

## QUESTION BOX

H. D. BRONX—

**Question:** The draft programmatic thesis of the C.L.A. presents as a perspective the possibility that the working class movement in the United States may skip, or very rapidly pass through, the reformist stage. What is the basis for this? In this connection, would you explain the reason for the differences between the working class movement here and in Europe?

**Answer:** In Europe, at the time of the advent of capitalism as the dominating mode of production and the transformation of the state power to this mode, practically all the land was private property, to which, primarily, is due the sharpness to which class lines were drawn. Only exceptional proletarians could climb out of their class inside the State boundaries. The "surplus" proletariat or the landless sons of farmers who sought a way out could find it only by migrating to the colonies of America, Africa, or Australia, where, by opening new land, mines, etc., the class relationships were renewed. In the "mother" countries, however, the class consciousness brought forth by the relative rigidity of class lines resulted in comparatively large organizations of the proletariat.

In the United States all this "colonization", because of free land, took place within the state boundaries so that class relationships were in a constant flux, blurring the class lines and resulting in small working class organizations.

This entire development occurred while capitalism was in its progressive stage, and at a time when it had the possibilities, with super profits extracted from the colonies, to bribe certain sections of the proletariat, to create an "aristocracy" of labor, upon which reformism bases itself and by means of whom reformism seized both the large European (we exclude Russia) and the small American labor movements.

However, times have changed. The material basis for the blurring of class lines, free land, in the United States no longer exists. (The number of farms in this country which increased from 1,449,073 in 1850 to 6,448,343 in 1920 declined to 6,288,648 by 1930. In 1910, 12,388,300 people, 32.5% of the total, were employed in agriculture. By 1930, these had declined to 10,471,998 or 21.4% of the total.) The ending of this material basis for the political backwardness of the American worker, corresponds in point of time with the decline of capitalism internationally, and, with this decline, the end of the conditions which make reformism possible, as European experience so eloquently testifies.

This is the "combined" development to which we refer and which makes possible not only a rapid tempo of working class development in the country but a "skipping" over of the stage through which the European workers have gone.

To a great extent, of course, this will depend upon the ability of the new party to influence events in a revolutionary direction.

S. B., NEW YORK—

**Question:** Certain Socialists, with whom I discuss, claim that the Austrian experience is proof that armed insurrection against the capitalist state is futile. How would you answer this?

**Answer:** One thing the Austrian experience does prove: To attempt almost any struggle, not to speak of armed insurrection, against capitalism, under the paralyzing leadership of the Social Democracy, is futile.

Actually, the relationship of forces favored the Austrian workers according to both Deutsch and Otto Bauer. Even if the reaction could count as reliable all the troops, police, Heimwehr, etc., it could muster no more than 60,000 men as against 80,000 Schutz-bundists. Two thirds of Vienna, 90% of the workers (i.e. the control of production, transport and communication), and 40% of the total Austrian population were Social Democrats, to which must be added the organs of local government of which the party disposed. Had the Austrian Marxist leadership wanted it, the procuring of arms would have been a comparatively simple matter under the circumstances.

Why was this immeasurably superior force defeated? It was betrayed. The enemy was systematically presented with the best political and material positions by the leadership of the Social Democracy, who placed their faith not in the masses but in Dollfuss and Miklas.

One could go into great detail to prove our point but let the following statement of Otto Bauer himself suffice: "We could have answered that (the dispersion of the Parliament in 1933.—Ed.) on March 15 with the general strike. Never were the conditions for a successful strike so favorable as on that day. . . . The working masses awaited the signal to fight. . . . The military organization of the government was far weaker than in February 1934. At that time we might have triumphed." (See the Review of Otto Bauer's and Deutsch's pamphlets in the New Internationalist of July 1934 for further facts.)

The Austrian experience also proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is impossible for the proletariat to come to power by parliamentary means. Fascism will strangle the proletariat before it recovers 51% of the votes. Armed insurrection is not only necessary but inevitable, if the working class is not to go down in defeat. The Austrian events showed that not the armed insurrection—without which there can be no hope of the workers taking power—but the mealy-mouthed, treacherous leadership of Austro-Marxism was futile and disastrous for the proletariat.

## JOINT DANCE

Saturday, Dec. 15th 9 p.m.

Entertainment - Music

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Auspices: Communist League of America and American Workers Party.

## November New International Out

The November issue of the New Internationalist is just off the press! Get your copy early. The October issue was completely sold out. Among the contents in this issue are letters from Marx, Trotsky and Rakovsky on Russia, a letter from Spain, an article on the Negro question, book reviews, archive material, etc., etc., etc. 15c per copy; \$1.50 a year; \$1 for seven issues.

## Who Are the Defenders of the U.S.S.R.?

## The International Secretariat Replies to the Calumnies of the French Stalinists

the ranks obeys only the commands from above and pretends to infallibility.

The Marxist method of the united front presupposes the right of every party to give its critical opinion on the attitude of its ally. It is only thus, in action, that the masses can be educated. The Stalinists, in rejecting the most elementary lessons of Marx and Lenin, have connected with the realization of the united front with the abandonment of reciprocal criticism. This is the only method at their disposal to preserve the myth of their infallibility and one must look here for the explanation of the hatred and their fear of the "insignificant quantity" of "Trotskyists" whom they are very far from neglecting.

For eleven years we followed step by step the entire policy of the Comintern. Whether it concerned the pretended "workers and peasants" parties for the Orient, the Chinese revolution with the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeois party of the Kuo Min Tang, the Anglo-Russian Committee, the attitude of the Polish Communist party which supported Pilsudsky's coup d'etat in 1926, the policy of the third period with its adventurist ravages, the theory and practice of social fascism which led to the catastrophe in Germany, the same policy in Austria and Spain where it condemned to impotence the sections of the Comintern, finally the present policy of the French Communist Party which opposes the creation of the workers' militia—in all these decisive questions and in many other important cases we have always counterposed the Marxist policy to the Stalinist policy and predicted the fatal consequences of the latter. Let every conscious worker compare our proposals and our prognoses with the

march of events and he will know on whose side the truth rests. It is this situation that makes it unacceptable and impossible for the Stalinist sections to face us before an international proletarian forum. From the moment when the walls of infallibility begin to crack the entire Comintern bureaucracy will fall to pieces. That is why the Stalinists carefully avoid contact with an organization which is deeply familiar with their history, their mistakes and even their crimes.

But whatever the psychological explanation for their attitude, it is politically impermissible. The very meaning of the united front consists in that one does not demand from his allies a preliminary recognition of ideas and opinions which they do not hold. If the "Trotskyists" are the open enemies of the U.S.S.R., they should inevitably appear in common action and we will thus discredit ourselves in the eyes of the proletarian vanguard. If the Stalinists truly believe in what they advance they should welcome our appearance beside them in an international working class forum. But no, they are far from taking this road, and they are right, not as a revolutionary organization but as a conservative bureaucracy: open and candid discussion will leave not a trace of the prestige of infallibility.

The international proletarian vanguard has the greatest interest in hearing a clear opinion on this question, on which the development of the world revolution depends in great part. Abusing the prestige of the workers' state, which we are the first to recognize and to support, and wasting its practically inexhaustible material, the apparatus of the Comintern blocks the road to all revolutionary

education, which can only be incited by free criticism in an atmosphere of loyalty.

We would seek in vain this loyalty in the attitude of the Stalinists, even after their last turn. Only yesterday they declared that the French Socialist party was the twin brother of fascism and the I.L.P. left social fascist. Today they denounce our French friends who joined the S.F.I.O. in order there to work loyally on the basis of their principles and their methods as the wreckers of the socialist party. They "fraternally" warn Leon Blum and Paul Faure that our "sham maneuvers" threaten the unity of the S.F.P. and at the same time in the official publications of the Comintern they denounce us as lackeys of Leon Blum and by that fact of Doumergue, and so on.

We believe that even the organizations which are quite hostile to the Bolshevik-Leninist conceptions have the supreme duty of refusing with every ounce of energy the pretensions of the Stalinists of putting the workers' world under the revolver of an ultimatum and poisoning the atmosphere of the united front by slanders and dishonest intrigues instead of assisting it by frank criticism and loyal collaboration.

The proletarian vanguard always and especially now after the terrible defeats needs revolutionary clarity. We are far from contesting the right of the Stalinists, even the bureaucrats, to participate in common actions, but they should stop considering themselves as a special caste above the plebeian proletarians and above all they should use arguments and not insults. In the name of all our sections, which grow in influence and in number in nearly all the countries of the world, we declare ourselves ready to face the Stalinists and their accusations before any national or international forum.

—The International Secretariat of the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists)

## Spiking a Canard in the Daily Worker

A STATEMENT BY JOSEPH FOX ON HIS RESIGNATION FROM THE C.P.U.A.

To the Comrades in the C. P. and Workers in the Food Industry:

The stool-pigeon tactics to which the sections of the Communist (Stalinist) Party resort against workers who disagree with their rotten policies and tactics of splitting the working-class is best illustrated in the "Workers Enemies Exposed" columns in the Daily Worker.

There was not one single iota of truth in the slanderous accusations against me, and I would have never bothered answering it were it not for the fact that that statement plays into the hands of our worst enemies, the Department of Justice. Furthermore, it gives the officials of the A. F. of L. justification for my expulsion, gives them ample reasons to refuse my reinstatement into the local, and helps the bosses to spread the blacklist against me, thus depriving me of the possibility of earning my bread and butter.

I resigned from the Communist Party because I am in total disagreement with its trade union policies and tactics, particularly with the policies the leadership of the Food Workers Industrial Union. They advised and ordered me to carry out a line in Local 302 of the A. F. of L. which resulted in imprisonment of myself and five others for three and a half months in jail, expulsion of myself and 12 other oppositionists from the A. F. of L., the loss of our jobs and means of livelihood and the strengthening of the racketeering officials in the local to a position of absolute dictatorial power.

Today the leadership of the "Industrial Union" are in league with the worst strike-breakers and racketeering officials in Local 302 and work hand in glove with them. I have demanded to know on many occasions from the leaders of the Industrial Union, why they did not even in a single instance raise the question of our reinstatement into Local 302, and their replies were tantamount to a direct refusal.

I have in my possession a letter dated June 11, 1934 and signed by the Secretary of the Food Workers Industrial Union addressed to "Dear Comrade Fox" wherein, amongst other things, he states that "I would therefore like to talk matters over with you as to what we could do in order to rectify some of our previous mistakes made". This flings the ugly word "liar" into the faces of the stool-pigeons in the C.P. who are responsible for issuing the "expose" against me in the Daily Worker.

I have issued a signed statement to my unit on the night of my resignation (four months ago) in which I explained my disagreements with the political line followed by the C. P. and C. I. and which Section No. 5, according to all indications, has suppressed to this very day.

The comrades in my unit have had only the highest regard and esteem for me, and up to date are still on the most friendly terms

## Out of C. P. - For New Party

The influence of the new party movement, taking form in the approaching fusion of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A., is being felt in all sections and tendencies of the labor movement. Even the case-hardened, bureaucratic cell that is the Communist party is beginning to stir. Several weeks ago a leading Negro militant of the Philadelphia district of the C. P. joined our ranks. Last week we published the statements of two outstanding New York trade unionists placing the cross on their connections with Stalinism. Below is a declaration of two rank and file C. P. members declaring for the Fourth International and calling on other Communist party members to follow their example. We are certain, that as the new party gains in force their example will be followed not by individuals but by tens and hundreds of workers disgusted with the rotten inner regime and the fatal policies of Stalinism.—Ed.

Nov. 20, 1934

Dear Comrades:

We the undersigned members of the Communist Party realize now that the mistakes of the Communist Parties of the world, arising out of Stalin's theory of building socialism in one country, have brought only defeat to the working class and have converted the Third International into a reactionary force in the working class movement. Stalin's theory of the four class party in China resulted in a direct betrayal of the Chinese proletariat; Warski, the official leader of the Polish Communist Party, called upon the Polish workers to support Pilsudski and played into the hands of the reactionary forces

of Polish Fascism; the miserable theory of the united front from below and social fascism were responsible in great measure in defeating the working class of Germany and facilitating Hitler's rise to power.

We find from our experience that the Communist Party is controlled by a bureaucratic clique who exploit all members who dare question its policies. The minute we raised our voice, protesting against some of the policies of the party, we were promptly labeled "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites" and isolated from the party membership.

Because the party members are stifled by this bureaucratic apparatus and the party is therefore unable to learn from its past mistakes and to correct these mistakes, we came to the conclusion that the downfall of the German Communist Party without a struggle spelled the death of the Third International as a revolutionary force, just as August 4th, 1914, revealed the bankruptcy of the Second International and the necessity of building new revolutionary parties and a new International.

As honest revolutionists, our duty dictates that we place loyalty to the world revolution above party loyalty and join the ranks of those who are fighting for new revolutionary parties and a new, a Fourth International. Such a party is now being launched by the fusion of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. We feel that it is our revolutionary duty to join the ranks of this party and urge all our fellow Communists to follow our example.

—N. GREENBERG  
I. GREENBERG  
Unit 2015.

## N.Y. Organization Notes

Our young Spartacus group in Newark has shown this week that it is an organization composed of real, two-fisted fighting workers, who don't take no gaff from nobody; neither the Stalinists, the Socialists, the police, nor anybody else.

After our Spartacans initiated a united front against fascism, they were quickly ducked by the Young People's Socialist League who shamefully capitulated to the ultimatum of the Young Stalinists: "United either with them or with me. They realize that the failures in the unit are due to the stupid policies that they are forced to carry out.

I have spoken to many workers in the A. F. of L. with whom I worked as a class conscious oppositionist in Local 302 and they are ever ready to attest their signatures to a statement about my revolutionary character and loyalty to the interests of the working class. It is high time that the honest Communist workers put a stop to such open stool-pigeon tactics of the leadership of the C.P.

—JOSEPH FOX.

## WORLD OF LABOR

## THE L.S.I.-C.I. NEGOTIATIONS

The Events in Spain and the Fourth International. We are constrained to note that the L.S.I. (Second International) and the C. I. continue to view the question of the united front on an international scale not as a matter of revolutionary action but as a game of hide-and-seek and political alibis.

This time the C. I. has the edge, having addressed a letter to the Bureau of the L.S.I. it succeeded in obtaining a refusal.

Previously the Comintern was opposed to every international proposition of the L.S.I. and favored common action of national sections only.

Today the L.S.I. prefers the national united front. It has been taken in by the Stalinist maneuver. This has to be said not for the purpose of excusing the miserable answer of Vandervelde and Adler but to understand the full significance of these negotiations. They have nothing in common with revolutionary internationalism.

Insofar as the real existence of the Second International is concerned there are few illusions remaining in the left wing of French socialism. The comrades of Bataille (Bataille, organ of left wing in French S. P.) recognize the necessity of a new international, but label us as sectarians or superstitious people because we cling to the number four. The number is of little importance, says la Bataille.

We fear that it is not merely an arithmetical difference. When we say Fourth International we mean by an international whose platform will assimilate the positive and negative experience of the Second and Third Internationals. Not a balance sheet of mistakes but a guide to action on solid foundations.

For this we have no faith in the L.S.I. Their "internationalism" is always limited to a warm exchange of telegrams.

An international consisting of elements evolving in directly opposite directions can only exist on paper. While the Dutch social democrats rally to reactionary positions the old ministers of the Spanish bourgeois republic lead the armed insurrection.

But this very fact, that wherever there has been an armed uprising against the bonapartist or fascist reaction, we find the left socialists, with its progressive side and also its defects in a predominant role, leads us to pose the question: What has happened to the international appointed to lead the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, the Third International?

We have heard it said that the C. I. played a "leading role" in the Spanish events. However, every militant must avoid taking as revolutionary internationalism, theatrical proclamations after the battle, or the fearful hypocriticals of a Cachin on the dilatory response of the L.S.I.

What must be taken into account is the policy of the C.I. for preparation and support of the Spanish revolution.

In the September issue of the Communist International we are given a very clear answer on this question.

It really appears that the C. I. understood that the struggle of the Spanish proletariat would lead it to the brink of insurrection. The International speaks abstractly of these eventualities and declares that the small communist party is better prepared for them than the big socialist party.

What were the directives of the C. I. in preparation for the insurrection? They try to pick a quarrel with Largo Caballero. They reproach this ex-reformist with neglecting the struggle for "partial" demands. To abandon them, they say, means "to retreat before the enemy".

"The continual capitulation of the C.I. in other words, in a revolutionary period one must be careful to be more reformist than the reformists."

On the other hand they abstractly pose the slogan of soviets, while they ignore the workers alliance as the organ of struggle, as the possible embryo of the organs of power. The Stalinists must baptize every mass committee as soviet, and no matter what happens they continue to shout "Soviets Everywhere".

In this connection let us recall the appreciation of L'Huamante for July 3rd, 1934 on this workers alliance, printed in bold face: it concerns itself with the tasks of the Catalan C. P.

"It is also necessary for it," said Peri, "to denounce the pretentious Workers Alliance of Catalonia, a bloc of renegades from the party, of Trotskyites, anarchists, social fascists who fraudulently cloak themselves in the mantle of unity, but in reality support the policy of the Generalidad."

Besides this there is nothing in the article of the Communist International which allows us to believe that the "revolutionary leadership" prepared the masses for the general strike and the armed insurrection. Nothing specific on the necessity of building the fighting organizations, the militia. Not a slogan on the arming of the workers. All that is left to the tender mercies of Largo Caballero and Prieto.

The lessons of October are transformed into abstract and pedantic propaganda. It is no longer part of the life of the Third International.

In these conditions, the necessity for a new revolutionary International, the Fourth International, becomes obvious. By its evolution towards revolutionary positions the left wing socialists are passing over the abstract hillyhoos of the Stalinists. It is our duty to accelerate this evolution by a firm and intransigent struggle for the principles of Leninism. Then the "Road of October" will no longer be a mere phrase for reviews of the epigones.

—La Verite, Nov. 2, 1934.

## "REPUBLICAN MILITIA" MARCHES IN CHILE

The rising wave of Fascism, that sweeps through Europe, reaches South America also. A Fascist movement is developing in Chile under the protecting wing of the "liberal" Alessandri regime. The recent march in Santiago de Chile of several thousand members of the "Republican Militia" was a demonstration of force by the blackest reactionary elements of that country and a direct threat to the Chilean proletariat.

The Chilean Communist Left, conscious of its role as the workers' vanguard, took the initiative in building up a serious united front movement that included the Socialist party and numerous trade unions, for the carrying on of an active struggle against the Fascist menace. A general strike and counter demonstration were called by our comrades. A number of the factories in and about the city were tied up as was also a large part of the construction industry. The local Stalinists contributed their share by impeding the spread of the general strike to the more basic industries.

## Impromptu Dance

To Greet Delegates Coming for League Convention

At Our Headquarters 144 2nd Ave.  
Sat. Nov. 24th 8 p.m.

## WANTED

The Convention Arrangements Committee wants the services of eight League or Spartacus Youth members throughout the conventions, to help in the kitchen. Report to Rose Karnser at the National Office.