

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The AAA and the Tenant Farmer
Just as the development of capitalist industry results in the ever greater concentration of wealth in the hands of the few fabulously rich financiers...

The bankers' mortgage system is merely a stage in the degradation of the independent farmer to land tenancy and into share-cropping and the status of farm laborer.

Driving Farmers Off the Land

The report by the Committee on Minority Groups in the Economic Recovery, just issued, shows how the AAA has worked not in the interests of the actual farmers...

Curtailment of crops to raise prices has put out of employment hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers in the South.

Dutch Parties Raise Banner of Fourth International

(Ed. Note: At the recent Paris Conference of the Left Socialist and Independent parties of the two revolutionary organizations of Holland, the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, strongly defended the slogan of the Fourth International...

TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE IN DE BAANBREKER

Het Volk under the heading "Splitters Hold Congress" states: "The New Leader (British) contains a report of the conference of so-called left Socialist groups recently held in Paris."

whites and blacks alike, thereby evading all responsibility for feeding them and throwing them on the starvation relief handed out by the government.

The Attack on Trotsky

The constantly growing and ever more vicious attacks made in the Stalinist press on Comrade Trotsky, assume more and more the aspect of a widespread preparation for new efforts of the Soviet bureaucracy to perpetrate a frame-up against him.

Nothing would suit the French reactionaries more than to see this Bolshevik-Leninist snuffed out of existence. They recognize that the real menace to French capitalism comes from those revolutionaries who are working to create the Fourth International.

Their effort at a "plant" in the Kirov assassination—through a letter that the GPU had hoped to obtain with the aid of a foreign consul—fell through.

The Right to Vote for Stalin Is Granted "Soviet Democracy"

In order to erect some sort of a partial screen to counteract the repulsive impression which has been created by Stalin's maudlining of his political opponents...

The inequality in the electoral rights between the workers and peasants had its social reasons. The dictatorship of the proletariat in a peasant country found its necessary and open expression in the electoral privileges of the workers.

It is utter nonsense that the peasantry has seemingly succeeded in reeducating itself socially during the two to three years of collectivization. The antagonism between the city and village still preserves

Why Join the Workers Party?

By A. J. MUSTE

You say that quite a few of the men you have been talking to have been impressed by my arguments about the need of overthrowing the present economic system and of building a Marxist revolutionary party to lead the workers and their allies in doing the job.

We hold that the C.P. and C.I. are no longer revolutionary organizations. They have in recent years organized and are now organizing defeats and not victories for the working class.

We must not be deceived by the paper programs of the C. P., by the claims it makes for itself, or the fact that it still has a considerable number of members and adherents.

A Dictatorship of one man, Stalin, exists in the Third International. Earl Browder, secretary of the C.P.U.S. is his messenger boy.

I do not have the space in this letter to go fully into all the evidence to back up our estimate of the C. P., the C.I. and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union.

The Third International has not had a Congress since 1928—seven years! Why not? Back in the days when the Soviet Union was being attacked on a dozen fronts World Congresses of the C.I. were held in Moscow every year.

Revolutionary Marxism remains for us the living fountain from which spring the ideas that must serve as the basis of the Fourth International. There is continuity in the development of the working class movement.

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

revolution? How many more years have to go by without a Congress of the C.I. before the C.P. will admit that in reality there is no longer a C.I. and will graciously allow that it is not "counter-revolutionary" for the workers to build a new International?

2. Consider the debacle of the Communist Party in Germany. Here we had the mightiest Communist Party in the capitalist world. Ever since the war a powerful Communist movement had existed in Germany.

3. All the leading policies of the C.P. of the U.S. in recent years have proven bankrupt and have recently been tossed overboard. The A. F. of L. unions are company unions and must be smashed; "revolutionary" unions dual to the A. F. of L. must be built; a federation of labor dual to the A. F. of L. must be established.

5. Many an honest worker in the C. P. and outside finally swallows all its mistakes and crimes and remains loyal to it, because he accepts the C. P. argument which runs something like this: The Soviet Union is the only workers' state in the world.

6. The Daily Worker explained: The Labor Party question is one of tactics not principle, so we can change the line without much ado.

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against a "labor" party. Browder steps off the boat; just returned from Moscow. He hurries to Washington. A non-party gathering, the Unemployment Insurance Congress, is in session there.

What happened? True, some of the comrades turned pale momentarily and experienced that sick feeling at the stomach.

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doing just what Hitler does: he lines up with Hitler, he is an assassin of Soviet leaders, he is that vilest of all creatures, one who under the disguise of a revolutionist would destroy the Soviet Union and the October Revolution.

We too believe that the Soviet Union is a workers' state. We point to the achievements of the workers in the S. U. as evidence of how planned socialist production even in the face of the greatest obstacles and when as yet only the beginnings of the foundations of a socialist system exist alongside of vestiges of capitalism, can do more for the masses than capitalism can.

To hold that you can defend the interests of the Soviet workers only by accepting the Stalin regime and not criticizing Stalin is like saying that in order to defend unionism in the U. S. and advance the interests of organized labor you have to accept the regime of Bill Green, John L. Lewis, Matty Well and Dan Tobin and have to regard any criticism of these bureaucrats as treason.

The Stalin theory is that Socialism can be built—that is, poverty abolished, classes done away with, etc.—in the Soviet Union alone and in all other lands.

What is the result of the international revolutionary movement is uncalculated. Not a Congress of the C. I. has been held in seven years, as we have pointed out.

The Soviet Union not being able to count under these circumstances on the backing of any powerful revolutionary force in capitalist countries, the Stalinist leadership leads it further and further into a swamp.

The Bolshevik party in the S. U. has been destroyed. Of the Political Bureau of the party in Lenin's time no one but Stalin remains.

Recently one of these 1935 model Bolsheviks, Troyanovsky, Soviet ambassador to Washington, spoke to the big shots of the Bond Club of New York about non-aggression pacts (with capitalist powers) as a means to preserve peace.

It is necessary to work out practical plans for the economic rehabilitation of the world, and especially for Europe. In order to make it perfectly clear that he meant rehabilitation under capitalism he added: "Probably the advice of broad-minded business men would be available and useful in this connection."

Thus the way is prepared for Communists (Stalinists) to work for the rehabilitation, not the overthrow of capitalism and to fight for some imperialist nation when war comes on the ground that this nation is allied with the Soviet Union and that falling to fight for it will mean to weaken the "defense of the Soviet Union".

All the policies of the present leadership of the S. U. lead in that direction. Their paper protesta-

QUESTION BOX

QUESTION: How do you account for the fact that Hearst makes use of Trotsky's pamphlet "The Kirov Assassination" to attack the Soviet Union so that the Daily Worker of March 20, pointing to this fact, is able to claim that Hearst and Trotsky are allies?

ANSWER: To clarify the question let us first consider an analogy. When a trade union bureaucrat is proven to be corrupt, the capitalist press, identifying the corrupt union bureaucracy with the union itself, points to the facts with glee for the purpose of discrediting unionization in general.

The bureaucrats never attempt to reply to this criticism on its merits, i.e., are the charges true or not; that is too dangerous. Identifying themselves with the union to divert from the real issues, they usually answer as follows: "By attacking you people are attempting to destroy OUR union. See! Even the press of the boss is using the information you are spreading to discredit us so that workers will quit the organization or refuse to join."

Except that it is on a much more historical plane and therefore more difficult to visualize, the degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union might be compared to that of the bureaucracy of the trade unions in the capitalist countries.

The Stalinists have not answered the criticism made in Trotsky's pamphlet (that would be treading on thin ice), even though they have devoted much space to slandering it. The attempt of the Daily Worker to draw an equation sign between Hearst and Trotsky is merely a smokescreen to divert from the real issues, a procedure in no way differing from that used by corrupt trade union bureaucrats.

The gist of the matter is this: Analogous to the case of the trade unions, any discredit which may come to the necessary and correct criticisms launched against the Stalinist bureaucracy by the revolutionists, but from the DEEDS of this bureaucracy itself.

tions that the destruction and defeat of imperialist powers is their aim mean no more than the declarations on peace and socialism of the Social Democratic leaders before 1914. The defense of the Soviet Union today and the liberation of the masses in capitalist countries depends today upon the building of new revolutionary parties and the new International.

Sometimes workers have protested that these are "Russian" questions and do not concern American workers. But it is clear that nothing can concern American workers more directly than questions of the trade union policy, labor party, war, and on all of these the situation in the C. I. determines the policy which the C. P. tries to impose on American workers.

It is just because it is so tremendously important that we build a powerful revolutionary party in the U. S. that we must deliver the revolutionary movement in this country from the domination of the C. I. and the C.P.S.U. That can be done only if we understand the fundamental reasons for the degeneration which has taken place in them under the regime of Stalinism.