

On "The Fourth of August"

When people cannot answer basic arguments they hide behind secondary ones. The Stalinists, as well as the Brandlerites, are clinging to their nails at the comparison of the 4th of August 1933 with the 4th of August 1913.

There are no other political places left for it. Already on the morning of the 5th of March one could have and should have formulated this prognosis on the basis of an understanding of the catastrophe in connection with the policy that had caused it.

No historical comparison retains its validity if it does not confine itself to certain legitimate limits. We are very well aware that the Stalinist C. P. G. is distinguishable from the pre-war social democracy, and that the 5th of March—as much by its character as by its results—is distinguishable from the 4th of August.

The Limits of Historical Analogy. A Reply to Some Objections

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In the guise of an objection, the example of 1923 might be cited, where the party also failed but did not collapse. We do not deny the importance and the lesson of this example: it is only necessary to draw the correct deductions from it.

Lenin compared the peace of Brest-Litovsk with the peace of Tilsit. It is not difficult to make objections to this comparison by serving up dozens of elementary truisms: for Prussia it was a question of national independence; for the Soviets it was a question of safeguarding a new social regime there the peace was signed by the monarchy, here by the party of the proletariat, etc., etc.

The same Stalinists and Brandlerites rose up against the analogy between the pre-Fascist regime in Germany ("presidential" cabinets) and Bonapartism. They enumerated dozens of features in which the Papen-Scheleier regime differed from classical Bonapartism and always ignored this fundamental characteristic which makes them similar: the preservation of the equilibrium between the two irreconcilable camps.

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Firstly, the defeat of 1923 is comparable neither in its form nor in its extent nor by its consequences: with the catastrophe of 1933; secondly, the workers do not forget the past: now the party will pay for all its historic crimes among which is also the capitulation of 1923.

Now it is not a question of the reactionary and utopian task of preserving an apparatus cut off from the masses, but of saving the best proletarian elements from despair, from grief, from indifference, and from the morass. It is absolutely impossible to attain this result by vainly trying to inspire hope of a miracle in them, the impossibility of which becomes clearer every day.

The ILP, a Social-Democratic body, product of a past era, has its very economic basis from it. Therefore, correctly to criticize the ILP is to leave it, as a Party no longer able to play a progressive role.

With the greatest interest and with never slackening attention I read John Reed's book "Ten Days that Shook the World."

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Browder Criticises John Reed - - for Trotskyism

We quote from one of Browder's masterpieces appearing in the April Communist page 361. Browder told the John Reed Club to read "Ten Days that Shook the World" and comrade X criticized his speech.

"But I want to reject the criticism made by comrade X. He declared the Russian workers did not need any John Reed. I think the Russian workers did need John Reed. Lenin thought so. Lenin was delighted to have John Reed in the revolution and sometimes, after the ending of the civil war, comrade Lenin went out of his way to cause to be printed in Russian John Reed's book, and more, he wrote a special introduction for this Russian edition, in which he recommended it to the workers of the entire world.

"Here it is necessary for me to say something I wanted to say to the John Reed meeting. I had made a note of it and meant to include it in my speech and here is where justified criticism comes in because this should have been said at that meeting. It is something I must say here. That is, that there are serious political inaccuracies and mistakes in John Reed's book and some of these were even pointed out by comrade Stalin.

Lenin sponsors the book first by giving it an introduction, then by "unreservedly" recommending it; finally, by calling it "truthful and most vivid." Stalin and Browder find that there are "serious political inaccuracies and mistakes" and "certain statements which do not correspond with historical facts and which fit in with Trotskyist distortions of history."

How could comrade Reed indulge in these political inaccuracies before Trotskyism was discovered? How could Lenin fail to notice them? Or was he a Trotskyist too? What is wrong with Reed's book then? Why did he please Lenin and not Browder and Stalin?

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Austro-Marxism Retreats...

Vienna, Austria.—Several weeks ago the Arbeiterzeitung (central organ of the Austrian social democracy) published an editorial justifying the policy of the social democratic leadership and pointing out that up till then only "outposts" had been evacuated. What do these "outposts" look like? We will attempt to let the facts speak for themselves by drawing up a review of everything the Austrian working class, led and betrayed by the Austrian social democracy, has allowed to be snatched away from it without a struggle in the course of the last few months.

Freedom of Press and Assembly Destroyed On the basis of the War Powers Act, the press law is revised backwards behind that of 1862 and the law of assembly backwards behind 1867. All of the labor press is submitted to pre-censorship. The holding of meetings must be announced 8 days in advance, a provision which actually stifles the working class in a period of such high political tension as the present. Meetings and open meetings are prohibited "until further notice." On the basis of these provisions, the following were banned: 75 party meetings of the social democracy on March 10, the main annual event of the Vienna Freethinkers on March 18, a meeting of the Friends of the Free School for Children Society on April 26; the annual conference of the social democratic women's organizations of Vienna was dispersed on April 25. In the middle of May, the conference of the Tenants League was prohibited, etc., etc. On May 9 pre-censorship was also instituted for posters. Distribution of leaflets is made liable to arrest. Streets Are Made Free.... For the Reaction "The state secretary for the maintenance of safety" announced on April 1: "In view of the demonstrations which have of late taken

A Record of Passivity Before the Advance of Bonapartism

place in the form of street carnivals, especially on the side of the social democrats.... the safety authorities are hereby advised to apply the sharpest means provided for by law against all such attempts." The parade of the working class for the First of May (traditional since May 1, 1890) is banned, threats are issued against all attempts.

While the Ringstrasse (main thoroughfare) is shut off by the workers by mounted forces and machine gun detachments on the First of May, the Austrian federal army marches in down the streets. On May 14 an exception to the law is granted and thousands of Hienwehr men goose-step throughout the town. Fascism Receives Arms On April 9, the cabinet decides to form "voluntary auxiliary bodies." These are formed from the "self-defense" organizations already in existence. Into the auxiliaries (auxiliary police) are admitted: members of the Peasant Defense Corps, the Austrian Home Guards and the Austrian Storm Troops. All organizations furnishing auxiliary police are exempted from the law governing the wearing of uniforms. The task of the auxiliary police is evident from its composition.

26 Years of Austrian Trade Union Works Are Destroyed Inside of 24 Hours Act the collective agreements of the bank employes are nullified. Wage cuts are instituted for Social Insurance employes. Railroad workers get cuts in overtime reimbursements and in pensions that go as far as 40 per cent among the lower ranks.

Against Versailles While thundering against the Treaty of Versailles and the dismemberment of Germany for the creation of the Polish Corridor, Hitler can make no serious move in that direction. Bankrupt Germany dare not risk a war with military superior France without a comparatively long period of rapid industrial revival and outside, particularly American, economic support. Hitler cannot free Germany from its "slavery of interest."

Foreign Interests in Germany However, while the demands upon Germany have been reduced from time to time as the result of political and economic developments, particularly in the last two years, it is interesting to note that the amount of foreign-owned German bonds was estimated by the Second Committee of Experts at Basle in December 1931, at approximately 400 million Marks; foreign-owned shares and interests in German industries at between 2,500 million and 3,500 million Marks, and the amount of foreign-owned real property at approximately 2,000 million Marks.

Sharpening Contradictions of Fascism Increase Danger to S. U. (Continued from last issue) As a result of the World War, Germany was reduced to hardly more than the status of a colony, becoming economically controlled and exploited by other countries. Approximately 1,300,000 square miles of colonial territory, with a population of more than 12 million persons, was lost as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. In connection with the production of iron, steel and coal, according to the World Almanac for 1933, the Lorraine fields were permanently taken over by France together with the Saar Basin for a period of fifteen years; Aix-la-Chapelle was occupied by Belgium, and in May 1922, 75.4 per cent of the output of Upper Silesia was lost to Poland.

Unemployment insurance payment is restricted for the great bulk of the unemployed to 20 weeks (formerly 30 weeks) and for some even to 12 weeks. Emergency relief is to be cut off or reduced drastically by July 1. Young workers up to the age of 25 are to receive no relief at all any more.

Strikes Are Prohibited Through a "Law for the Protection of Economy against Stoppage of Work", political strikes are altogether banned and economic strikes in the "vital" industrial enterprises including printing plants. The provisions for penalties are much sharper than those of the penal code of 1853. An example: On April 27 the Viennese Bakers' agreement, in existence since 1923, is terminated summarily. The bosses refer to the above law as valid also for the baking establishments (it provides for a strike ban in all enterprises that are "vital" for maintenance).

Prayers Are Ordered On April 14, compulsory participation in religious exercises is instituted in all schools, like in the old days.

Against the Constitution The Christian Socialist members of the Constitutional Supreme Court resign their posts on May 23 and the government declares the Constitutional Court as suspended. "Therewith the legal basis, upon which the whole state life, and along with it, also the existence of the federal government, rests, has been destroyed.... thereby the Austrian federal constitution is in fact invalidated, every door and gate is opened for any and every coup d'Etat." (Arbeiterzeitung, April 24.)

What did the manifesto of the Social democratic party leadership say on March 9? "If we do not take up our defense when it is still time, we will slip right into that same Fascism, into that same political disfranchisement which has become the fate of our brothers in the Reich." "One would think it is high time to go further than mere words. But that is not to be expected from the heroes of Austro-Marxism. That task can only be fulfilled by the social democratic workers themselves, provided with a firm leadership in the form of a new and reconstituted revolutionary vanguard."

WORKERS AND FRIENDS WHO READ GERMAN AND ARE INTERESTED IN GETTING FIRST HAND ACCOUNTS OF CONDITIONS IN GERMANY CAN DO SO BY SUBSCRIBING TO UNSER WORT, THE ILLEGAL ORGAN OF THE GERMAN LEFT OPPOSITION, PUBLISHED IN PRAGUE.

Consumption of raw cotton had declined by 617,000 tons. Yet, during the first two years of the crisis British production had a further decline of approximately 30 percent. Although industrial activity was hardly above the years immediately prior to the war, nevertheless British capitalism was suffering from "overproduction".

Only Avenue of Escape for Capitalism Due to this contradiction the various national units of world capitalism are compelled to expand. They must find additional foreign markets. This they can do only at expense of some other power and the Soviet Union is the one power all capitalists wish to destroy. They see in an attack upon it not only a chance to destroy a political menace, not only a possibility to shift the much needed reparations from bankrupt Germany to the USSR, but also a chance to obtain a potential field for further expansion—a possible avenue of escape from their present position in an almost blind alley.

Capitalism has developed its productive forces to a point beyond the effective consumptive capacity of the world under the profit system. As a result, in many countries, the present crisis is primarily due to a glut of commodities arising from a narrowing of markets rather than from an increase in the level of production. In Great Britain, for example, by the latter part of 1929, production in many industries had not attained pre-war level. The output of coal was approximately 28 million tons less than in 1913. The British proportion of the world's output of pig iron was 13.2% in 1913 while in 1929 it fell to 7.8 percent; steel in 1913 was 10.2 percent and in 1929, 8.1 per-

British Group Leaves I. L. P. Statement Supports L. O.

EDITOR'S NOTE—The statement below was issued by comrades belonging to the Left Opposition fraction of the British Independent Labor Party. It was submitted to all delegates of the Bradford convention of the ILP, listed in the Militant several weeks ago.

At the Eastern ILP Conference, those comrades who have been striving toward a correct revolutionary policy will fight for the adoption of that policy by the ILP as a whole, but, whether they succeed or not, the question of our relations with the C.P. must be squarely faced. The British section of the C.I. is the only existing revolutionary party in this country.

With further disastrous consequences. THE AMSTERDAM ANTI-WAR CONGRESS: An example of the incorrect United Front from the top—with individuals, leaders, pacifists, clergymen, etc., but not with the Social-Democratic organizations themselves. A hotch-potch in which the C.P. is submerged, and takes no independent line.

THE MILITANT TO ALL COMRADES OF THE ILP.—At the Eastern ILP Conference, those comrades who have been striving toward a correct revolutionary policy will fight for the adoption of that policy by the ILP as a whole, but, whether they succeed or not, the question of our relations with the C.P. must be squarely faced.

4. DETERMINATION OF POLICY: Within the C.I. and the British C.P., all internal party democracy has been abolished. Policies and decisions come from the top, discussion being confined to their execution. The World Congress of the C.I., supposed to be held every 2 years, has not met since 1928, while during the last 3 years there has been only one C.P.G.B. congress, and that preceded by expulsions and suppression of effective criticism. Correctness is taken for granted, and those daring to question the policy of the centre are slandered and expelled.

On the above points, we cannot accept the policy of the C.P. Nevertheless realizing that it is the only revolutionary party, we intend to enter it, to work as Communists, at the same time seeking, by every legitimate means, to change these points in its policy which we consider wrong.

We appeal to all revolutionary workers in the ILP to adopt the same position. Any comrades wishing to associate themselves with the attitude as stated above should write to the address appended. T. KERNOY, P. SOLOMONS, J. SAINSBURY, (Hackney I.L.P.) M. GIBBS (Clapham I.L.P.) March 19, 1933 19 Alwyne Road, N. 1.

A Letter from a Worker in E. St. Louis

Received the first issue of the Militant you sent me and after reading it carefully decided to take it regularly. Therefore I am sending you \$1 for a six months subscription. Being employed for the last two years in the Soviet Union I witnessed blow after blow against the workers by the Stalinist bureaucrats without any resistance on the side of the workers who were given all the power by the October revolution.

MINNEAPOLIS PICNIC Sunday, July 23 Starting 11 A. M. Riverside Park on South Side EVERYBODY WELCOME Nationally Known Speakers Auspices: Minneapolis Free Mooney Conference

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