BROWNSVILLE WORKER-

Question: What are the contradictions in Soviet and international economy which prevent the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.?

Answer: It is unfortunate that Trotsky's "The Draft Program of the C.I." is out of print since a complete answer to this question is contained in this work. The following cannot pretend at any such completeness.

Under capitalism the productive forces were increased by extending the social division of labor until it became world wide in scope. A further increase of productive forces requires a further extension of this world-wide division of labor. To attempt to construct a socialist society within the boundaries of a single state, i.e., to attempt to set up a self-sufficient economy independent of the rest of world economy, would mean to divorce that country from the international division of labor to which it has historically developed and thus thrust its economic development btckward even further than it had taken place under capitalism. This can be the ideal of the petty bourgeoisie but not of revolutionists. (As evidence of its class roots note that "Socialism in one country" means national socialism, the name of the German Fascist party.)

Soviet economy is inseparably linked with world economy. From this fact flowed the Russian revolution which, according to Lenin's famous formula. occurred because WORLD capitalism broke at its weakest LINK. The seizure of power by the proletariat, however, has not destroyed this interdependence between Soviet and world economy; it has simply changed the ownership and control of the Russian productive forces. Being forced therefore to export and import, the Soviet Union can only find a solution for her economic problems in the international arena. This is the main contradiction which prevents her from building a Socialist, i.e., a selfsufficing, economy within the limits of her State boundaries, and since politics is merely economics raised to a higher plane, the matter will be finally solved politically on the world arena, by the international proletarian revolution.

Question: Do you insist that the proletariat must come into power in several of the advanced countries in order to save the Soviet Union from destruction?

Answer: We merely echo Lenin: "We do not live merely in a State but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME IS INCONCEIVABLE. In the end one or the other must triumph." As to the statement which mentions "several" countries we have but to quote one statement by Stalin with which we agree but which he has since revised: "For the final victory of Socialism, FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, THE EFFORTS OF ONE COUN-TRY, PARTICULARLY OF SUCH A PEASANT COUNTRY AS RUSSIA, ARE INSUFFICIENT. For this the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are necessary. . ." (Stalin, "Lenin and Leninism". Russian 1924 edition, pp. 40-41.)

Question: What is the difference between Socialism and Communism?

Answer: Socialism is the first stage of a CLASS-LESS society in which certain "inequalities" remain, differences in wages, etc. The productive forces will not yet have matured to give "to each according to his needs". Under Communism, the latter condition, made possible by an additional advance in technique, culture etc., will exist.

In order to harmonize the contradictions of their "theories", the Stalinists confuse Socialism with the Proletarian Dictatorship and with Communism. (See "Question Box" of October 13.)

Question: Does not Stalin concede, at least in theory, that all Socialist construction is not a guarantee to capitalist intervention nor even to a restoration nor even to a restoration of capitalism?

Answer: Stalin concedes the first condition but cannot recognize the second without abandoning his touchstone for the policies of the reports of the bureaucracy of the sub-district 200 social democratic throats or make united front protheory, since he would then be admitting that suffi- Comintern, an indicator for the C.P.G. because for a year and a workers have entered the party; posals to each other! This touches cient MATERIAL forces for the building of a Socialist society in the U.S.S.R. do not exist. The whole Stalinist theory, however, is based on exactly the opposite claim. (To be continued.)

GEORGE STANTON, BROOKLYN- (Supplementary answer to September 29th)

Question: From Lenin's "The Third International and its Place in History", Trotsky quotes as follows: ("The Permanent Revolution", page 108) ". . . the to draw in a section of the prolecontradictions between the backwardness of Russia tariat and thus to show that the and its 'leap' OVER BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY to the highest form of democratism-to proletarian or tion to carry on a struggle, that Soviet democracy." In the edition published by the Stalinist International Publishers this is stated as ". . . this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and its 'leap' to the highest form of democracy, THROUGH DEMOCRACY to Soviet or proletarian democracy. . . . " Since these two have differ-

ent meanings, can you tell me which is correct? Answer: To supplement our previous analytical proof that the Stalinist quotation is incorrect, we now present evidence of a factual nature.

We are indebted to comrade Max Shachtman for the following: ". . . Wir werden uns kaum irren, wenn wir sagen, dass gerade der Widerspruch zwichen der Zurueckgebliebenheit Russlands und seinen "Sprung' zur hoechsten Form des Democratismus, UEBER DIE BUERGERLICHE DEMOKRATIE HINWEG zur Sowjet--oder proletarischen Republik, . . ." (N. Lenin-"Die Dritte Internationale, ihr Platz in der Geschichte"-DIE KOMMUNISTISCHE INTERNATIONALE, Moskau-Petrograd, 'No. 1, 1919, p. v. edition of the Rote Fahne, Berlin, Aug. 1919), Comrade J. MacDonald is to be thanked for this one: "It would not be misconstruing the facts to say that this striking contrast between Russia's backwardness and its leap OVER THE HEAD OF BOUR-GEOIS DEMOCRACY to the highest form of demo-

cracy, the Soviet or proletarian democracy. . . (The Communist Review, March 1929, Vol. 1, No. 3, gime in Germany", no more, no published in London, England by the British Communist Party).

The emphasis is ours in both cases.

COMRADE R., CAPE TOWN, BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA.—We are replying to your questions by sep- tented". Even the capitalists. "are arate letter, a copy of which we are sending to the Lenin Club.

A. P., BRONX .- See the "Question Box" for August 18. and 25 for the quotations concerning the trade thing as Richter and arrive at a union policy of the C. P. before the inception of the T.U.U.L., and the basis upon which the R.I.L.U. was leans more and more upon the formed.

COMRADE B., BROOKLYN .- See "Question Box" of October 6th.

Editor's Note: We regret that we cannot accede to thousand living threads with all the the requests of comrades for immediate answers by layers of the population. Dissatismail since this only increases our work and our facil- faction among all classes and layities are limited. Comrades who enclose air mail ers of the population would also stamps only force us to go to the additional trouble be and expense of returning them.

HAS THE COMINTERN LEARNED?

By ERICH WOLLENBERG

Many Communist workers, who are critical of the Comintern, are today of the opinion that the Comintern has made "a turn of 180 degrees". They therefore believe that all the demands of the Opposition have been fulfilled and that every one who today still remains a critic of the political line of the Comintern or its sections is a "critic on prnciple", a hopeless babbler.

We revolutionary Communists should never forget that in the struggle against the mistakes of the Comintern every exaggeration is so much grist to the mill of the bureaucrats and impedes the process of the revolutionary clarification of the Communist workers. We must always bear in mind the lessons which we have drawn from the exaggerated character of the struggle against the social democrats. The social democratic workers began to understand long before Hitler that their leadership "failed", that it was "worthless" but they knew that the S.P.G. was no fascist party and that it was not pursuing fascist policies and that itneither the leaders nor the workers -were social fascists as the Communists always insisted. Therefore the social democratic workers received all the attacks of the C. P. on the S. P .- even those that were justified—as "ordinary slanders". Therefore it is self-evident that the theory of "social-fascism" and the resulting policies (the red referendum, etc.) in reality helped to into undependable props of the fas-1 these strikes completely although constantly strengthen the shaky cist dictatorship. But unfortunate- naturally the methods of strike positions of the social-democratic leadership with its own member-

A Critique of Criticism

A similar process of clarification, but not in such a developed form, which existed among the social de-30, 1933. The Communist workers also understood that their leadership "failed", that it was "worthmaking the same mistakes as rethe social democratic workers. We will be guilty of these mistakes if reancrats. Only when we declare ers in Germany! openly whenever the Comintern says or does something correct that olutionary.

Communists were really in a condithey are capable of mobilizing the masses for this struggle-all this has made a shocking impression upon the workers". This "discovery" of Piatnitzky is undoubtedly a step forward. One need only recall that as late as April of 1933 the writer of this article was ex- revolutionary party based on a be in a position to expand and impelled from the Communist party Marxist foundation. by this same Piatnitzky for making

this self-same assertion. Spreading Illusions

Comrade "Richter", member of the Polit-Bureau of the C.P.G. correctly asserts in his report on the situation in Germany that on the one hand, fascism makes difficult the struggle to win over the workers, but on the other hand facilitates the struggle by "shattering the illusions". Rosa Luxemburg taught us long ago that there is "nothing more harmful than illusions". But unfortunately, Richter tries with might and main to arouse all the illusions on the situation in Germany. He asserts that "everybody is dissatisfied with the Hitler reless. It is indeed "everybody"! The working masses are dissatisfied, the urban middle classes, the masses of petty and middle peasants are "disillusioned and disconnot at all satisfied". Why the hell then, hasn't the fascist dictatorship been overthrown? Knorin and Platnitzky say approximately the same conclusion that Hitler in reality Reichswehr and the police. They seem to have forgotten that these two instruments of power of the bourgeoisie also do not inhabit a vacuum but are bound up by a ome manifest in the Reichs

wehr and the police and turn them

The Author of this Article:

The writer of this article, comrade Erich Wollenberg, is preeminent among leading German Communists. His service to the revolutionary movement and his distinguished career in it entitles him to speak with authority. Wollenberg joined the Communist party as an active army officer in Munich in early 1919. During the existence of the Soviet Republic he was local commander of the Red Army in Bavaria, in charge of the main front at Dachan. He distinguished himself at that time as well as on later occasions by his extraordinary personal bravery. Captured by the army of Ebert-Hindenburg, he was sentenced to several years imprisonment. On his release he became party editor in the Ruhr district and in East Prussia. In 1923 he was put in charge of the military direction of one of the biggest German districts and was one of the few comrades who, against the wilk of the Central Committee, wanted to strike out

in the Fall of the year. After the defeat of the party he was obliged to fiee to the Soviet Union because Secret Servicemen had been shot down in a raid on the military direction. In the Soviet Union Wollenberg entered the Red Army and soon received the rank of captain. In 1932 after repeated requests and no less repeated refosals Wollenberg was permitted to return to Germany, where he became editor of Rote Falme and a leader of the League of Struggle Against Fascism.

During the pre-Hitler days Wollenberg came into constant conflict with the Central Committee of the party over its nationalist orientation and its aping of the Nazis. Thaelmann attempted to buy his silence with a Reichstag mandate, but with no success. When Wollenberg was slugged at a Nazi demonstration by Storm Troopers, causing him to convalesce in a hospital for several weeks, Thaelmann utilized the opportunity to remove him from all party posts. The resentment in C.P. ranks against this bureaucratic usurpation was so strong that Thaclmann prevailed upon the E.C.C.I. to recall Wollenberg to Moscow where he was denied any active work for the German Communist party. Comrade Wollenberg was expelled from the C.P. in the summer of 1933 when he requested to be permitted to return to Germany and work for the creation of a new Communist party. He is at present in exile.

ly these "assertions" of Richter, struggle under a fascist dictator-Platnitzky and Knorin are false, ship must be extraordinarily interawaken frightful illusions and esting and rich in lessons. must serve as a point of departure | Piatnitsky and Knorin themselves

for false policies. of the German Communist party C.C. of the C.P.G. because they remocracy for a number of years and the Comintern also in order to mark in their own reports that the began to manifest itself among the justify their continually reiterated C.P.G. has been unable to lead a Communist workers after July 20, idiotic theory theses since 1932-1933 "single important strike". It may 1932 and especially after January that everything which has occurred or may not be true when Richter in Germany for the last three years asserts as a proof of the revoluwas no defeat for the working class tionary work of the C.P.G. thatbut a "revolutionary upsurge". And already prior to June 30, 1934--"in less". Today we must guard against Richter does, as a matter of fact, one big place in Germany alone, speak up and say "we can today five leaders of the S.A. are connectgards the Communists that the declare that this revolutionary up. ed with the C.P.G. and circulate Communist party made as regards surge-which was formulated in Communist literature among their the October resolution of the Polit- acquaintances (among the storm Bureau of the C.P.G. as well as in troopers)" Should this be true, it we represent today everything the the resolutions of the 13th plenum | would show the inability of the C. Comintern does as false or com- of the E.C.C.I .- is being recognized P.G. to utilize for revolutionary acpletely counter-revolutionary, e.g., and felt by broad masses of the tion so severe a crisis in Fascism when we do not submit the policies working class". At what a remote as the slaughter of June 30. of the Comintern and its sections distance are the present emigre to criticism but instead content our- leaders of the C.P.G. in Paris and selves with pointing to the "dishon- Copenhagen from the real situation

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algear to have little faith in the In addition, it serves the leaders report made by the member of the

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prove after the new party is

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inion "of creating in illegality a colossal mass organization numbering at least 100,000 members" The value of the turn of the Comintern is to be appraised not by the uncontrolled figures of the entry of the social democratic workers into the C.P.G. but by the policies of the C.P.G. The united front is the axis of the entire proletarian policies in the present period. One of the most important conditions for a revolutionary united front policy is a correct position towards social democracy.

But Knorin speaks about "our correct formula that the social democracy and fascism are twins, our correct international formula which states that the social democracy is the chief social prop of the bourgeoisie" concludes literally the following: "the situation in Germany has altered but it is correct today also to call Wels a social fascist; the social democracy led by Wels were twins." Thus the Comintern remains holding the old fatal formula of Stalin and shamefully keeps silent over the fact that Stalin had furthermore declared "fas-P.) and the bourgeoisie cannot consider to their interests, maintain itself at the helm without this bloc." Naturally the Comintern to appear personally at the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

No Hitler"

man and international proletariat. try. But where it does do so it does not! The clergy, realizing that this might well be its est motives" of the Comintern bu- and the real opinions of the work- Comintern and the C.C. of the C.P. a battle. Knorin correctly differ- of the P.N.R. G. have to say about the social- entiates between the "social demodemocratic workers. "There are cratic groups now functioning il-In his report Richter attempts to dozens of places where half of the legally in Germany" and the C.C. it is correct will the Communist give a few examples of this "revo- C.P.G. units consist of former social of the S.P.G. in emigration with workers believe us whenever we lutionary upsurge". He points to democratic workers. In a city in Wels at the head but, just the same fatal, or when we brand its politi- tivity for the first time where over party members 100 former mem- the Communist groups now funccal line as objectively counter-rev- the whole Reich local papers are bers of the social democratic party. Itioning illegally in Germany with again appearing for the first time". In a Bavarian city, we have con- the C.C. of the C.P.G. now in emi-The report of the July 9-10 ses- In order to point out the activity nections with the social democratic gration with Heckert, Pieck and sion of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of the C. P. G. he is compelled key men who in their turn are con- Ulbricht at the head. Let the is now at hand. It is a kind of to give the lie to the earlier nected with 500 workers. In a Piecks and Wels tear at each other's "turn". This report shows with half the leadership of the C.P.G. thanks to this seven units exist in the problem of the proletarian revterrifying clarity how little the was emphasizing in all their re- a place where we didn't have a olution in Germany only on its Comintern has learned. Of course, ports and articles that their local single unit during the times of le- periphery. The precondition for both Knorin and Piatnitzky have papers were appearing regularly, gality." Etc., etc.! These reports the overthrow of the Fascist dicasserted that the German working some once every week and others so openly bear the stamp of Muen- tatorship in Germany will obtain class had suffered a defeat in Jan- once a month. Richter goes on to zenbergism, that is, of political if the illegally struggling commuuary 1933 and that "the inability list a number of strikes in which bragadoccio that one need not treat nist and social democratic workers of the Communists to begin the he restricts himself to the bald en- them seriously. They are uttered will build a new communist party struggle on July 22, 1932, at least umeration of some movements and in the same breath with Knorin's on the basis of revolutionary theory he doesn't describe a single one of report that the C.P.G. is of the op-land practice.

funds to stay off creditors.

We feel confident that all our readers and those who are interested in the launching of a new party November 15th marks the sixth historic mission during this period will agree with us on this matter. anniversary of the founding of the and will continue to serve the Toward this end we make the fol-Militant. At the same time we are movement after the new party is lowing proposals:

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WORLD OF LABOR

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT FLARES IN MEXICO

In New York, the Communist Party forms a United Front with Father Divine-against war and Fascism. In Mexico, the Communist Party forms a united front with the Pope of Rome, vicar of Christ on Earth-Against "Socialist Education" in the schools!

For the past several months, since the new program for "Socialist Education" was adopted by the Mexican Government, the political situation in that counry has become extremely tense. Huge mass demonstrations of students, housewives and school children who, under the influence of the clergy, object to a slight dose of sexual instruction in the schools, have been staged throughout the country. These "popuiar" demonstrations have on aimost every occasion been broken up by the hose of the fire department, the clubs of the police, and the rifles of the military. The students of many schools and colleges, led by it is correct that the fascists and the Catholic Youth and the Young Communist League who now march shoulder to shoulder "against the common enemy" have staged a number of student strikes. In spite however, of this mass protest on the part of the backward strata of the populace, the proletariat and the radicalized peasantry, unable to cism is a formless bloc of these two analyze the fine points of "socialist education", find organizations (S.P.G. and N.S.D.A. in the government program some features which they

Once again, this time under the guise of "Socialist Education", the national bourgeois regime of Mexcannot openly compromise Stalin ico, as a cover-up for its anti-labor activity in other who does not consider it his duty fields, and as a means of liquidating the opposition of the rightist elements in opposition to it, continues to flaunt its pseudo-revolutionary demagogy before Without a Stalin There Could Be the whole world. The plan to apply a new program for "socialist education" in all schools of that coun-The session of the presidium of try, has brought to the fore once again the years the E.C.C.I. of July of this year old conflict between the Calles political group, now shows that the Comintern in some concentrated around the National Revolutionary questions tried to draw some les- Party (P.N.R.) and the Catholic clergy, as represensons from the defeats of the Ger- tative of the blackest reactionary forces of the coun-

point out the source of these mis. life and death struggie, made a desperate attempt to takes for then it must openly admit rally the most backward masses of the populace a share of guilt in the victory of against the "socialist education" program and espe-Fascism over the German working cially against the "sexual education" aspect of the class. "Without the social demo- new program of instruction. During this whole concracy, Fascism could not have tri- flict, the Stalinists have played directly into the umphed", says Knorin. "Without hands of the clerical reaction. The Stalinists, con-Ebert there could be no Hitler", sidering the anti "Nocialist Education" strikes of the the author of these lines wrote in Mexican students, and the "mass movement" of the the Summer of 1932 in the Rote fanatical housewives and mothers of families, to be Falme, the central organ of the C. progressive simply because they were mass move-P.G. July 20, 1932, January 30, ments, and because they were against the govern-1933 and the seventeen months of ment, have thrown all of their forces on the side of the Hitler dictatorship have shown the Roman Catholic clergy and against the governthis statement to be only a half ment. In their customary fashion they find themtruth which through the pedagogy selves unable to take a truly independent position in of history found a fatal supplement, such a question. From open and unrestrained col-"Without a Stalin there could be laboration with the national bourgeoisic against the no Hitler"! Without the policy of clergy from 1926 to 1929, they have now turned to The most important thing in the the C.C. of the C.P.G. fascism open and unreserved support of the Catholic reaction The Communist Internationalists of Mexico, while

pointing out that the P.N.R. or any other bourgeois regime is incapable of establishing real socialist education, and that this can only be done under workers' rule as in the U.S.S.R., indicate to the workers brand other actions as false and the "more intense propaganda ac- Thuringia, we have among 200 way must one differentiate between that the policies of Roman Catholicism have just as reactionary content as they have always had. In one more case, the need of a new revolutionary workers' party is being demonstrated. . . .

NEW WAR THREAT IN SOUTH AMERICA War with Venezuela is being discussed openly

throughout Colombia, as a result of the growing acuteness of imperialist antagonisms. These conflicts center around petroleum and other concessions in the regions of Colombia that border on the Venezuelan oil fields near Lake Maracaibo. The interests of British and U. S. imperialism are playing a desperate game within the politics of Colombia itself. Although the British interests dominate in the recently inaugurated Lopez government, the American concessionaires and industrialists are still able to exert pressure both with the governing group and also through the opposition bourgeois party. The working class of the country is divided into

several camps, mostly under reformist-liberal leadership. This contributed largely to the lack of any serious opposition to last year's Leticia "war", and is of course a source of great weakness today also. However, the workers are becoming more militant in the recent period as evidenced by the many important strikes that have taken place. The failure of every single large strike to gain its objectives, has weakened the little faith that the masses still retained in their leadership. There is a wide sympathy towards communism among broad masses of workers, but this is not translated into communist influence in the unions because of the inability of the party to lead any struggles to a really successful sary Militant affair to help finish. There is no Opposition Communist movement in Colombia with the exception of a small group in the provincial city of Cali, which controls a few minor local trade unions and adheres to the International Communist League. plicitly whether we may print

SPANISH REACTION PREPARES NEW BLOWS As the government troops of the Lerroux-Gil Robles

regime mop up the remaining bodies of armed workers, the reactionary forces within the government The Youngstown Branch of our itself, are preparing for new advances. The number organization has contributed an ad- of workers imprisoned as a result of the revolutiondressograph to the Militant. There ary general strike and uprising is estimated at about remain the necessary accessories 15,000. Many of these have already received long to be bought-a stamping machine, sentences and twenty death penalties, a number of name plates and some cabinets, them against Catalonian nationalists and army offi-The Youngstown comrades found a cers who had joined the uprising are pending. The local place where these can be Popular Actionists (Fascists) are demanding wholebought at half the price we would sale executions and a virtual reign of terror against have to pay here. The complete the workers and their organizations, most of the outfit, including crating and ship- leaders of which are now either in fail or in hiding. ping to New York comes to a total The Radicals of Mr. Lerroux's party however, fearful of the forces of the working class, weakened but not smashed, are vacillating on the policy to be folthank our Youngstown comrades for lowed. Seeking a further pretext for the represtheir generous contribution (which sions, and especially in an attempt to justify these saves us about \$150) and secondly repressions internationally, the reactionaries are into appeal to our readers and friends venting extravagant atrocity stories. It is claimed. to send in their donations toward for instance, that in Asturias the revolutionary workthe \$35 so we can get the machine ers seized the little children of the Civil Guards and gouged out their eyes. But in spite of this and numerous other charges, even the more moderate bour-GENEROUS AS POSSIBLE AND geois elements tend to ignore the "horror" stories.

Political measures are being taken against the the specific fund you are contrib- Catalan Generalidad and many of its autonomous uting to so them oney will be used features, such as police, courts and taxation powers. have been rescinded. Preparations are being made to declare the Socialist Party illegal at the parlia. SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT, mentary session, scheduled to open in a few days.