a position for lost so long as it is not in the hands of draft declaration of the social de- trade unions will only crush the

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

3. One of the correspondents writes me: "You will no doubt demand that we join your organization." No, today the question is not posed so abstractly. The organization of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) stands on the ground of a definite international program which has stood the test abstract. No attempt is made by the C. I. as perpetrated in this from a friend or fellow worker? of the great historical events in a the leadership to give a concrete country, we have arrived at the etc.) We will naturally be very They are unknown to the workers. happy if the further development They never give a lead in demonof events brings the social democra- strations. They have no mass tic opposition closer to us. On our leaders in their ranks. They sit sion of sufficient data, we cannot bureaucrats have instituted against our peoples closer together and in side, we are ready to do everything above and wait for a sportaneous come out openly in an attack on all who manifest any sympathy furthering the true consolidation of to facilitate and to hasten this move from the masses. They avoid the line of the C. I. To do so with the ideas of the Left Opposi- general peace will continue to grow with the ideas of the Left Opposirapprochement through the means the struggle morally and physically. would be only to fall into the trap tion. But that is breaking down, bears your name. Thus you recriticism. But that demands a democracy.

sition can bring about a change in sional secretariat and are complet- cess if we only approach the work- tant appears every week-fifty-two the state of mind of the workers ing the details for a conference of ers with a correct political line and times a year. Bought from the on the condition that it immediately all opposition factions. If at that the will to give it concrete expres- newsstands this amounts to \$2.60. fication of the pact) a demonstrashows that it is not inclined to conference we agree politically, we sion. confine itself to literary criticism shall endeavor to coordinate our I am sending this addressed to saving. In addition the paper is many than for rapprochement with and if it is not getting ready to activities from a common center. a member of your editorial board delivered to your door. capitulate before the party leader. Now, however, another factor as I am not acquainted with the ship, which capitulates before Fasc- creeps in. The C. I. has endorsed activities of the authorities in your of a half year sub. Twenty-six the importance of the gesture by ism. In other words, they must the expulsion of several of the country regarding revolutionary issues cost \$1.30 on the newsstands. saying that it indicated only that break away from the opposition opposition groups despite the fact correspondence, and a letter ad- A half year sub is only \$1. But France was fearing collapse of the traditions of Max Adler, whose im- that detailed statements from these dressed to an individual is not so there is a way of getting a half Versailles Treaty and seeking to potent "Left" criticism only groups have been forwarded to the strengthens and supports Otto C. I. This has made us decidedly as one addressed to an organization. how. Use the club plan! Get three new alliances, at least by obtaining Bauer and Co. An opposition is suspicious. We have also just reneeded for the revolutionary strug- ceived a few copies of your paper gle and which will not be likely The Militant (something that we to hesitate in carrying out this did not know existed) and on com-

(Continued from last issue)

The New Turn The formula and practice of the united front from below also became untenable by the logic of events, and-what irony of "fate" to the Second International. But right of mutual criticism.

These examples alone are suffi- examples. situation. Any old hand organ can Hitler dictatorship have broken in Germany. change its tune by merely turning with their own International, the a small switch, but it remains Second International, over the issue

the partial change rests upon its completely to him. old false foundation. The united front tactic cannot, of course, exif made in time, could perhaps the proletariat now has to pay, and have given the impulse to a genu- matters might have looked entirely

Questions

the task of "saving the party," that: the tradition of Austro-1. The idea is apparently wide- Marxism, its political course, its spread among the Austrian Left bureaucratic apparatus? But we formulations of the document are social democrats that all is irre- must, on the contrary, put an end trieveably lost already. Such a to all of this as rapidly-and as pessimistic manner of judging a thoroughly as possible. It is impriori is theoretically false and po- possible to save the social demolitically impermissible. Doubtless cratic masses from disintegration the most favorable moment for and political corruption without struggle has been allowed to slip the proclamation of an uncomproby. But the struggle can also be mising struggle against Bauer and placed by a workers democracy carried on in less favorable condi- Co. This struggle must inevitably tions and victory obtained, never- lead to split. The task is just how theless. The pessimists invoke the to consummate this split with the the reestablishment of the bourgeois

> 6. Does that mean that the enigma in revolutionary politics. tion shall immediately leave the party and create a new one? No, (democracy or dictatorship) shall that is not my opinion. Today, when be which under present circummasses, such a split would only

2. The social democratic leader- This document criticises the party to the army for the workers. leadership instead of notifying it The situation can rapidly change. out. It might be said that this every word left unsaid on the part bring in more money at one time Germany, even went so far as to Isvestia wrote on May 6, 1933: word has been much abused. In of the social democratic opposition

> a new light, particularly when it Fascism also. comes from the Left social democrats. It must be stated that Bauer, Prinkipo, March 3, 1933,

names) have betrayed the Austrian proletariat just as Wels and Co. betrayed the German proletariat. Only such a candid and categoric 5. The opposition poses for itself dent intervention of the opposition declaration will make the indepenclear to the workers and at the same time inspire confidence and

> seriousness in its intentions. provoking confusion among the workers.

a) The declaration demands that the bourgeois republic be re What is "workers democracy?" A fight can be conducted either for democracy or for the proletarian dictatorship. The slogan "workers democracy is an impermissible

b) The declaraton nowhere speaks of what the political slogan

7. From this point of view, the of the social democracy and the

the new situation the Austrian will infallibly profit the party

L. TROTSKY

Organize Australian Opposition

(Continued from page 1)

relatively long perspective. In the come that we have commenced to facts! We cannot afford to lose ment situation. Many workers canappreciation of the next, immediate definitely organize the opposition to even the first round of the conflict. tasks of the Austrian social demo- the party leadership. Many of us cratic opposition we must above all are outside the party, having been analyze the present situation in expelled for our criticisms, others of the international situation from to the question of a subscription Austria and in the Austrian social are still on the inside but cannot your angle so that we can clarify simply because no one has ever 4. The social democratic oppo- as us. We have formed a provi- support and are confident of sac make the attempt here. The Mili-

task, out of respect for the disci- paring your statements therein with

the party in this country.

However, until we are in possesthat the leadership here has so So serious has the position be-kindly laid for us. We require Another reason is the unemployfor peace the faithful artisan of

earliest convenience.

Revolutionary greetings, Prov. Sec.

Well it's over! What's the result? We have pushed the subscription list up considerably. It's a couple of hundred subs larger Litvinoff at Geneva last February) than it was. And the paper is a had of necessity to become things to live in peace and friendship with cally. A number of new sub getters have made their mark on these scrolls. Outstanding is the work of comrade Caplan of Kansas City who romped into first place. Another "new-comer" is comrade Kotz unclear, have a tendency toward Capelis of New York for third place, Comrade Dunne of Minneapoiis hit second place.

revolution.

Here	is the final standing:
A.	Caplan24
v.	Dunne12
G.	Kotz 7
	Capelis 7
K.	Czapko, Bethlehem 6
J.	Ruby, Chicago 5
D,	Marcus, N. Y 4
J.	Hamilton Chicago 3
н.	Oehler, Chicago 3
w.	Konikow, Boston 3

have been a little better. There sions for this achievement. which is a great help.

workers will examine this word in leadership and in the last analysis, along we are offering a free copy demonstratively in Geneva last directed against the present politi- Union denied the report officially, of The Only Road by comrade February-shortly after the ap- cal current in Germany." Trotsky to every comrade and pointment of Hitler as Chancellor That means the Stalinists have triend who sends in a year sub to the Militant.

ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER TO THE MILITANT?

Are you a subscriber to the our own experiences of the line of Militant. Or do you get your copy every copy. Why should that be ratified last week": so? One reason is the terror in

But there are a good number of Can you send us a clear analysis other workers who are indifferent move without sharing the same fate our position here? We have good approached them about it. Let us ties:

at the same time. Shoot in the nations possible." half year subs.

preventing wars" (see the Charter Practical Dangers

for Peoples' Rights submitted by

counter-revolutionary government. The leading Soviet statesmen and diplomats became disinterested in destroyed, Stalin hands out gigantic veloped any serious plans of saving the policies of the revolutionary orders to Fascst Germany, which the Soviet Union from destruction! parties. In this whole last period, in gratitude "straightens out" the from 1928 to 1933, a period alive Derop (the reference is to the raids Wrangel. The colonial and corridor with struggles of the greatest pro- on the Soviet Oil Trust Represen- problems can be solved only on the portions, not a single congress of tative in Germany, which took the Comintern has been called. In place on the pretext of weeding out The whole world knows this today, this same period neither Stalin nor the Communists inside them-Ed.) only the Stalinists remain blind and any other leading Soviet statesman for him, And Soviet diplomacy re-believe-like the social democrats has as much as uttered a single news the friendship treaty conclud- did in the Weimar constitution-in word on the German problems. ed with Rathenau. No, on the basis of the workers'

geois foreign policy. "The Soviet policy is concerned. The great Union is everything, the world revolution is nothing," that is the utilize Hitler for the general at- in one country" also romes to the unexpressed principle of Stalinist tack against the Soviet Union, but fore in the behavior of Soviet di-In reality, the Soviet Union, with- role in this. The present hostili- tict. Instead of maintaining its We do not list here the comrades out a concretely pursued aim of ties serve merely to show the loud-duty-bound loyalty to the Chinese who dug up less than three subs. world revolution, is nothing, and mouthed Fascists back to their proletariat and instead of thereby It would require a whole column, doomed to decline. The world bour- proper places. In reality, the Big creating for itself a powerful ally Although the drive is over we are geoisie has realized this much Powers' pact is being formed against imperialist Japan, Stalinist going to continue listing the subs better than the narrow-minded against the Soviet Union, since in-diplomacy has to make the greatest c) The declaration does not as they come in. And we'll be Stalinist bureaucracy. That is why ternational capitalism sees in the concessions to the torturer of some more drives. In the meantime it staked everything on the attempt cloonization of Russia the Way out China, to imperialist Japan, for the carry on. Sub getting is a day to take the Comintern out of the toward a new conjuncture. Faced sake of its "fundamental peace sabotage of the official apparatus to day task of all our comrades. hands of the Soviet Union, even if with this tremendous danger, the policy"-as if the existence of the One phase of the drive could it had to pay with small conces- Stalinist democracy merely sticks Soviet Union had done away with its head into the sand. The diplo- the international class struggle. mocratic opposition, which has been workers councils; the slogan of weren't enough year subs. Now, The Stalin diplomats, led by op- mats of the Soviet Union have lost sent to me, is altogether inadequate. workers' councils opens up the road of course, all subs are welcome ir- portunist policy and practice, have confidence in the forces of the world mats" were of late even prepared respective of their duration. But seized upon these small advantages proletariat. But they do have faith to recognize the vassal state of year subs are the best. They do (credits, favorable trade agree- in the contradictions among the Manchikuo and to sell it the Chiof an uncompromising struggle Many things said above can quickly not cost as much to circularize as ments) and for their sake have nego imperialist powers themselves, they nese Eastern. (The vassals of against it, before the party masses, alter. But one thing can be said a half year sub which has to be lected the policy of the revolution- seek friendship with Hitler. At the Japan ignored this proposition and The word betrayal must be spoken with certainty: all half-measures, circularized twice a year. And they ary party, as was the case in conclusion of the Berlin treaty,

> give it up altogether. It cannot To push this phase of the work be forgotten that Litvinoff declared Union has never set forth any plans in the near future.) The Soviet

> > -that the Soviet Union is prepared never considered how the German the report of the proposition rested

Litvinoff and -- Herriot

reports the following telegram of strategy of opportunist maneuver-As far as we can determine with congratulations from Litvinov to ing with the world bourgeoisie has series of countries (USSR, China, lead and guidance to the party conclusion that our attack against any degree of accuracy, it appears Herriot "for his championship of plunged the C. I. Britain, Spain, Germany, members in their daily struggles. opportunism may have to be extentiate, at least in New York, there the Franco-Soviet non-aggression ded further than the leadership of are four readers of the Militant for pact which the French parliament

> "We are not forgetting that this document, whose value in bringing

Four days earlier the Times reported the discussions on the pact in the French Chamber of Depu-

"Many deputies, including Jacques Doriot, the Communist leader, saw in the Chamber's action (rati A year's sub is \$2. That is a tion rather for Hitlerism in Ger-Russia. M. Doriot, himself attemp-Take the question from the angle ted during the debate to diminish obvious to the red eyes of the Law year sub for only fifty cents. Here's strengthen her position if not by Hoping to hear from you at your other workers to subscribe with you promises of neutrality from all the

four names with only two dollars In the congratulations of Litvinand all four will be entered for ov and the "attack" of Doriot we have the two faces of the contra- Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy

The New York Times of May 23 diction into which the Stalinist

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THE MILITANT 126 East 16th St. N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT

matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. riat, becomes an acute and immedi-Under the act of March 3 1879. Published weekly by the Communist Soviet Union itself. League of America (Opposition)

at 126 East 16th St., N. Y. C. EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Arne Swabeck

Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Whole No. 176 Vol. 6 No. 29 Saturday, June 3, 1933 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year

(Continue of m Page 1) Reactionary Policy and proletariat could be saved from Fascism! This could not nave been said in a more cynical, more brutal fashion. It shows not only the moral conscienceless, but also the bit more widely read geographi- which could replace the world every government, even an openly political narrowmindedness of Stalinism. Therewith the bankrupt dissipaters of the world revolution And now, after the party has been confess that they have never de-Hitler will become the superprostrate back of the Soviet Union. the tenability of the non-aggression Hitler Germany has been isolated pacts.

state, they have conducted a bour- for a while insofar as its foreign Stalin Diplomacy in the Far East All that is reactionary in the powers do, to be sure, want to theory and practice of "socialism they only assign to him a modest olomacy in the Far Eastern con-Yes, the "revolutionary diplo-

> confiscated the railroad, so as to be better able to seize Vladivostok "Public opinion in the Soviet and Irkutsk from the Soviet Union but the conservative Temps has been in a position to prove that on facts. The French Ambassador had it confirmed by the Japanese Foreign Minister! Thus, the international bourgeoisie is better informed about the policy of the Soviet Union than the working class, whom a certain Michael Holiay tells in the Basle Rundschau (Stalin organ): "The Soviet Union will not deli-

ver its locomotives and railroad trains to the Manchurian lackeys of Japanese imperialism, it will know how to defend the property of the workers and peasants, of the liberated Soviet peoples. Should the Japanese imperialists, whose hands already drip with the blood of the Chinese people, lift them arrogantly against the Soviet Union, the Red Army will give them their just deserts."

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

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

munist party and the social demo-

— H. E.

GERMAN LABOR WRITHES UNDER THE WHIP OF THE FASCISTS

ine united front and moved the different today. pursuing Stalinism—an important masses forward to an extent which The series of previous failures, understood by the masses but it stitution of the National Socialist are not diminishing but sharpening. erably as in Germany. The Cominpart of this was the fact that would have gradually enabled them the many stupid blunders, the whole was sabotaged by the Central Com- government. Together with an im- They will become many times more term also here had the duty to prothe initiative to offer an organiza- to tear into the foundation of Stal- system of false orientation, policy mittee. I will prove that by our portant factory committee and the accentuated in Germany by the ex- pose a united front to the Second tional united front had been left inist policy, at least in Germany. of theory of Stalinism, brought the district. There existed a united S.A.P. we had established a united in giving up the "united front from below" the Stalinist leaders made below" the Stalinist leaders made below and the rescaled below and a volte face and decided that in change, branded it as counter revoapproaching the socialist leaders lutionary and removed or expelled rades even today seek to partly had organized a powerful mass social democrats asked us for nefor united action they would re- comrades who tried to apply the absolve the party from guilt in its self-defense corps, it conducted reg- gotiations but submitted unacceptnounce the fundamental political united front on a local scale, as present catastrophe by saying: "It ular weekly discussion meetings, able conditions. We nevertheless united front on a local scale, as

nevertheless a hand organ. Cen- of opposing the latter's protest trism with its turns, half-turns and against the dictatorship. In this false turns nevertheless remains they hoped to ease the road for discuss freely with us the experithemselves personally. Though Even this change in the united Hitler cannot at all use these mis- they are also trying to draw the front tactic, partial as it is and erable creatures, except insofar as lessons which may be appropriated with its falsity to boot, still rests they can serve for the future de- for the future. Their reports are his report, make a valuable contrib within the framework of Stalinist struction of the working class particularly illuminating as to how ution which graphically illustrated

press the sum total of revolutionary all intents and purposes put the lates: policy and although it was at the final touches to the liquidation of present period the most acute their own organization. One can question it makes up nevertheless therefore no more speak of a united only a part of the whole content of front in Germany from organization a Marxian policy., But here it is to organization as far as the social necessary to add that in changes of democratic party is concerned. It strategy or tactic in a revolutionary is now necessary to commence on a situation, when events usually new foundation. A timely, and a move with lightning speed, the real change, by the Communist question of time becomes an im- party, however, could unquestionportant element: sometimes a mat- ably have brought the millions of ter of life and death. And in this social democratic workers into instance it was a matter of life united action with the Communist and death. Even this partial change, workers, avoided the heavy price

Lessons of Some Practical

Experiences ences of the past mistakes. In this

we shall show by some concrete was not unwilling to fight but it functionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and ing things up but it is also as two strongest and socialistically was not unwriting to nght but it indictionaries of both parties came went to carry on negotiations and was unable to fight." Precisely that is together to confer about matters is the issue. The party was unable and joint demonstrations against points with which the working class cient to prove Stalinism as utterly Now, however, the events in re- to fight because its leadership over Fascism were held. The sub-district is in accord for a struggle against upon the workers standard. oblivious of a Marxian policy or of gard to this specific question have a long period of time, by its bua revolutionary strategy. It swings already moved beyond its timeliness reaucratically imposed false policy, moving all our local party funcin jerks and spasms from one op- in Germany itself. By this we do not theory and concept, had succeeded tionaries, among them old and tried prevention of united action. The tions gained, upon the wage level, if not more than the German social provides a position to specific prevention of united action. The tions gained, upon the wage level, if not more than the German social prevention of united action. posite position to another, forced at all mean to assert that nothing in finally disarming the party. And class fighters. The district leaderby the blow of events. Naturally further can be done. Quite the when the vanguard is disarmed, the ship (Brandenburg) covered and social insurance and so forth. The ond International. In this the it cannot maintain working class contrary. What must be brought mass faces certain defeat. In all of protected the sub-district commitconfidence and it becomes entirely out, however, is the fact that the its objective consequences this can tee. A hunt for Trotskyites began our city the greatest demonstration repeated by party leaders who felt has now suffered its most fatal impotent of giving any leadership German social democratic leader- mean nothing else than Stalinism with the slogan: Those who have seen for a long time directed confident that "Hitler would soon blow. The party of the Soviet Union whatever in a social second s whatever in a serious revolutionary ship after the consolidation of the having experienced its August 4th any relations with Trotskyists will against the government and also get out of business," to the effect is so immersed in the false theory having experienced its August 4th any relations with Trotskyists will against the government and also get out of business," to the effect is so immersed in the false theory be summarily expelled.' The biggest against the sabotage of the social part of the membership became democrats. Despite this outstandstirred and asked: 'We should dis. ing success the district leadership our own comrades.' Protest reso- tee.' lutions were adopted but filed by the district office never to be answered."

theory and policy. In other words, movement, they have capitulated the Stalinist tactic worked out in how a united front correctly apartion exists now in Germany and the practical activities. One com plied, will serve effectively to un-only fools will pay any attention That means that they have to rade from Berlin, Heligensee re- mask the social democratic leaders. to the Fascist boasts of abolishing He relates from Dessau: "We took the class struggle. The internal

"The united front was correctly action on the occasion of the con- antagonisms of capitalist society

These simple reports are important documents. They should serve as enlightenment for Communists unemployment would inevitably tend Stalinism. everywhere.

What is to be Done Now?

In general, the capitalist economic system is developing its relation cuperation on a new and illegal of forces not favorable to the basis, but merely reveal the rear Fascists but favorable to the work-ing class. Thus the knights of the What must therefore now be done Swastika, despite their easy vic- was well expressed in the statement tory, will yet have the greatest dif- of a German Left Oppositionist: ficulties ahead of them. Their "Above all we must immediately suppressions and repressions will i sue the directives for the buildandoubtedly assume yet more vio- ing of a new party. None of the lent forms. But it will not continue parts of the old apparatus will do to remain a one sided affair. There for the future. I have discussed are certain also to be struggles in this with many class conscious the near future. What leadership, workers, sterling fighters, and they

to increase the working class de-

these demands.

extent, the scope and the implica- necessity." The two workers' parties, the Com- April, 1930

cratic party are destroyed. It is Austria's turn next. There Fascism is preparing its forces and gathering its strength while the working class leadership is failing as misistence of the Fascist regime. To International and put the question tion. And the Communist Intergeneral statement previously often Comintern, under the Stalin regime, that he has no favorable economic of "Building Socialism in One perspective ahead of him, is, of Country," that it organized not one course, true in its historical sense. single demonstration in support of cuss with the Nazis but not with removed the sub-district commit- But it does not preclude that Ger- its German class brothers during many will in this present period their hour of greatest need. The experience a certain upward eco- party of the Soviet Union is parnomic conjuncture. A reduction of alyzed by the dead weight of

> Enormous tasks are arising for mands as well as the struggle for the Left Opposition. The sporadic activities now carried on by the remnants of the German Communist Party do not signify its rethen, for the German working are quite unanimous in asserting emphatically: 'yes, the building of Have we fully comprehended the a new party is an imperative

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