

Letters from Germany

The Growing Dissatisfaction of the Middle Classes

Only the fanatics of the Nazi movement are satisfied with the government. There are a few others, but they are the ones who lounge in the chairs of ejected trade union bureaucrats, those who make the streets unsafe every day in their capacity as Fascist factory cell directors, as bonzes (swivel chair bureaucrats) of the Consumers' Cooperatives, walking about in natty uniforms. They have much to do. They must speak at factory meetings, threaten the unorganized with firing if they don't join the Brown trade unions, see to it that membership dues are paid regularly, because the Third Reich needs a lot of money.

That can also be seen on the Sunday collection tours. There is the Beggar for the Adolph Hitler Fund, for the Work Creation Fund, the Party Convention Fund and many others. At the same time a press campaign is in full swing against the mendicants. The ordinary citizen pays for the first fund rather generously, but when the second and the third comes along, he begins to grumble. Of course, he is not alone. That is too dangerous and means prison in the Third Reich. Not to give—is also very dangerous. He is a foe of the government who does not drop a coin into its alm-bag. One has to give. The press reports that this or that factory has made a voluntary contribution. But woe to the worker who fails to contribute. On the next morning he will be pounding the pavements. There are plenty of Storm Troopers and their friends to take his place.

Often some person from North Germany comes down our way in search of work. In most cases, such a person has seen in some paper, which he draws out from his pocket, that the region here is cleared of unemployment. He is soon enlightened. The swindle of the "Successful Battle to Provide Work" is easily exposed before every worker. In the factories there is a great deal of underground grumbling, especially on pay day, when the fat Nazi "coordinators" make all kinds of deductions from the pay envelope.

The middle layers of the population are also beginning to sober up. The great and almost unlimited faith in Hitler among these people received its first blows through the behavior of the government with regard to the department stores and the consumers' co-operatives. The feigned struggle of Hitler against both of these institutions had brought him the sympathies of all the small storekeepers. But after all their independent fighting organizations have been dissolved and reorganized into professional troops, many of these good little men, storekeepers and artisans, have seen the light. Then of course, there is the failure of the boastfully promised economic upturn. The daily business turnover does not increase when the workers' wages remain stable, and especially when the wages are reduced by all kinds of "fund" rackets. In the meantime prices keep mounting. Certain local catastrophes also contribute their part to the sentiment. There is the case of the big Stuttgart Gymnastic Field Day, or that of the huge demonstration at the border near Konstanz. The saloon-keepers and outchers ordered all kinds of extra stock, but the Reichswehr moved on with field kitchens and served participants and tourists with 10 pfennig means and thus nearly bankrupted the former. Naturally the sentiment of the middle classes is becoming more unsympathetic every day.

The tax situation has also remained the same. All sorts of new taxes and imposts have been fixed on the peasants and the middle classes. Municipal taxes have been imposed with which to pay for the newly ordered steel helmets which the Storm Troopers are wearing. Soon, no doubt, new taxes will be thought up with which to buy them guns and cannon from the hard-earned pennies of workers and small bourgeois.

We have succeeded, in a whole series of localities, in forming groups of former social democrats and Communists. Our material meets with spontaneous applause and approval. The will to learn from the mistakes of the two old parties who brought about the present heavy defeat, and, in spite of all the great difficulties, to proceed with the building of new, genuine Communist party—exists among all the comrades. The comrades are also agreed among themselves that the same road will have to be taken internationally. The Paris Conference is regarded by all as a hopeful beginning for a new era of the revolutionary labor movement.

Since we only attract reliable people and go about our work as cautiously as possible we have not had up to now any losses whatever. We know that the process of the disintegration of the mass basis of Fascism can last for a long time. Even the most die-hard Stalinist no longer believes in revolution for October. But the fact remains that the process of Fascist disintegration is making progress in all the cities. But the immense pressure of the terroristic regime will yet prolong the existence of the Hitler government. We therefore have plenty of time to build up and to entrench our young organization. Parallel with the decline in the mass influence of Fascism, the influence and the strength of our organization must grow. If this process continues at the present

Towards the Creation of a Fourth International

A Record of Progress on the Road Towards the Reconstitution of the Revolutionary Vanguard of the World Proletariat

The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland Joins the International Left Opposition

On September 21, the Plenum of the International Left Opposition decided to accept the request of the R. S. P. (Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland) for affiliation with the I. L. O. The R. S. P. was founded in 1929. Its fundamental line of policy coincides in the main with its declaration of principles in 1932, which bears a distinctly Communist character.

There are 950 members on its rolls who are grouped together in some 30 local organizations. The party stands in closest contact with the N. A. S., a trade union center with 25,000 enrolled members. Both organizations are headed by comrade H. Sneevliet.

H. Sneevliet is not an unknown figure in the international Communist movement, particularly because of the revolutionary activity he displayed even before the war, and during the war, in the Far East.

The R. S. P. has been publishing a weekly paper, *Baanbrecker*, ever since its inception. It has a circulation of 3,000.

It is interesting to observe the development of the party as reflected in the parliamentary elections. In 1929 the party received 21,000 votes and no mandate. In 1931, in the provincial elections covering 3 provinces, it received 20,000 votes and 2 mandates. In the same year, during the municipal elections in 50 localities, it received 31,000 votes and 12 representatives. In the parliamentary elections of 1933, H. Sneevliet, who at the time was imprisoned for his energetic defense of the martyrs of "Seven Provinces" (The reference is to the revolutionary sailors who participated in the "mutiny" of one of the vessels of the Dutch merchant marine—Ed.), was elected to parliament with 48,000 votes. Since the summer of 1932, the R. S. P. has been working together in united front action with the O. S. P. (the Independent Socialist Party of Holland). The develop-

ment within the O. S. P. which led to their signing the common declaration of the Four Organizations (I. L. O., S. A. P.—German Socialist Workers Party—R. S. P. and O. S. P.) at the Paris Conference, presage a unification of R. S. P. and O. S. P. in the immediate future.

The I. L. O. extends warm greetings to the R. S. P. entering its ranks. It means the addition of a large corps of tested proletarian fighters to our cause and makes possible the further extension and penetration of the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

THOUSANDS OF DUTCH WORKERS HAIL THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

In the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (O. S. P.) which had 7,000 members on its rolls, the participation in the building of the new International has been unanimously accepted by the Executive.

All of the discussion on the Paris Conference and the alliance with Trotsky has raised a deep interest outside the ranks of the party.

The joint meeting of the Executive Committees of the O. S. P. and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Sneevliet) has yielded as its first result, the decision for close collaboration in all phases of working class policy. Moreover, the joint meeting accepted the principle of the necessity of fusing the two organizations into one revolutionary party. At the next congress, which is to convene in the Christmas interval, definite proposals for fusion will be voted on. It is the first attempt in many years to create real revolutionary unity. It has already aroused great enthusiasm, as is apparent from the many successful mass meetings held all over the country.

The *Baanbrecker*, organ of the R. S. P., carries an account of the joint meeting of the two organizations held in Amsterdam as a reply to the Fascist demonstration. The hall taken was much too small. Two meetings had to be held and hun-

dreds of workers had to be turned away. An exceptional acclaim greeted the speeches of Sneevliet, Schmidt, Schlip and Pikhshorn, who traced the course of the proposed new International.

In Belgium Our Belgian comrades had entered negotiations with the League of Communist Internationalists for the fusion of the two organizations as basis for the creation of a new Communist party.

FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

A call for an international congress of all revolutionary youth organizations to consider the problems of the formation of an international vanguard of the working class youth has been sent out by the youth organization of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, to be held in Amsterdam on December 9 and 10.

Most of the youth organizations invited to this conference are connected in some way to the Paris Conference of last August. These organizations are either revolutionary socialist or independent Communist.

The youth sections of the International Left Opposition have been invited to participate in this Conference and will send delegates to it.

The bankruptcy of the Comintern and the treachery of the Social Democracy has brought in its train a frightful degeneration of the Young Communist International and the Young Socialist International. They are incapable to organize and educate the proletarian youth in the world. A new revolutionary youth international must be organized. The Amsterdam Conference will be the first step.

Beginning with this issue, the department "Towards the Creation of a Fourth International" will be a regular feature of *The Militant*. It will help to keep American workers adequately informed about every step taken in the redressment of revolutionary internationalism.—Ed.

Dollfuss and Hitler

Recent Changes in the Austrian Government

The article below is an extract from the Bulletin published illegally by our Austrian comrades, and bearing the date, October 1st. Since then, the attempt against Dollfuss has clearly proved that the Nazis are not thinking of relaxing their offensive, but on the contrary of intensifying it in order as quickly as possible—before the winter—to get a decision in their favor.

At this time Austria is passing through a stage analogous to the Bruening-Papen-Scheleicher period in Germany, or the Held period in Bavaria, that is to say, a semi-Bonapartist dictatorship, which maintains itself by the reciprocal neutralization of the proletarian camp and the Fascist camp. . . . "However, Austrian 'Bonapartism' today, like German 'Bonapartism' yesterday, can have only an episodic character, by filling the short interval that separates the democratic regime from the Fascist regime."

These words were written by comrade Trotsky in March of this year, in his article "Austria is Next in Order". Many left social-democrats thought then that it was incorrect to consider the Dollfuss regime as a Bonapartist regime. However, the development that has taken place during the last six months has confirmed our Marxist-Leninist analysis word for word. This statement is not made by us because we want to appear as having been correct, but by the necessity of clearly understanding the present turn in Austrian politics, a turn which has been undertaken by the new formation of the Dollfuss cabinet.

Let us express ourselves clearly: the shifts in the Dollfuss cabinet signifies the end of Austrian Bonapartism and the beginning of decisive convulsions.

The "Catholic day" and the demonstration of the "patriotic front" sought to show the "strength" of the Dollfuss government to the external world and to support the former. This attempt to deceive the foreign world on the weakness of the government and to save the latter, has miscarried in face of the internal contradictions of the Bonapartist governmental combination and it has only strengthened

the discussion on its fate. The entire world has been able to see the real weakness of the Dollfuss government by viewing the struggles that have taken place within its own ranks after the "Catholic day", which led to the counter-demonstration of the Heimwehr and the Landbund which refused to liquidate themselves in the "patriotic front". By that, the attempt to save the Dollfuss government has miscarried, the governmental combination has fallen.

Instead of leading to a rapprochement, Dollfuss brought about the strengthening of the contradictions, especially between the Heimwehr and the Landbund. What is still more important is the fact the split also cuts into the Christian-social party, which is the strongest governmental party and in which a Fascist and a reactionary-democratic wing are struggling. It is in that that the internal weakness of the Dollfuss regime consists.

But in the course of recent weeks, the general weakness of the Dollfuss government becomes more and more apparent. All the governmental measures have not helped in subduing the Nazis; on the contrary, the Nazi danger has grown. (The social democratic councillor Schraft was quite correct in stating this fact.) The state apparatus, even the Executive power, up to the highest ranks, is completely infested with Nazis; it has become very shaky for Dollfuss.

From this point of view the foundations of the Dollfuss government are completely undermined. But on the other side, there is still the working class. Although its strength has been weakened it is not yet broken. The most important proletarian organizations are still intact. The government is directly threatened from this side to the degree that the situation becomes more intense.

The ground shakes under Dollfuss' feet. What maintains the homogeneity of his camp is the common fear of the Nazis and the hatred of the social democracy, that is the working class, through the impoverishment of which Austrian capitalism like German capitalism tries to improve its situation. The attitude of the Dollfuss government is dictated by the dependence of Austrian finance capital on France especially, and on England. The severity of the crisis pushes it to rage against the working class.

At present, the governmental bases which is being undermined in favor of the Nazi camp, forces Dollfuss to take decisive measures. If he wants to maintain himself, then he is forced by all means to modify, to change the present relationship of forces.

His attempt to suppress the Nazi movement has miscarried. Therefore there remains only one means to save himself: the destruction of the proletarian organizations, that is to say, especially the social democracy and the trade unions. If Dollfuss takes this path—and no other remains for him—then the period of Bonapartism is terminated and the final, decisive struggle begins.

That is where we stand now. The new Dollfuss cabinet means that the Fascist wing of the Christian-Socialists has stripped itself of pretenses. Their party leader, the reactionary Vaugin, had to leave, like Winkler, the Landbund man, because while being for a reactionary reform of the constitution, they were not in favor of the proscription of the social democracy, fearing the eventualities that it would cause even in their own parties.

This fear is quite justified. But the Heimwehrs, who are in favor of the "perfect Fascist state, on the Italian model", have remained. That means that the proscription of the social democracy and the trade unions is not far off. This is no longer a question of weeks (or even a question of days). The dynamics of development presses the new Dollfuss cabinet not to unravel the knot but to cut it.

Will it succeed in striking down the working class? In order that they do not succeed, the proletariat must detach itself from their cowardly, treacherous leadership. Can Dollfuss drive off the Fascist danger? We do not believe so. All the conditions of development indicate that their time will come and that in the last analysis they will triumph over Stahrenberg, Fey and Dollfuss.

One thing is certain: Bonapartism has served its time. For the working class, the hour has come when it is a matter of daring everything in order not to lose everything.

Int'l. Workers School—Fall Term

Announcement of Courses
Organization Principles —M. ABERN.
Applied Marxian Economics —B. J. FIELD.
State and Revolution —J. WEBER.
Fundamentals of Marxism —J. G. WRIGHT.
Write or phone School Headquarters for information:
126 East 16th Street

British Labour Party Masks Support to Capitalism at Annual Conference

Edinburgh. Six hundred delegates, representing Divisional Labour Parties, trade unions and Socialist bodies, were in attendance at the annual conference of the British Labour Party held at Hastings in the first week of October. Since the General Election disaster of 1931, when the masses expressed their disgust at the treachery of the Labour Government by swinging over to the Conservatives, the Executive of the Party have been busy upon the production of a new programme calculated to give the impression that the passing of Ramsay MacDonald has opened up a new era in the history of the Labour Party and that it has passed from its Liberal-Labour stage to one of complete Socialism. In this task, the Executive has been embarrassed by the cautious trade unions on the one hand and by the somewhat careless statements of the Socialist League upon the other.

The trade unions dislike "left" phrases which tend to endanger their craft interests while the leaders of the Socialist League, composed of lawyers, journalists and middle-class intellectuals, glory in the use of words which have been culled from the text-books of their Austrian "Marxist" friends. As previously reported in *The Militant*, the Labour Party Executive has warned the Socialist League against the too dangerous play with the dictatorship question, and as the League was now bringing its proposals to the floor of the Conference, a battle royal was expected. But as will be revealed below, the Executive held their hand in the interests of unity.

Fritz Adler Speaks
Before the opening of the Conference the assembled delegates were addressed by Doctor Fritz Adler, who declared on behalf of the Austrian Social Democrats that "concentration camps are being prepared for Socialists in Austria, but we will call for a general strike if the trade unions are banned or if the Social Democratic Party is made illegal." This statement was loudly cheered by the delegates who later passed a resolution pledging support to the Austrian Socialists in their struggle against Fascism. In opening the Conference, the chairman, Mr. Compton, also warned the delegates against the danger of Fascism but apart from vague statements upon the desire of the workers' movement to maintain democracy, there was no mention of any policy calculated to defeat Fascism. Having aired their views upon Fascism, the Conference then got down to business and first ruled out an emergency resolution upon the Leipzig trial and then banned a list of Communist organizations such as the Anti-War Council upon the grounds that they were being used to disrupt the Labour Party.

Labour Party "Socialism"
As three Labour Party candidates, as well as the Labour Lord Marley, are members of the Anti-

War Council this last decision raised noisy but unavailing protests. Then Arthur Henderson gave a gloomy picture of the financial state of the Party. But a scheme to enroll ex-army officers, doctors, lawyers, and other people who could not actively identify themselves with the Party, into an Associate Section, was turned down by the Conference which suddenly became "class-conscious"—no doubt remembering that having refused to associate with working-class Communists they could not very well associate with blue-blooded army officers without being asked awkward questions at Election time.

Debate Fizzles Out

George Lansbury then rose and confirmed this statement on behalf of the N. E. C. and in this fashion the great debate ended in a complete fizzle. Certain delegates then jumped up and accused the Executive of cowardice, while others warned them of the dreadful fate that awaited if they as much as mentioned the House of Lords at the next election. But the alliance of the Executive and the Socialist League had been worked out behind the scenes and so the much delayed Labour programme will not be known for yet one more year.

Next day the *Daily Herald*, official organ of the Labour Party, announced in streaming headlines, "Labour Party Conference United" and then went on to say that "those who were looking for a fight between Sir Stafford Cripps and the N. E. C. were disappointed."

Indeed there was no need to fight as the only difference between the Executive and the Socialist League is upon a question of just what kind of words should be used by the Labour Party at the next General Election. Should the Party stick to the old Fabian phrases or should they try a new "left" brand? The Labour Party is simply packed with careerists who care nothing for the sufferings of the working class but who are impatiently waiting the next swing of the pendulum which will land them into Parliament and right amongst ripe plums that are to be picked there.

Following the German Path

But these clever parliamentarians may be making a sad mistake and their fondest dreams may very well be shipwrecked by the distrustful working class who are beginning to lose faith in these treacherous politicians. The path which landed the leaders of the German Social Democracy into the concentration camps of the Fascists is being travelled by their British friends of the Labour Party who refuse to face up to the problems of the class struggle. To the problems of unemployment, Fascism, war, they have no solution and the capitalist class can afford to smile that the situation may require for the immediate control of industry and for safeguarding the food supply and other accessories. (3) The revision of the procedure of the House of Commons and the machinery of government so that a rapid transition to socialism may be carried through constitutionally and dictatorship avoided. (4) An Economic Plan for industry, finance and foreign trade designed rapidly to put an end to unemployment and poverty."

FROM SOUTH BEND, IND.:

"The change, printing more articles directly interesting the workers in their daily struggles, will do much more good. I believe your orientation is leading the Left Opposition in the correct direction . . ."

The Agrarian Question in Mexico in the Light of the Coming Revolt

Every effort will be made by the Calles-Rodriguez regime to prevent the Mexican peasants from rearming themselves, and to disarm those still in possession of rifles. During the last four uprisings the peasants participated on the side of the government against the counter revolution. The next uprising will find them aligned against the government which has gone over bag and baggage to the counter revolution. During the past revolts the armed peasant guerrillas proved themselves more than a match for the troops of the regular army many of which supported the rebellions. They are therefore a factor to be reckoned with in the coming events.

For many years the Mexican peasants and their organizations have played an important role in the country's politics, always however as tools of the different bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political groups which paid them off with broken promises or a few rusty guns. The very nature and composition of the peasantry and its organizations naturally prevented them from at any time, playing a really independent role.

In 1926 most of the scattered local, regional, and state organizations were federated into the National Peasants League, at which all tendencies were represented. This congress did much to cement the relations between the Communists, the peasants and the bourgeois government. The Communist Party dissolved itself into the peasant movement, and rather than building an opposition within it, served as a bridge to keep the more radical elements among the poor ejidatarios and peons from resisting the policies of the rancheros and petty politicians in the leadership. These same leading functionaries of the National Peasants League (Galvan, and Co.) were mostly all members of the Communist party. They did very much as they pleased; Tejada, then Minister of the Interior, supported the organization with Galvan and Co. on the payroll; and the party dragged along in their trail, boasting in its reports to the Comintern of "our peasant organization of 300,000 members". But this was only one episode in the opportunistic history of the Mexican C. P. Party publications were maintained by government officials and the party's principal footholds in the labor unions (Jalisco, Tampulipas) were owed primarily to the support of the local politicians who used the Communists as a counter-weight to the reformists of the CROM who were at that time very powerful in national politics through the Partido Laborista.

In 1929, with the inauguration of the "Third Period", and after the force of the march days (discussion in the party on armed insurrection which terminated in support to the government) the splits commenced. Galvan finally broke away, and denounced the party. Thereafter there was a series of splits and counter-splits, expulsions and counter-expulsions in the pea-

sant organizations. Galvan meanwhile has gone to his just reward, but his tradition remains in the main current of the peasant movement which, under the name "National Peasants League 'Ursulo Galvan' (Genuine)", serves today as the mainstay of Tejada's political apparatus. Another section is dominated by the National Revolutionary Party or local politicians affiliated to it, while still other fragments are affiliated to the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, and a Left wing peasant movement dominated by the Communist party.

It has been seen that Colonel Adalberto Tejada, has for many years exercised great influence over large sections of the Mexican peasantry. With the approaching 1934 presidential elections in sight, Tejada is making a play for power. As principal inspirer of the split within the P. N. R. out of which the "Left Socialist Party" was born, he appears as sponsor of a radical "proletarian-agrarian" program. At the same time, he is seeking unprincipled alliances with other political groups (Soto y Gama, "Partido Laborista", "Partido Antireaccionista", etc.) which are if anything farther to the right than the P. N. R.

There is every probability that large sections of the peasantry and even of the proletariat will support Tejada because of his "radicalism". Meanwhile the Communist Party considers Tejada as the "main danger" in much the same manner that "Social-fascism" was considered before the advent of Hitler.

This is the second of a series of articles on political developments in Mexico. In the next issue, we shall attempt an analysis of Tejada's "Left Socialist Party".

TERZANI'S RELEASE

New York City, Nov. 1.—Demand for the release of Athos Terzani, young anti-Fascist accused of killing his comrade Anthony Fierro, and prosecution of the "real and known perpetrators of the crime," was made on District Attorney Charles S. Colden of Queens County today in a letter sent to him by Edmund J. Phillips of Philadelphia, Spanish-American War veteran and former organizer for the Khaki Shirts of America.

Mr. Phillips's letter was made public through the Terzani Defense Committee. The Committee contends that Fierro actually was killed by a member of the Fascist Khaki Shirts while defending a friend who was being ejected from a meeting of that organization in Astoria, L. I., on July 14.

It was Mr. Phillips to whom the committee referred October 25, when it charged that Mr. Colden had failed to make a promised new inquiry into the Fierro killing, and declared that "one man in Philadelphia who has vital information about the case, and whose name has long been known to the District Attorney's office has never been visited by any one representing Mr. Colden."