## Before the Socialist Party Convention

and issues at the forthcoming later discussion.

left wing struggle broke out.

ing questions facing the Party: a- dominated by the German Party. tional "Old Guard" on the one hand piled extensive lists of Nazis and United States. Here, not only are

oring adherence to the movement. Just as the decisions of the in- The forthcoming articles will Nazi commissary for Holland, and misleading. for the Fourth International.

Groupings in the Party The emergence of definite left wing groupings in the American Socialist Party may be received by many with surprise and doubt. An Thus one sees the following groups British Independent Labor Party), the Militants, the "Chicago Left Wing" (Senior and Krueger), The ultra-reactionaries of the Forward Abe ("Hear the Other Side") Cahan, the Old Guard, the Wisconsin Organization (Hoan), and those who follow and support the position of the Polish Bund. In any case,

What are the chief points of struggle? First and foremost is the spells the death of "Trotskyism". principled question of: Reform versus Revolution. Allied with this around this axis. As if the capituand flowing out of it is the question of the proletarian dictatorship. Out fundamental principles of that of the disputes over these two fundamental questions of Marxism over which the workers movement has and communist movement has been groupings (social democracy and the principles of communism remain communism), there has logically developed differences on all phases Causes of Rakovsky's Capitulation of work engaged in by the Socialist struggle against War, Labor Party, has given us the clue. Soviet Union, and a whole series of other questions are in dispute.

Basis Causes of the Groupings The situation in the Socialist Party belies the Stalinist position on Social Democracy. They have and continue to regard the social democracy as on solid, immovable "social fascist mass" incapable of moving in the direction of communism. A Marxist approach to the question will demonstrate at once that conditions which made possible the emergence of an international left wing in Social Democracy during the war years, resulting in the creation of the Communist International on the basis of the old, re-mildly. It is to be wondered that cur once more in different form.

letariat (the Russian Revolution) isolated from any contact with are not the only motive forces of world historic forces, systematical the international working class, ly misinformed and deceived, not Major defeats likewise prove to be only as to the activities of Trotsky, influences upon the workers' move-but also about the tremendous ment, pushing it in one direction or world-shaking events of the last another. Thus if the Russian Rev-decade, have not also lost their olution had the effect of finally bearings. In view of these factors breaking off large sections of social Rakovsky's capitulation is but a democracy already dissatisfied with hollow victory by which no clear the banner of Kautsky, Bauer, sighted revolutionist will be misled Scheideman, et al, and pushing them Let us now examine some of Mr in the direction of Communism and Fischer's "arguments". "Trotsky" the banner of Marxism, there is no says Mr. Fischer, ". . . believed the reason why a catastrophic defeat, New Economic Policy would bring such as took place in Germany back capitalism". Where he ever (and followed in Austria) should got this information is not indicatnot bring about similar movements. ed, but you may be sure it did not

stria demonstrated the bankruptcy may, in Trotsky's writings you will of Social Democracy and Stalinism. not be able to find such a state-These two events are responsible ment. Following this, Mr. Fischer for the movements within the So-contradicts his own statement by party view on the question of build- As Mr. Fischer puts it: cial Democratic parties the world saying that Trotsky was "one of ing socialism in one country from over. The specific political and or- the first to suggest the New Eco- the mouths of the official spokesganizational conditions associated nomic Policy". Yes, Mr. Fischer, man of the Comintern—up to the with the Social Democratic move- and you can even go further. Trot- Stalinist epoch. Similar views by headway. The Comintern is a ment explain why it is going sky was the first one to suggest it, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, etc., are dismal failure." through another internal upheaval; fully a year before its adoption. | all included in the history of the and similar reasons, from another point of view, explain why Stalin-

It is impossible to explain the tion of the American Socialist Party The Socialist Party of America situation in the American Socialist will not settle the questions in diswill hold its annual convention in Party, the existence of such a var- pute. The situation in the Ameri-Detroit on June 1, 2 and 3. The iety of groups, with different views can Party is a reflection of the inentire Party is now engaged in pre- in. some respects and views that ternational situation. The left wing paring for this meet. Discussions coincide in others, without seeking groupings here are a part of the have already begun and groupings its roots. The background of the international left wing groupings, taken shape. The membership is internal situation in the American all of them arising under the presin a state of agitation somewhat re- Party is the European situation sure of great European defeats. Irminiscent of the time when the first The defeat in Germany, carrying respective of the outcome of the with it the destruction of the "dean" Detroit convention the main issues The present condition must na- of social democratic parties, brought that agitate the Socialist organizaturally be contrasted to the almost into existence an International tion today will continue until a def- tutelage over Germans living decade-long period in which the Congress (August 1933). At this inite solution, both politically and abroad. Another efficient method Socialist Party was a small ineffec congress, in spite of the endorse organizationally, of the questions of converting Germans abroad into a movement is making headway From such regulative principle, The question of reorganization of tual organization. Since the crisis, ment it gave to the policies and in dispute takes place. influence and numbers, so that the there emerged a definite left wing

however, it has grown steadily in activities of the Germany Party, Party approaches the convention point of view under the leadership vention cannot be held without conwith a membership of over 25,000. of the Polish Bund. This point of sideration of: In the "National Headquarters' view disassociated itself from the 1. The international congress of German ambassador and other Supplement" of the Milwaukee policies pursued by the German August 1933, in which the conflict prominent German officials. Under dictatorship is now the scene of bility for effective struggle against Leader of March 3rd, are published S. D. P. and the Labor and Social- between the Right represented by the cover of alleged charity the a thriving fascist movement. numerous resolutions on the lead-list International (2nd) which was the German leaders and the interna- German representatives have com-

Declaration of Principles; b-Na- While the left wing received but and the left wing led by the Polish Nazi sympathizers. tional Recovery Administration; eighteen out of three hundred votes Bund (supported by a majority of The German Consulates are also among the Germans and Italians c-Labor Unions; d-Agriculture; cast at the August, 1933 Internative American delegation!) on the in possession of the names of all growing but an indigenous variety e the United Front; f Socialist tional Congress, since then it has other, broke out in sharp form over German residents in Holland who as well. The Silver Shirts Legion Press; g-Socialist Tactics; h-grown everywhere. The Austrian the fundamental questions raised in voted for Hitler on November 12, is the outstanding organization and International Relations, Fascism, situation also acted as an impelling connection with the most decisive 1933. Those who oppose Hitlerism according to all reports is growing force on the left wing in all coun-event since the Russian Revolution are blackmailed, threatened and and expanding rapidly. Its pro-With respect to the decisive fun-tries. The left wing takes shape -the victory of Fascism in Ger- often exposed to denunciations, gram and agitation mimic those of damental questions, a series of dif- as an international grouping dis- many; ferent viewpoints are presented as associating itself from the whole 2. The international groupings of from official German sources bear the basis for the pre-convention course of the L. S. I. pursued up a left character and the reflection the signatures of diplomatic and one Mannhardt the leader of the motivating, interacting factors af As this stands in violent contradicdiscussion. These views vary from to and through the German and of these tendencies in America; and consular representatives, of the Amsterdam local of the German fecting world capitalism which can tion to the general laws of capitalthe crassest reactionary Right Wing Austrian events, demanding a com- 3. The possible outcome of these presidents of the coordinated Ger- Nazi Party. These facts prove be readily analyzed. position on the class struggle to the plete revision in theory and prac-internal struggles, or more precise- man societies in Holland, and, last that all German denials of Nazi Left, including also a tendency fav-tice, of social democratic policy.

Editor's Note: This is the first mendous internal disruptions on the ternational congress of last year that is, in viewing the situation of a series of four articles by basis of the series of defeats suf-did not and could not settle the in-here, not as an isolated event, but today become a central question of theoreticians, since fascism ap-capitalism. The resulting chaos Comrade Glotzer on the groupings fered by it. This we leave for a ternational situation in the L.S.I., as the logical sequence to the In- world politics. Viewed from a peared as a political phenomenon, compels sections of the most deterconvention of the Socialist Party. Roots in the International Situation acute form, so the coming conven-

Probing the Disputes A discussion of the coming con-

ly: what to do!

deal first with the Congress of the L. S. I. held in August 1933, the present situation in the L. S. I., and, finally, the situation in America. Only on this basis is it possible to understand what is taking place in the American Socialist Party and orientate oneself to that situationlowing the German events

---ALBERT GLOTZER.

## Nazis Exploit Winter Help

Nazidom seems to be convinced that the Dutch authorities will in no way interfere with its assumed docile instruments of the Hitler dictatorship is the Winter Help and other alleged charity institutions which have been extended to Holland under the protectorate of the

Petitions and circulars emanating the Nazis in many details.

but has only raised them in a more ternational Congress and the dis- world standpoint the ebb and flow that its growth parallels the growth mined and militant among the capcussion that took place therein fol. of fascism has varied inversely of the revolutionary movement and italists to seek out a mass base to

> the European countries; fascism as capitalist development. herself from monarchy and military nomena and undermines the possi- alluring to the masses.

capitalist world.

It is not much different in the the transplanted fascist movements

but by no means least, of one Witte, propaganda abroad are deliberately created by it are in a state of gen. pirations of fascism, the final ac-

The development of fascism has It has been held by Marxian ings of the inner contradictions of with the ebb and flow of the world that its triumph comes about only support the struggle for the estabrevolution. The appearance of because the proletariat is sufficient-lishment of a more adequate form Italian fascism on the historic hor-by strong to threaten the further of class rule. If the working class izon has not only marked the en-existence of capitalism. The truth in any given country is not suffitrance of a period of political re-of this formula is unassailable if ciently strong, politically and oraction but has given definite char- we view it from a world stand ganizationally, to overpower these acteristics to the whole epoch. The point. However, whatever atten-forces of reaction—a fascist dictavictory of German fascism has tion has been centered on this questorship will follow. Fascism may strengthened and accelerated the tion has been approached from the then come in a particular country, tempo of fascization throughout the application of the formula to the though the working class does not While fascism as a form of cap-tion. This approach has been unlown class rule at the moment. In italist rule exists only in some of doubtedly due to the unevenness of this latter instance fascism acts as

World Revolution or World

**Fascism** 

eral collapse because of the work- complishment is easily predictable.

particular country under consideral seriously threaten to establish its

a "preventive" for the revolution. everywhere and particularly in however, the conclusion is one that industry according to plan has those countries that have long been emphasizes fascism as a national formed an important section of the considered as models of capitalist problem without its international fascist programs. The promise of democracy, France and England. correlation. This leads to isolated, economic reconstruction after the Spain which but yesterday freed national appraisals of fascist phe assumption of power has been very

> The characteristic form of economic organization introduced by It has now become necessary to fascism is, as we have seen, the coclarify and bring up-to-date our operative state. This is the logical theoretical evaluation of fascism in outcome of all tendencies of capithe light of the experiences of the talist state power to interfere in last decade and the present situa. the economic life of the country. It is the classic aim of fascism to If fascism is, as we have con- evolve a state rule representing the cluded, a universal manifestation fusion of politics and economics its appearance and existence in under one unified administration. each country is a variation of this To achieve this the class-struggle larger concept. It advances or re. has to be abolished and a prolonged cedes, therefore, because of certain peaceful development take place. ist development in the epoch of im-Democracy and the institutions perialism and the nationalistic as-

Of immediate concern to us, however, is the question of whether a program of state capitalism pursued in a democratic country facilitates the advent of fascism. Our thesis. as we shall see, holds this to be

Let us consider recent developments in our country. The Roosevelt regime as soon as it took over this state of affairs rests largely on society could live together in the helm introduced the "New peace and cooperation. On all Deal". The National Industrial Recovery Act, the main part of this "New Deal", was passed only as a temporary, emergency measure. To-That this is not just "front" for day, neither friend nor foe questions and regulation of industry. The codes granted possess sweeping po-

lice powers. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, an agency of the government, which was set up even before the "New Deal", has been granted authority to loan directly to industry. No less significant is ness of continued struggle with us | the systematic buying up of shares, in the name of capitalism but the by this institution, of the nation's largest banks; until now it owns 25% of the banking stock of the

country. In so far as labor is concerned, It is only because Lenin is pinned government policy is striking out under a mausoleum and Trotsky new paths. Whereas in the past exiled that they dare mouth such the traditional policy of the governvicious, reactionary views. And to ment, if indeed there was one, favthink that these statements are ored labor organizations of the broadcast throughout the world to craft or horizontal type now the delude the workers into believing tendency is to favor organizations that the capitalist nations are real- that will encompass whole industries and manufacturing enterprises. Here the National and Regional Labor Boards play supervisory and executive roles that are bound to assume greater authority as time

> The government's support of the A. F. of L. in preference to company unions is not due to its desire to promote independent labor action. On the contrary, it is due to a desire to take labor out of control of the thousands of business and industrial enterprises and centralize this control within the A. F. of L. in order to curb strikes and eventually more serious class action on the part of the workers.

> And so, without a fascist government in the United States and within the framework of the democratic apparatus, state capitalism and the features of a cooperative state are making their appearance. That the taking of power by fascism is made easier by such development,

It will be one of the first tasks of the new international revolutionary leadership to organize the decisive fight against the encroachthe Comintern helped them. But ment of world fascism. At the out-Stalin said: In my opinion we set it will have to distinguish its must restrain the Germans and Marxian methods from those of the hysterical Stalinists. Only the Is it any wonder then that Hitler- slogan of World Revolution can reweapon to stay the advance of fas--J. W. cism. -JOSEPH S. GIGANTL

## LOUIS FISHER SLAYS "TROTSKYISM" AGAIN

In a recent issue of the Nation, | Fischer, "but he did not suppose from Stalin's Problems of Leninism on these world-shaking events? It ment officially proposed a resoluexamination of the pre-convention Mr. Louis Fischer, in a much her-that socialism could thus be ob- (unexpurgated): material, however, is all that is nec- alded article, invokes the death of tained". Quite so! And in so thinkessary to convince one of this fact. "Trotskyism" for the hundredth ing, he was in full agreement not time. It seems however that "Trot-only with Lenin who conceived of and tendencies preparing to do battle for their respective points of much to the dismay of its oppon- ited world-wide economy, regulated view: The Revolutionary Policy Committee (patterned after the committee of the same name in the don't care much for "counter-rev- also of every Bolshevik-Internationolutionary Trotskyism", dead or alist prior to the epoch of Stalin-

Mr. Fischer, like most Stalinist I would seriously recommend to scribes, does not feel impelled to Mr. Fischer, and to the American Manuilsky & Co.

thesis that Rakovsky's recantation His whole argument revolves lation of an individual impugns the movement. History can not be written so simply. The socialist

Party. The questions of Trade Un-the real meaning and cause of Ra-the petty-bourgeoisie; in isolation ion work, the United Front, The kovsky's capitulation, he himself from the outside world it seeks a

as unshaken as ever.

"At a recent party conference in Eastern Siberia," writes Mr. Fischer, "Emilian Yaraslovsky, a member of the inner Bolshevik circle, spoke of the counter-revolutionaries hired by the bourgeoisie, and the delegates remarked that Trotsky too was in the pay of the capitalists. Yaraslovsky did not have the courage to deny this infamous accusation. His failure to do so was beneath contempt, as Stalin's effort to rewrite Soviet history so that Trotsky's role either disappears or becomes besmirched is beneath contempt."

Yes, and this is but' putting it not more of the thousands of exiled Outstanding victories of the pro- and persecuted Bolshevik-Leinnists The defeats in Germany and Au-come from Trotsky. Search as you

"Socialism in One Country"

Association under the leadership of substantiate his "arguments" against Stalinists whose history begins with Trotsky by any facts, but resurrects the year 1924, that they devote a the old fiction manufactured by little time to the study of the A.B.C. of Communism from Bukharin's and Mr. Fischer's chapter in the in-Preobrozhensky's text-book which ternational campaign of calumny was formerly the official handbook and falsification starts off with the of the Workers School. "The Communist revolution", says the book, "can be victorious only as a world revolution. . . ." Since 1924, however, the history of the party has been turned into a palimpsest.

In a book edited and with an introduction by Lenin, Stepanov-Skvortzov wrote: "The proletariat of Russia never thought of creating already split into well defined pock-marked with desertions, yet an isolated socialist state. A selfsufficient 'socialist' State is a pettybourgeois ideal. A certain approach

to this is thinkable with an econo-If Mr. Fischer wants to find out mic and political preponderance of means of consolidating its economic Accepting wholeheartedly the canforms, which are converted by the ards of the Stalin school he goes new technique and the new economy into very unstable forms".

Trotsky's Position

What are Trotsky's views on this uestion?

"Socialism", says T, "is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production is not yet socialism, but only its legal premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, which at the present state of human development are world-wide in their very essence. The separate state, having become too narrow for capitalism, is so much the less capable of becoming the arena of a finished socialist society. The backwardness of a revolutionary country, moreover, increases for it the danger of being thrown back to capitalism. In rejecting the perspective of an isolated socialist development, the Bolsheviks had in view, not a mechanically isolated problem of intervention, but the whole complex of questions bound up with the international economic basis of socialism. . . . Starting from the world-wide division of labor, the task of socialism is to carry the international exchange of goods and services to its highest devel-

I have attempted here to give the party up to 1924. It will only be thought and study to the problem "Trotsky advocated industrializa- necessary for me to close this phase Why hasn't be devoted a little space the thesis of capitalist-Communist in Germany?

What Stalin Once Wrote "To overthrow the power of the

bourgeoisie and establish the power of the proletariat in one country, does not mean to guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The chief task of socialism, the organization of socialist production-lies still ahead. Can this task be accomplished? Is it possible to attain the final victory of socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? No, it is not. The efforts of one country are enough for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie-this is what the history of our revolution tells us. For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries. . . . Such in general are the characteristic features of the Leniuist theory of the proletarian revolution".

Industrialiation

We will come back to this point shortly. For the moment let us proceed to Mr. Fischer's next point. on to say that ". . . collectivization never present itself to him (Trotsky) as a major solution (?)".

One might suppose that after making a categorical statement like this he would at least mention when or where this was true. But no, the readers of the Nation are left high and dry, for there is no accompanying explanation. What all right. are Trotsky's views on this question?

"The proletariat", writes T. "cannot create a new society without bringing the peasantry to socialism through a series of transitional stages, the peasantry being a considerable in a number of countries a predominantpart of the population, and a known majority on the earth as a whole. (Does this sound like underestimating the peasantry?) The solution of this most difficult of all problems depends in the last analysis upon the quantitative and qualitative correlations between industry and agriculture. The peasantry will the more voluntarily and successfully take the road of collectivization, the more generously the town is able to fertilize their economy and their culture".

Who Killed the Comintern?

Mr. Fischer conveniently limits his remarks to the Soviet Union. working class throughout the world.

"Europe never looked so dark and beyond hope as at the present time. Yet Communism makes no

ism, momentarily, ids such tre-tion on a vast sacle", continues of the discussion with a quotation to the position of the "Trotskyists" co-existence. The Soviet Govern-

is a painful piece of work explain- tion at the International Econom- the case. ing why Europe looks "so dark and ic Conference in Geneva in May, beyond hope". Mr. Fischer knows 1927, which enunciated the idea full well that the responsibility for that the two opposing forms of the nationalistic policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. That is why the recent occasions Soviet spokesmen "Comintern is a dismal failure".

The position of the International sition". Communist League (Left Oppositionary internationalism. History chamber of Commerce): has stripped the Stalinist International of its last claim to the confidence of the working class. It stands exposed today as a brake on the revolutionary movement.

"Trotsky's World Revolution" In September, 1932, Mr. Fischer wrote an article in Current History on "Trotsky's World Revolution" There he endeavored to compare Trotsky's views on the world situation with those of Stalin. Here is

what he says: "In German Trotsky urges a bloc between Communists and Social Democrats to fight fascism. Moscow declares, however, that this is menshevism (sic!), an old Trotskylst malady (!), and that since the Social Democrats had supported the former Bruening Government, alliance with them would bolster up the German bourgeoisie".

This however did not prevent the Comintern from supporting the plebiscite in 1931 in which the German Communists voted with the Hitlerites. That united front was

"Trotsky's most poisonous shafts are aimed against Stalin for his role in the Chinese revolution of 1924-1927 and in the present German crisis. Trotsky maintains that Stalin's policy in China was not an accident and not a mere mistake, but an inevitable result of his rejection of the doctrine of Permanent Revolution. The acceptance of that theory, Trotsky insists, would have prevented Stalin from supposing that a successful socialist revolution could have issued from a union between the petty-bourgeois Koumintang and the workers and peasants, in which the Koumintang was the dominating influence. Trotsky above all, criticizes the Comintern for restraining the German Communist party from decisive revolutionary action."

Propaganda of the Hirelings

I have quoted Mr. Fischer a length so that there will not be any question of misstatement and mis-It is indeed very disquieting to interpretation. And since he so think of the events which have led well bears out the claims of the to the catastrophic defeats of the Bolshevik-Leninists as to the revisionist policies of the Comintern, I will, at the risk of being tedious, conclude with a few choice excerpts from his article in Current History. There is no better way to refute the insidious nationalistic propaganda of the Stalinist hirelings than with the words from their own mouths.

have emphasized the same propo-

tion) has been strikingly confirmed the benefit of the capitalists but an the permanency of the NRA set-ups. in the most critical events of the integral part of the new philosophy The government not only organizes past decade. And no Stalinist apol- of the Soviet bureaucracy is indi- and strengthens associations of the ogist can white-wash the treacher-cated in a speech made by Litvinoff various branches of industry, but ous nationalistic role of the Com- before the Central Executive Com- participates itself to an ever inintern to make it appear as revolu- mittee of the Soviet Union (not a creasing extent in the management

". . . my conversations with President Roosevelt convinced us both of the absolute possibility of the closest relations and cooperation for peace by our two countries. One cannot but admire President Roosevelt's perspicacity in realizing not only the uselessvalue of relations with us not only for the sake of America's national interests but for the cause of

ly interested in peace!

Close-up of Stalinism Mr. Fischer continues:

"At the end of the second Five-Year Plan in 1937, according to sanguine Bolshevist (?) claims socialism will have been established in Russia (!), despite the persistance of capitalism everywhere else. The Russian Communists therefore, are devoting themselves to the tasks at home. They are more introverted than ever before Foreign politics interests them largely as a means of neutralizing outside hostility and of obtaining credits. Anything that may interfere seriously with domestic improvement is avoided. The Bolsheviki would say that capitalists will do more than the communists to undermine capitalism. Today, despite the universal depression, they view the world scene soberly (!) and, while discerning a gradual shift to the left, are skeptical about a there is no doubt. red uprising, even in Germany, not to speak of other countries. revolution were imminent in some important country? What if Gersocial upheaval? The historical precident is Germany in 1923. The Reich had been impoverished by inflation. Bread riots had occurred in numerous cities. The German Communists were planning an uprising. With one hand not encourage them'."

"Since 1927 Stalin has defended ism and not Communism triumphed arm the workers with the necessary

When democracy finally breaks down, fascism will be the only road . . But how would the Commun- for the capitalsts, no matter what ists in the Soviet Union behave if | their present democratic asseverations may be. When such time comes, will the workers be prepared many or France or Japan were on | to make a bid for power? And yet, the very threshold of a national | the only way to stop fascism is the united action of the proletariat leading immediately to the proletarian revolution.