

THE NEW MAGAZINE

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ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor

The Soviet Union and The United States

Trotsky in Error in Interview With American Delegation

Below we publish the report of the conversation between Leon Trotsky and the American Labor Delegation, which returned to the United States early this week. The conversation took place in Moscow, on August 19th. Following comrade Trotsky's replies to the questions put to him by the spokesman for the American delegation, we are publishing editorial comment by "Pravda" of August 24th, which exposes the deviations that developed in some of Trotsky's answers.

By LEON TROTSKY

IN the questionnaire, which you have just handed to me, I see that there are a number of points which touch upon the internal life of our Party; and in particular, upon our differences of opinion. It is a custom among us Bolsheviks to express our minds on these questions within our Party. I would request you not to assume from my words that I am prepared to express myself freely to foreign guests upon any question which may interest them; I should prefer first of all to put before people who are not members of our Party the thoughts and considerations which might prevail upon them to enter our Party, and then to take stock of internal differences of opinion. I shall revert to this question in conjunction with the danger of war.

I will begin with the seventh question. It runs:

"Can it be said that the country of the Soviets represents a democracy, or must it be said that the dictatorship of a class or a portion of this class—the Communist Party—rules here?"

Whether or not one calls Soviet Russia the land of democracy depends upon the significance one attaches to the conception of democracy. I can quite understand that from the standpoint of existing American democracy our Soviet Union can be denied the right to call itself a democracy. But I reserve the right to deny from our standpoint that the United States constitutes a democracy. I might place alongside Question 7 a Question 7-a: "Can it be said that the United States constitutes a democracy or is a country which is administered by the dictatorship of big banks, trusts, etc.?" To this question I should like to propose the following answer: In the United States there rules under the cloak of the outward forms of a political democracy the dictatorship of the most highly concentrated capital. Where a privileged minority rules the exploited majority, the minority is concerned to cloak and disguise its rulership with various mystifications of religion, of hereditary monarchy or of political democracy. The Soviet system is the dictatorship of the working class, which is not at all concerned to deceive the others concerning the character of its dictatorship, and, in consequence, it does not make use of camouflage.

A further and equally profound difference between the dictatorship of the working class, which is led by its vanguard, i.e., the Party, and the dictatorship of feudal lords or of capitalists is that the feudal lords and capitalists try to maintain their dictatorship forever, while the Communist Party regards the dictatorship of the proletariat as transitory, as a regime of the transition period. The object of revolutionary dictatorship is the creation of an order of society which will no longer need any state force at all, because it will be based upon the solidarity of the producers freed from exploitation and from class barriers of every kind.

Now for the eighth question:

"How is it that in the Soviet Union there is not freedom of the Press and of speech for all, including the opponents of the Soviet regime?"

In order to answer this question one must here, too, be clear as to what is to be understood by freedom of speech and the right to hold meetings. Everybody has the right to fly, but if one has not an aeroplane one will hardly succeed in making use of this right.

In any democratic country the workers have a right to their own press, they have the right to hold meetings and so forth. But the press needs printing-works and paper: for meetings, rooms are

Pravda, Official Organ of Communist Party of the Soviet Union Exposes the Mistakes of Leon Trotsky



JOSEPH STALIN.

Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

necessary and leisure. But the printing-works and buildings do not belong to the workers but to the bourgeoisie. The journalists come from the bourgeois class or, in case they rise from the working class, are re-educated in the sense of bourgeois interests. In America freedom of the press for the worker amounts to the right to buy for two cents a newspaper produced by bourgeois journalists in the interests of capitalists. In present-day America there is no other freedom of the press. Such freedom does not exist in our country. We have taken away from the bourgeoisie the printing-works, supplies of paper and the paper factories. We have placed these material instruments of "freedom of speech" in the service of workers' and peoples' education. We have, therefore, made tremendous advance from the regime of bourgeois democracy, which gives people the right to fly but deprives them of aeroplanes.

You ask: Can it not happen under the Soviet regime that the people become dissatisfied and then have no channels through which to express their dissatisfaction?

Naturally, the possibility of dissatisfaction or the existence of dissatisfaction cannot be denied. As long as there is misery and privation, as long as class differences exist—these still prevail in our country—dissatisfaction is inevitable. This dissatisfaction is a force which urges us forward. Can it find expression among us? We assert that, in spite of all the shortcomings of the Soviet system, this system, as it is, affords the working masses through the medium of our Party, incomparably more complete and immediate possibilities for the expression of feelings and interests than the utterly artificial and deceitful system of bourgeois democracy. In this connection we have a very recent example, which must give food for thought to all Democrats, not the professionals, but to Democrats from conviction.

Austria, as is well known, represents democracy, and, moreover, is a democracy constructed quite recently in accordance with the best international traditions and with the immediate participation of American observers and instructors. And what is the result? A short while ago the Austrian workers, in spite of "freedom" of the press, the right to hold meetings, could find no other means of expression than an insurrection in Vienna. You must admit that our workers do not resort to such methods of expressing their opinions. The reason

for this is that the State system of the Soviets, in contrast to bourgeois democracy, affords the workers immeasurably greater possibility of exercising direct influence in State and public affairs.

The tenth question:

"Can it be said that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is directed towards the East and not towards the West?"

I do not believe that the general direction of our foreign policy can be formulated in this manner. There are periods during which our attention and our endeavors are claimed to a greater extent by the East than by the West, but the reverse is also the case at times. We must defend our western and eastern frontiers. During the occupation of the Ruhr and during the general strike in England we were more interested in the West. The events of the Chinese revolution attracted the greater part of our attention towards the East. In general, the fate of our country is intimately connected with the movement of the working class throughout the world and with the movement of the oppressed peoples in the colonies and protectorates, i. e., with revolution both in the West and in the East.

"What prevents the Government of the United States from recognizing the Soviet Union and what can be done to remove obstruction to such recognition?"

I should prefer to hear from our honored guests the answer to this question. (Laughter.) In my opinion the chief obstacle is the contrast between our social systems. The United States is the most complete and strongest expression of the capitalist system, while we are the first attempt, so far made, to construct a socialistic system; we are so to speak, a rough working model. Those who control the course of the United States do not look kindly upon the coming successors of the capitalist regime. It will be difficult to remove the chief obstruction, because no country has any intention of changing its regime voluntarily. But, in spite of this, much can be done towards improving mutual relations. First of all, it should be reported in America that we are not quite so bad as we are there thought to be—that would mean some slight progress. It must also be stated clearly that, though we oppose the principle of private property, we take existing circumstances into account, and when we contract with capitalists, we fulfill our obligations scrupulously.

Why do people accuse us of carrying on illicit propaganda? Because capitalist governments cannot tolerate the existence of a government which gives expression to non-capitalistic ideas. Our present conversation might serve as an example. We are at present in a government office. A sheet containing about twenty questions has been handed to me, and practically every one of these questions might be represented by a person of ill will as an attempt to overthrow the Soviet system. But it will not occur to any of our newspapers to accuse our worthy guests of carrying on illicit propaganda.

Now just imagine a delegation from the Soviet Union putting in a State department in Washington twenty similar questions to an official of the United States, thereby giving utterance to 'doubt' concerning the pillars of American public and State administration. You will readily see that such a thing would be impossible.

Please do not regard my words as conveying any reproach concerning the questions which you have put to me. They are by no means intended to do so. On the contrary, I am grateful that the questions have been asked frankly and directly. It is possible for this reason to answer them with equal frankness. I only wished to indicate that, if such questions were put by us, they would inevitably be regarded by a capitalist State as an attempt at illicit 'propaganda.'

The twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth questions relate to the investment of foreign capital in this country. You have already received explicit information in writing on this point. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to consideration of the respective principles.

So far, foreign concessions, including those granted to America, have played but an insignificant role in our economic life. There are several

(Continued on page 4)

When Columbus Sailed West



IT WAS in the fifteenth century of the reign of Holy Mother Church that that good and fearless captain, Columbus, actuated by the most pious and christian motives, sailed across the unknown sea and discovered America. The taking of the momentous voyage came about in this fashion.

Columbus, a native of Italy and a daring sailor as well, was in the habit of hanging up models of little ships in the church of the Blessed St. Nicodemus, to see if they would point their prows at the altar. If they did then all was well; and if they didn't the Saint had refused the gift and a bad voyage might be expected. The latter case meant that the hardy mariner would have to expend some silver pieces on candles to burn before the shrine of the Holy Virgin to offset the bad luck promised by the Saint. This meant less drinks at the tavern of The Dying Swan, but to date had been highly successful in bringing the good sailor home from his voyages, safe in ship and in body.

Behold then, the pious captain, on repairing on a certain day to the church to ascertain, in the usual fashion, if his Saintship promised good or bad luck for a coming voyage to Spain with a cargo of the finest grape wine, was vouchsafed a vision in which he saw, far off, beyond a great sea, multitudes of half-naked savages kneeling on a beach and holding out their hands to him in supplication. They were calling on the name of the Blessed Saviour, and begging for someone, in Jesus' name, to come and baptise them with Holy Water so they would be saved from the horrible fate of dying outside the true faith. As Columbus looked at them with pity and with feelings of horror for their terrible predicament, St. Nicodemus opened his lips and spoke to him.

"Rise, Columbus, in the name of the saints and Holy Mother Church, and carry salvation West to those unhappy heathen who are still in a state of Natural Sin."

From the moment of hearing those words, the doughty captain felt that he dared not, for his soul's sake, refuse the mission so sacredly entrusted to him; but he possessed no vessel of his own with which to undertake a voyage westward, nor had he money wherewith to purchase and outfit one. In this parlous state, greatly troubled in mind, did Columbus finally come to the court of Queen Isabelle of Spain, to win the queen's ear.

"You say," said this wise and virtuous monarch, "that you saw twenty thousand savages holding out their hands and praying for the saving graces of Holy Water?"

"At least that many, if not more, your majesty," replied Columbus. "And many of them grovelling on the beach and praying to the Holy Mother herself to intercede for them."

"This is indeed wonderful," said the pious queen who was a devout catholic and not unmoved by such a pathetic recital. "You are right, my good captain; the plea, even of savages, must not go unanswered. Did you say they wore trinkets of barbaric splendor?"

"Of pearl and of gold, your majesty. I could see the sun glinting on their jewels. I am sure they would be willing to reward generously one who should bring them the Holy Water they crave."

That night the queen said to her liege lord the king: "I have need for twenty thousand gold pieces for the salvaging of souls." But the king had just lost heavily at cards and was in no mood to listen to pious pleas.

"In that case," he said ungraciously, "you had better pawn the Crown Jewels."

So the next day the queen sent for the Jews. "How much am I offered for this splendid tiara, this diamond stomacher, this jewel incrusting gold netting?"

"Twenty-five hundred pieces of silver," piped up the thinnest and hungriest looking of the Jews.

"Twenty-five hundred pieces of silver!" screamed the queen. "Twenty-five hundred pieces of silver! Israelitish dog! dare you insult me by offering so little?"

"But the jewels are not genuine, illustrious one, pleaded another Jew. "They are paste. By the beard of Abraham, they are not worth what was offered!"

"Very well," said the queen in her iciest tones, "it has come to this then: that Isabelle of Spain, Queen of Granada, is told by the lowest mongrels in her kingdom that her adornments are cheap glass, that she goes clad in jewels not worthy even of a Seville dancer in a seamen's div... that it? Is that it?"

The Jews all trembled before the menace of her anger.

"Nay, madam, thy jewels are precious. Never have I seen such stones of value. Our companion did but jest. By the prophet Elisha, they are worth twenty—" The Queen looked at him. "Twenty! Did I say twenty? I did but jest like my fellow.

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

They are worth thirty—" (in a burst of exquisite anguish) "forty thousand pieces, gold!"

"It is hardly enough," said the queen negligently, "but I accept. See that the money is here before noon. And remember! it is not well to jest with queens." She watched them cruelly as they slunk from her presence.

"Here, Maria," she said to a lady-in-waiting, "throw this junk into the bag yonder and give the glass to the dog of a money-lender when he returns. It is a pious thing to despoil the crucifiers of the Blessed Saviour." She crossed herself. "Forty thousand pieces. It is more than I expected. One should be able to fit some vessels for half that amount. Twenty thousand pieces—Nay! fifteen were plenty. For this prosperity the Holy Virgin shall have two dozen candles of the three heavenliest colors burned at her shrine. Maria, Maria, my little one! Hasten to Father Bogartna and bid him say five Masses tomorrow morning for the good of my soul!"

With the fifteen hundred pieces of gold given him by the queen, Columbus outfitted three tiny vessels.



A Note from Japan

By SCOTT NEARING.

THE other day I climbed the hill above Kobe. When I got up where I could see the town, the first thing I saw was a bunch of red roofs,—the only ones that I could see anywhere in the town. And above the red roofs floated a big red flag, with a hammer and sickle in the corner. It was the Russian Constlate.

It seemed a bit strange, just at first, to see the flag there, particularly in view of the fact that the present Japanese Cabinet has undertaken to enforce law and order in the country.

But in the case of the U. S. S. R. it is different.

The Japanese are practical folks. They probably wish that there was no U. S. S. R., but since it is there, and since they are compelled to do business with Asia, they evidently think the best thing to do is to make the best they can of the situation. So they signed their treaty with U. S. S. R. in January, 1925, got some valuable concessions on the Island of Sakhalin, and are doing what they can to build up their influence in Manchuria. Meanwhile the existence of the U. S. S. R. is taken as a fact. How else can they take it?

But there remained the problem of a crew. In vain he pleaded with various sailors of the water-front, telling of his miraculous vision. The sailors were adamant. Was it not true that the world was flat, and that if you went far enough to the westward you would roll off the edge, doubtless down to Hades? A man would have to get a pretty stiff price to make him to go to the edge of the world and tumble off. And the majority wouldn't go at any price. Then there was the matter of Holy Water. Nothing but the best of water, blessed by an Archbishop, would satisfy Columbus. This, as the Archbishop pointed out, was a delicate matter requiring a little donation for the welfare of Mother Church.

"Besides, my son," said the eminent divine, "it would not be seemly for an ordinary seaman to sprinkle twenty thousand savages into salvation. A special dispensation must be had, otherwise would the sprinkling be of no avail. This will cost you two thousand gold pieces."

Columbus saw that the Archbishop was perfectly right and paid over the two thousand pieces.

"Then there is the matter of the Holy Water," said his eminence. "It will require four hundred casks of Holy Water, at the least, to anoint the heathen. This means the blessing of four hundred individual casks; which, as you perceive, my son, is quite a task. Fifty silver pieces a cask is indeed too small."

"But, Father," pleaded poor Columbus, "in that case I shall have little or nothing left wherewith to hire a crew. Could you not lower the price a trifle?"

"Impossible, my son, impossible! You should be ashamed to suggest that I do so. Especially when I am overlooking one other thing. Has not his Holiness the Pope solemnly, and with book and with bell, proclaimed the earth to be flat? If it were not for the fact that you kiss the cross and thus declare the truth of the vision vouchsafed you by the good Saint Nicodemus, I should drive you from my presence for uttering heresy! Perhaps the blessed saint will perform a miracle and carry you safe to your destination. Otherwise, the world being undoubtedly flat, you will fall over the edge and be utterly destroyed. Yet beware, my son, lest thru unwillingness to contribute to Mother Church for her blessings given you thru me, here anointed, I be driven to doubting your sincerity."

Thus spoken to Columbus hastened to produce his pieces of silver.

"God will doubtless provide seamen for me, even tho I lack the means to pay them," he said sadly.

"See what it is to have faith, and to trust to Mother Church," replied the Eminent Bishop. "My son, your reward is even now! In the prisons of the city are divers convicts, murderers and such. A word to the queen and your crew is complete. Blessed are the true believers, for verily God worketh them good!"

In a transport of gratitude and pious fervor, Columbus fell on his knees and kissed the hand the Archbishop held out to him.

With the casks of precious Holy Water safely stowed in the holds of his ships, and with the crew so miraculously recruited finally aboard, each member of it with manacles or iron on wrist and ankle, Columbus cleared the harbor mouth. Then followed weary days of sailing, and wearier weeks. Only Columbus's faith never faltered. Every day he repaired to his cabin to hearten himself with a bottle of wine and to burn various colored candles before a small image of the Holy Virgin and also before one of the good Saint Nicodemus. To him came the anxious mate, saying:

"Captain, the men murmur."

"Knock them down," said Columbus absent-mindedly.

"The sea hath a strange look; I am afraid."

"Have a drink," invited Columbus.

"What shall we do?"

"Sail on and on!" cried the dauntless mariner.

And they sailed on. Sailed on and over the unknown western ocean, until against the far horizon leaned trees and hills, with an inviting beach at their foot. And on the beach were the savages, twenty thousand of them, holding out their hands and singing praises to the Virgin and to the good Saint Nicodemus for having sent them this divine succor. With what joy did Columbus break out his casks of holy water and baptise them, men, women, and children, into the true faith. Yet is it not true that Salvation is cheap at any price? In return for the precious sprinklings of holy water, Columbus received furs, feathers, and trinkets of gold and silver. All in the name of the Lord, of course. A year and a day did he tarry with the savages, explaining to them the articles of their new faith, and loading down his vessels with the price of many Masses to be said at St. Peter's. Finally he set sail for home, carrying with him several of the natives in chains; for, as Columbus piously pointed out, it were well they should become accustomed to the discipline of Mother Church and the blessings of Christian civilization before reaching Europe.

Notes on Great Britain and Ireland

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

THE LONDON DAILY HERALD, organ of the Trade Union Congress, in its issue of September 14, carried two news stories on its front page of executions of Communists by the Dutch and Lithuanian governments and of the passing of the death sentence on nine monarchist terrorists by a Soviet court in Leningrad. There is an editorial in the same issue commenting on the Soviet trial and regretting the death sentence. There is not a word of editorial protest against the execution of the proletarian revolutionists in Dutch Batavia and in Lithuania. We are expected to believe that those camouflaged British labor imperialists are pacifists. They are, only in so far as pacifism serves the interests of the empire.

WHILE on the subject, it might be timely to call attention to that liberal fraud Bertrand Russell, a scion of an old English family of imperialist robbers, now here on a lecture tour. Russell comes to the defense of British rule in India in the columns of Abraham Cahan's Jewish Daily Forward. It is generally believed that Russell is a pacifist but he justifies British policy in India and is an eloquent apologist for the murder, loot and starvation policy carried out by the British government. He says that civilization has progressed thru conquest and that the Hindoos would kill each other off if the British withdrew their armies tomorrow. This is the British justification for occupying Ireland but since the British troops were withdrawn from southern Ireland after the treaty was signed, the death rate has been considerably lower than in "civilized" Britain. Most pacifists are imperialists under the skin. Only those with an income that is sweated out of the bodies of wage slaves can afford the luxury of looking at the world thru rose-colored glasses. Others must either fight to exploit others or struggle against the exploiters. Even George Lansbury, the most noted of British pacifists, is now going so rapidly over to imperialism that it is hard to keep up with his smoke. In this stage of the class struggle one must be on one side or the other. A middle ground is only tenable for a short time.

RAMSAY MACDONALD charges Sir Austen Chamberlain with rendering the empire a disservice at Geneva when he cast aspersions on the famous Protocol of 1924 which MacDonald considered one of his greatest achievements while in office. Chamberlain thinks the Protocol is alright if one wants to kill the empire. MacDonald believes that it will save the empire. Two great minds with but a single thought, but tho their aims are similar their methods are not. Now, MacDonald proposes that the League of Nations appoint a commission to examine the Protocol of 1924 and that the British government call an imperial conference to discuss the internal administration of the empire in relation to Protocol obligations. The fact is that this famous Protocol which was to bring peace on earth—at least to countries fairly well supplied with the tools of war—is now as dead as a pickled haddock. Even Philip Snowden, MacDonald's chanoeller of the exchequer, delivering a speech in opposition to it in the house of commons a few weeks ago. The best of relations exist between the right wing labor party members and the government. Indeed the so-called "left" members are toothless and the erstwhile militants of the Clyde have lost their punch. The atmosphere of the house of commons and the swing to the right made



Ramsay MacDonald J. H. Thomas
Two English Mis-Leaders of Labor

by the leaders of the trade union movement in recent years are responsible for the growing respectability of the once "wild men" from the Clyde. A change is bound to come. Tho the leaders of the trade unions have gone to the right the masses must go to the left. The influence of the Communist Party is growing as can be seen from the increased circulation of its press.

PAUL VALIERE, a French Communist, was sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labor for having entered England without permission for the purpose of attending the Minority Movement conference in Battersea and later on attending a Communist meeting in Trafalgar Square. Valiere who is 25 years of age landed on the English coast from a sailing vessel and the charge against him including landing elsewhere than at an approved port. A young clerk who was accused of sheltering Valiere was acquitted.

IN THE RECENT Irish elections, Tom Johnson, leader of the Irish Labor Party, was accused by

BIOLOGICAL NOTE

*With dainty touch
You wield a tiny pencil
Tracing each eyebrow
Into a thin curved line,
Thinking thereby
To make yourself more attractive
To the male.*

*Do you know Madame,
The purpose of eyebrows?
The purpose of eyebrows?
They were given us
To keep the sweat
From running into our eyes.*

—HENRY REICH, JR.



POISONED.

—Sketch by Fred Ellis.

an opponent of being an atheist and the head of an organization affiliated with Moscow. Johnson indignantly denied those charges and they were withdrawn. This did not help Johnson in his fight, however. He was defeated.

MR FENNER BROCKWAY, secretary of the I.L.P. attended the anti-imperialist congress at Brussels and at that time seemed to be quite enthusiastically in favor of its mission. But at the recent conference of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International at Brussels, he declared that the League Against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression was another Communist maneuver directed against the socialist movement and therefore the I.L.P. would not join the League. No doubt the I.L.P. received its instructions from the British foreign office and Mr. Brockway was merely carrying them out like a loyal son of King George.

ACCORDING to Natcha Rambova, one of Rudolph Valentino's widows, the dead sheik is not living a lonely life in his bungalow beyond the dark ocean. Great Britain is a happy hunting ground for the spook business, therefore it is not surprising that Miss Rambova should try to make an honest penny by getting out a book in London, telling all about it. "Caruso," declares Rudolph, "comes to see me frequently. He does not look just as he used to either. He looks more like his music sounded, if you can imagine what I mean." We don't unless he means that Caruso has been transformed into a wild bull of the pampas. Rudy and Caruso go to hear the opera and in general have a helluva good time. Most of the film stars are with Rudy. The ex-sheik tips off Pola Negri, that she is mediocristic if she only knew it. When she bent over his body Valentino, according to his own spiritual admission flew right up to her and seized her by the arm and shouted in her ear. Well, this is what I gathered out of the London Daily Herald.

BRITISH labor leaders who voted for the dissolution of the Anglo-Russian trade union committee still insist that their friendship for the Russian people is as strong as ever. No doubt the tory government entertains the most friendly feelings towards the Russian people but entertains the most bitter malice towards the government that the Russian people have selected to regulate the country's affairs and organize its defense against foreign foe and native conspirator. George Lansbury, writing in the New Leader, blames the Russian trades unions for the rupture, attributing it to the language employed by the Russians in their communications with the British leaders. The real cause of the rupture is that the British leaders refused to carry out the original agreement entered into between the trade councils of both countries which called for a militant struggle against imperialism at home and abroad.

THERE is a movement developing among the Irish bourgeoisie for unity between the De Valera and Cosgrave parties. Owing to the bitterness engendered between the two factions of the former Sinn Fein organization it is not likely that anything will come of it in the near future, but there are no fundamental differences between Cosgrave and De Valera. The latter is influenced by the church and the church is mighty in Ireland. Hitherto the bishops have supported Cosgrave but in the recent elections they did not come out with their customary fulminations against the Republicans. A strong minority of De Valera's followers would not follow him into an alliance with Cosgrave and that political opportunist will not move until he feels that his army will retreat with him. The Sunday Worker of Great Britain, left wing organ, has devoted two pages of each of the last two issues to the Irish situation. The issue of September 11 contains the pictures of Jim Larkin, his son, James Larkin, Jr. and Jack Carney. The latter was not a candidate for election in Ireland but Larkin and his son were, Larkin being successful. Judging by the Sunday Worker articles, an effort will be made to build a mass Workers Party in Ireland. At the present no political workingclass organization of a radical nature exists there, outside of the little Workers Party, which is not recognized by the Communist International. The Labor Party is discredited on account of its reactionary policy and suffered severely in the defeat of its two principal leaders Tom Johnson and William O'Brien.

VIEW FROM MY CELL

Across the street the building is too high
To see the smallest stretch of sky.
The window, far away, prevents my sight
From roaming far to left or right.
I can't see clouds by day; at night no stars,
But only criss-crossed prison bars.

—DAVID GORDON.

Trotsky Speaks to American Delegation

The Interview with Leon Trotsky

(Continued from page 1)

reasons for this. The first reason is that our whole social system has existed only ten years, whereof the first few were years of civil war. The second reason has already been mentioned, namely, mutual distrust engendered by the contrast between our social systems. The third reason is the extreme disorganization of the world market and the extreme instability of international and national economic conditions. When in Germany huge firms like the Stinnes' Company collapse, the matter is regarded as quite in order. When hundreds of big firms recently collapsed in Japan, the event was regarded as a normal phenomenon. If, however, a foreign concession holder in our country does not happen to make a three-fold profit right away, the fact serves very well as proof of lack of vitality in the economic system of the Soviet Union.

The fifteenth question:

"What are the tasks of the Soviet Government in the matter of foreign policy?"

Our first task is the preservation and prolongation of peace. We believe that we share this task with the working masses of the whole world. If anybody asserts in the bourgeois press that a portion of our Party desires peace, while the other portion wants war, we would advise you not to give credence to the imputation. The effort to maintain peace is founded upon the principles of our system as a workers' and peasants' State and is to us a law of social and cultural self-preservation.

The sixteenth question is:

"Can the Soviet Union catch up with the progressive capitalist countries, and within how long?"

That we are making progress is proved by facts. We have no doubt that we shall continue to make progress. That portion of the national income which formerly went to the monarchy, the nobility and the bourgeoisie can now be used mainly for the development of productive forces and for raising the material and cultural level of the working masses. The centralized economic management creates gigantic advantages. Can we catch up technically and culturally with the capitalistic countries and within what period? This question cannot be answered off hand, especially in regard to the matter of time. The distance between us and the leading capitalist States is still very considerable. Our task consists of the proper exploitation, in the first place, of the means we have at home and then of sources of help abroad, which the international capital and goods market—not, of course, gratis—can open to us, thereby year by year reducing this distance. Before answering the question of how long it will take us to catch up with the capitalistic countries, one should know what is going to happen to these countries in the meanwhile.

They are not halting at a particular spot and waiting for us to overtake them. At the moment, capitalist countries in Europe have about reached their economic level of pre-war times. At the same time, the fight for sales markets and sources of raw material has again broken out in a more acute form, i. e., the same fight as thirteen years ago led to the imperialist war. In the capitalist countries further promotion of the productive forces will automatically entail a fresh war, and the new war will bring about revolution, first of all in Europe—the United States still have a respite. In general, the coming epoch will be an epoch of tremendous economic and social upheavals. It is difficult to predict at what technical and cultural level the capitalist countries will come to a halt. One thing, however, can be said: Successful revolution, say in Germany or in England or still more throughout Europe, will in conjunction with our Soviet system and our natural wealth extraordinarily accelerate in this country, as also in Germany and England and the whole of Europe, the development of productive forces on a new, socialistic basis. Such a development of events would naturally hasten the revolution in the United States and shorten the respite which history has granted to it.

This result will be all the more surely and completely achieved as we progress more successfully in the course of socialist development, without waiting passively for the proletarian revolution in Europe and still less with folded arms for our recognition by capitalist America. To this task—our advance along the path of socialistic construction by the use of our own resources—our greatest efforts are devoted.

Under Point 17 you ask: Might one say that the living church works hand in hand with the government?

I very much doubt that that can be said. The Soviet Government does not need the support of a church; on the contrary, it is trying to liberate the workers from every religious influence. As far as the so-called "living church" is concerned, the nature of my occupation and of my intellectual interests deprives me of the opportunity of observing it.

The eighteenth question:

"What is the most important task in matters of economy?"

The Americanization of our technics by reinforcing the foundation of socialism and promoting the welfare of the masses. We should, however, raise no objection to the sovietization of technics in America. If American technics were conjoined to the social system of the Soviets, the result would be a colossal growth of the cultural power of humanity in general.

Nineteenth question:

"What is the most important achievement of Communism in the Soviet Union since 1921?"

During the period since 1921 we have reconstructed our industry and in production as a whole we have about reached pre-war level. Socialism has thereby proved for the first time in the history of mankind its capacity to increase the productive forces of a country. This question is dealt with in a book of mine which has also been published in America, namely, "Towards Socialism or towards Capitalism?"

In conjunction with the question of danger of war I would revert to the question of the differences of opinion within our Party. The fact of these differences of opinion naturally effects public opinion differently in the various classes and various countries. The press makes a sensation out of it. The American press is one of the most prominent in this regard, if not quite the most prominent. You know this better than I. We can only advise you to take the reports of your press with a grain of salt. In the first place, we would ask you to convince yourselves during your stay with us that it is a matter of differences of opinion within the same Party as was welded together by the prelude to the

illegal fight, by the fights of the October Revolution, by the civil war, by socialistic constructive work and by iron internal discipline. It is not likely that such results will emerge from these differences of opinion as our enemies hope for or might hope for. What separates us is incomparably smaller than that which unites us. Several of the newspapers abroad, which are most opposed to us, or most calumnious or most misled in regard to us, have even tried in one way or another to link up the perspective of war with the struggle within our Party. Such reflections or hopes are fundamentally false; they are a mixture of deceit and stupidity. Our Party, as I have already said, is united in its endeavor to maintain peace. If, however, we are attacked for the purpose of preventing the carrying out of socialistic construction and our cultural development, our Party will fight with the same unanimous enthusiasm as characterized it at the barricades in 1917 and during the civil war of the succeeding years in order to preserve the achievements of the October Revolution. We are still the same revolutionaries who raised the standard of revolt against absolutism, against the bourgeoisie, against war. And if our enemies believe that in the government offices we have since that time become dull-witted and lazy, they will soon discover that they are greatly mistaken.

A supplementary question:

"Quite apart from any question of internal party policy, we are so greatly interested in the securing of better relations with Russia that we should like to know whether the day has not arrived on which Soviet Russia may allow freedom of opinion not only to workers but also to those who are not in agreement with the policy of the government?"

We would sign such an undertaking today, if those here present would sign a parallel undertaking to the effect that throughout the world our enemies, who have at their disposal immense material means, would not interfere in our internal life for the purpose of helping the exploiting classes to overthrow the Soviet system and bring the country back into the path of capitalism.

When, about the middle of the last century, the American radicals were fighting against the slave-owners in the southern states for the abolition of slavery, there were, not only in the south but also

Two Russian Poems of Vasily Kazin

THE BRICKLAYER

I wander homeward at evening,
Fatigue is a comrade who sticks;
And my apron sings for the darkness
A strong red song of bricks.

It sings of my ruddy burden
That I carried so high, so high
Up to the very housetop,
The roof that they call the sky.

My eyes were a carousel turning,
The wind had a foggy tone,
And morning, too, like a worker,
Carried up a red brick of its own.

I wander homeward at evening,
Fatigue is a comrade who sticks;
And my apron sings for the darkness
A strong red song of bricks.

THE CARPENTER'S PLANE.

Smoothly riding,
Bravely gliding,
Like a swan my plane swims by.

Now she hurries
Thru the flurries
Of the shavings as they fly.

Sail unbowed one,
Proud one, proud one,
Though the river-road be rough.

Warmth is streaming
Through the creaming
Waves of shavings that you slough.

Now she's sweeping
Past the leaping
Swishing waterfalls with ease.

Ah, my beauty,
Do your duty,
While the foam seethes round my knees.

Vasily Vasilevich Kazin (Born 1898)

A graduate of the literary studio of the Moscow Proletkult, presided over by Andrey Bely, Kazin is a charter member of the association of proletarian writers founded in Moscow in 1920, which took the appropriate name of Kuznitsa (Smithy). He published one collection of verse in 1922 and a long poem in 1926. He has taken part in the Communist Youth Movement.

—Poems and biographical note reprinted by courtesy of the International Publishers, N. Y., from the newly issued "Russian Poetry—An Anthology" chosen and translated by Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky.

Pravda Exposes Errors of Trotsky

The "Pravda" on Trotsky's Interview

in the northern state, very few so-called democratic "liberties." I have read in old American books that in the northern states supporters of slavery who in public places, aye, even in beerhouses, claimed freedom of speech and freedom of opinion often went home with numerous bruises on their bodies, and I must say that your complaints concerning the violation of freedom of speech today arouses in me very little sympathetic response. As far as the southern "democrats" are concerned, it was not an infrequent occurrence that they tarred and feathered the opponents of slavery. The abolition of Negro slavery, i. e., its substitution by "wage slavery," was not achieved by "free" exchange of opinion but by civil war. We are now fighting for the abolition of wage slavery, for the destruction of capitalism. This question is much more important and difficult than the abolition of the slavery of a few million Negroes. The whole of humanity is divided into two main camps: on the one hand, the revolutionary proletariat; on the other, the imperialistic bourgeoisie. Those who hover between will, when the critical moment comes, join the one camp or the other. The fight does not cease for a single day. It is not a question of abstract freedom—abstract opinions—it is a question whether this country shall be socialist or capitalist. And I must tell you in all frankness that we are disposed to reward with genuine proletarian punches whoever tries to divert us into the path of capitalism. If people in America say that we violate freedom, we answer that in doing so we resemble the actual fathers of American freedom. History has invented no other means of getting humanity forward. Human society, torn as it is by class antagonisms, is not a debating club. In the fight each class avails itself of every means of persuasion and compulsion. We are the pioneers of a new order of society. Our enemies are incomparably more numerous, richer and better equipped than we. They waylay us at every step. They have invented clever tricks whereby to deceive the masses, and call these tricks rules of democracy. Whenever there is a question of fundamental matters, of the protection of property, they themselves never respect these rules. In the athletic ring one can afford to wrestle in accordance with the established rules. But when it comes to a question of danger to human life, or when a man is defending that which he cherishes most highly, he will bite, scratch, butt and kick without the slightest regard for the rules of the ring—and he is right. In order to achieve the ends for which they are fighting our enemies need this so-called "democratic freedom." We will not give it to them. We shall steadfastly defend with every means of persuasion and compulsion at our disposal the dictatorship of the proletariat as the sole path to the new and actually free order of society.

If, however, our friends now present or absent would promise to do away with the dominion of the banks, trusts, armies, dreadnoughts, aeroplanes—on land, on the water and in the air—on the same day, we would promise to grant complete and unrestricted freedom to all parties and all persuasions.

And now for another question which was not included in the original list and which—as also the critical interjections of the president of the delegation—relate to the Communist Parties in England and America. It has here been said that in America there exists no hostility towards Communism "as such" but a hostility towards Communists, because they allegedly, in contract to the Communists of the Soviet Union, do not work creatively but destructively. I am afraid that we could not arrive at agreement on this point. Before we had seized power, we Russian Communists were also accused of destructive tendencies and the same accusation is made even today. The complaints about the "wrong methods" of the British and American Communists I receive with civility in accordance with the rules of hospitality; but I must say that, as a Communist, I regard myself as a member of the International Communist Party, and all reproaches levelled at the American or English Communists affect every Communist and, therefore, me, too. If among us, among the Russian, English or American Communists "bad" morals and usages prevail and offend certain people, well—we shall be prepared to turn over a new leaf in the course of time, and in any event we shall not be tardier in doing so than our class-enemies.

I think I have now exhausted the list of questions. If the answers do not satisfy you, the circumstance is in part attributable to the fact that the questions you put were extremely difficult ones.

As Comrade Trotsky in the interview published above deviates essentially from the Leninist views of the Party on some of the most important questions of the international struggle of the proletariat, the Redaction of the "Pravda" is compelled to make a few remarks.

Does "Democracy" exist in Soviet Russia, or does it not?

To the important question thus formulated by the American delegation Comrade Trotsky has failed to give the correct Leninist answer. Instead of emphasising the fact that with us, against bourgeois democracy, there exists proletarian democracy as the highest form of Democracy, Comrade Trotsky has deviated from the class conception of Democracy to the incorrect comparison of "Democracy in general" with "Dictatorship in general" contained in the formulation of the question by the delegation. Comrade Trotsky finally led back the question of Democracy as a "mask" which the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie needs, but which the dictatorship of the proletariat does not need. He thereby completely overlooks the proletarian democracy which is based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. He seeks to erase from history a fact of the very greatest importance, namely, the unparalleled development of Democracy under the Soviet Regime.

Let us compare the "answers" of Comrade Trotsky with that which Lenin said on Democracy in the Soviet Union. In his "Theses on the Constituent Assembly" of December 1917, Lenin wrote:

From the first days of the Revolution of 1917 the revolutionary Social Democracy repeatedly emphasised when putting forward the demand for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, that the Republic of the Soviets represents a higher form of democracy than the usual bourgeois republic with a Constituent Assembly.

For the transition from the bourgeois to the socialist system, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the republic of the Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' deputies is (in comparison with the usual bourgeois republic with a Constituent Assembly as the crown of the whole) not only a form of a higher type of democratic institution, but also the only form best securing the relatively most painless transition to socialism." (Lenin, Vol. 15, page 50—Russian edition. Thick type by the "Pravda.")

In the Brochure "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" (1918), Comrade Lenin said:

Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy. The Soviet power is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic."

Only the most conscious sycophant of the bourgeoisie, or a politically dead man who does not see real life behind the dingy, dusty bourgeois books, who is filled through and through with bourgeois prejudices and thereby becomes objectively the lackey of the bourgeoisie, could fail to see that.

Only a man who is incapable of putting the question from the standpoint of the oppressed classes could fail to observe that . . ."

Lenin then speaks of the political relationships in the bourgeois countries:

"We are governed (and our State is "determined") by bourgeois-minded officials, bourgeois parliamentarians and bourgeois judges. That is the simple, obvious and indisputable truth which is recognised by thousands and millions of members of the suppressed classes in the bourgeois countries—including the democratic countries—as a result of their everyday experiences.

In Russia, on the other hand, the bureaucratic apparatus is completely shattered, not one stone has remained upon another. The old judges and the bourgeois Parliament have been driven out. A much more accessible representation has been granted to the workers and peasants: their Soviets have replaced the officials or their Soviets have been placed over the officials, and their Soviets elect the judges. This fact alone suffices to enable all suppressed classes to recognise the Soviet government, i. e. the given form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as being a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois Republic.

Kautsky does not understand this truth which is plain and obvious to every worker, because he has "forgotten" to put the question thus: democracy for which class? He judges the matter from the standpoint of "pure" democracy (that is classless? or democracy standing above the classes?). He argues like Shylock: a pound of flesh, nothing more. Equality for all citizens—without this there is no democracy (Lenin, Volume 15, pages 462—463.)

In the "Theses on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat" (First Congress of the C. I. in 1919) Lenin wrote:

"It is precisely those masses who, even in the most democratic bourgeois Republics, were equal according to the law but with the help of various shifts and tricks were kept away from participation in political life and from making use of democratic rights and liberties, are at present (under the Soviet regime. Ed.) drawn into permanent, unhindered and at the same time decisive participation in the democratic administration of the State." (Lenin, volume 16, page 44—Russian edition).

Lenin speaks of the "democratic administration of the State" by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrade Trotsky, however, "replies" to the American delegation, that "democracy" can serve only as a "mask" of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Trotsky does not approach the question of democracy from the class standpoint; he remains on the level of those considerations on "democracy in general" which Comrade Lenin chastised on several occasions.

2. Comrade Trotsky, who in his answer to the American delegation (and also apparently towards himself) has not theoretically cleared up the question of proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union, has naturally given an entirely incorrect and distorted picture of the actual political conditions in the Soviet Union.

In the first place, Comrade Trotsky gave a quite inadequate answer to the following question of the American delegation: "Is the day approaching when Soviet Russia will grant the workers, as well as those who are not in agreement with the policy of the government, freedom of opinion in public life?"

Comrade Trotsky dealt only with the question of the bourgeois parties and passed over in complete silence the indirect assertion, that in the Soviet Union there exists no "freedom of opinion" for the workers, as formulated in the question of the delegation. Comrade Trotsky, who passed over this aspect of the matter, thereby gave the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat occasion to continue to spread the malicious calumny which obviously to some extent caused uneasiness even to the members of the American delegation who put such a question.

In our opinion the facts of Soviet reality will convince these members of the delegation that the assertion, that the workers in the Soviet Union have no "freedom of opinion" is a slanderous invention. With us more than 60 millions of the working population, from the age of 18 and without distinction of sex or nationality, have the right to participate in the Soviet elections. Of this number over 50%, that is over 30 millions workers and peasants, took active part in the campaign at the last election. Our elections do not consist in the electors simply dropping a voting paper into ballot box; with us the electors take an active part in the meetings, at which the reports on the activity of the Soviets are delivered and discussed, at which their activity is subjected to an all-round criticism, at which the electors take part by making practical proposals for improving the work of the Soviet, for correcting failures and shortcomings and at which they discuss the candidatures of persons put forward on the lists. Over 30 million workers and peasants made use of their election rights at the last Soviet elections at such meetings on the basis of the proletarian democracy. The numbers of those actively participating in the elections is increasing every year. There is no bourgeois country that can show anything like it.

In our country there are ten million workers and employees organised in the trade unions. That is a number that has not been reached by the trade union movement in any bourgeois country. The percentage of organised workers and employees with us is the highest—it amounts on the average to 90%. During the trade union elections and on the occasion of the regular reports of the trade union organs, the members express their opinions quite freely and thereby realize proletarian democracy.

Without doubt, for the bourgeois and anti-proletarian parties, the advocates of the overthrow of the power of the workers and the re-establishment of capitalism, there exists with us no "freedom of opinion." That, however, has nothing whatever to do with the freedom of opinion of the workers. For this reason there exists in our country a proletarian and not a bourgeois democracy; a democracy for the poor and not for the rich; for the workers and toilers in town and country and not for the capitalists and big landowners.

Secondly, Comrade Trotsky declares that under the regime of the Soviet Union "discontent" is the driving force. In the general formulation in which

(Continued on page 7.)



THE SITUATION IN AUSTRIA

The Capitulation of Austro-Marxism. The Hounding Down of Communists.

THE workers of the world experienced the heroic July struggle of the workers in Vienna in their own feelings. With indignation they saw how the fighting workers were betrayed by the social democratic leaders. They saw how miserably Austro-Marxism capitulated on the streets.

The defeat of the Austrian working class was caused by this abandonment of the struggle, by this capitulation of Austro-Marxism. It was a serious and definite defeat. The capitulation in the struggle was, however, not the end of the capitulation. The leaders of the Austrian social democracy are still on bended knees just where they fell in the days of the fighting. The capitulation still continues and is taking on ever greater forms.

From the fresh graves of the revolutionary workers the leading lights of Austro-Marxism went to their idolized parliament after having slandered the victims of the fighting. As is known, the only slogan of the social democratic leaders in their appeal on the 16th July was "All those responsible, from the government down to the lowest police officer, will be called to account in parliament!" As is known, the transport strike was called off on the 19th of July with the excuse that parliament must be given the possibility of expressing its opinion on the events and for this the purpose the members of parliament must be afforded means of transport to come to parliament (!).

The National Council, as the parliament of Austria is called, met. Seipel triumphed and forced the social democratic members of parliament to the defensive by an exhibition of the most cynical superciliousness. The National Council expressed its confidence in the government and rejected the social democratic proposal for the setting up of a commission of inquiry. That was the "vengeance" which the social democrats obtained for the workers in parliament. The social democratic leaders? What should these poor wretches have done about the matter anyhow? They need another 7 per cent of the votes before they have a parliamentary majority; until they get this 7 per cent they are a defenseless minority of course!

Oh, but they dealt with the government thoroughly! Renner in particular, tore the laurel wreath from the brow of Seipel, the laurels which he had received as the saviour of the fatherland. The government, he said, need not boast, for in the decisive days it was "more than helpless" and it was the "clever and sober policy" of the trade union leaders which contributed not a little to saving society!!!

The social democratic leaders claimed that they saved society, and their claim is justified! Even a section of the bourgeoisie recognizes this and is doubtful about the advisability of continuing the insolent and open attack upon the proletariat for too long. The representative of this wing of the bourgeoisie, the prelate Drexel, has issued what is practically an invitation to the social democrats to enter a coalition government, and Renner has acknowledged receipt of the invitation with pleasure. If there is no coalition in the immediate future, then the triumphant Seipel will alone be responsible for it.

Seipel does not need the coalition government. He sees no reason why he should give the social democrats ministerial seats in the cabinet when he can get everything he wants from them anyhow.

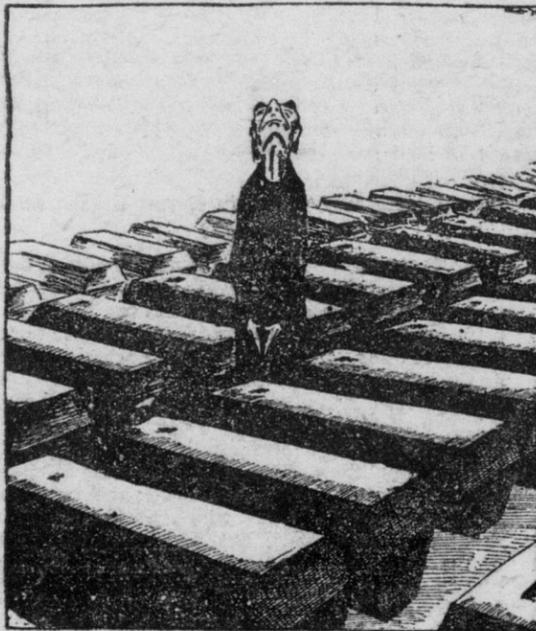
And he gets all he wants from them! The social democratic "Opposition" has broken down completely even in parliament.

For nine months the social democrats have obstructed the intended customs robbery in the customs commission. But on the 29th of July the "General Debate," i.e., the obstruction was concluded! The whole bourgeois press is jubilant: "The National Council" is working again. The catastrophic events in Vienna have had at least one good result!

For years the social democrats have obstructed the clerical school laws (remember the famous "Vienna school reform!"), but on the 2nd of August these laws were passed in the National Council. Seipel has supplied himself at the point of the bayonet with useful "arguments" against the obstruction!

Seipel, the great business man, managed to form his new government after his electoral defeat on the 24th of April. (He has made this defeat good since by volleys into the workers) only after difficult maneuvers with ministerial posts for which his partners in the coalition eventually sold themselves. And because there was one more candidate for a ministerial post than there were ministerial posts, Seipel simply created a new one by restoring the

By W. SCHLAMM (Vienna)



—"Notenkraker," Amsterdam.

AFTER THE VIENNA RIOTS.
The reaction returns thanks for victory.

portfolio of the minister of justice which had long ago been abolished. Up to the 15th of July the Austro-Marxists howled that they would resist this miserable business; but on the 2nd of August the National Council decided to ratify the formation of the new ministerial post!

The international working class is informed regarding the shameful campaign of persecution and even the dissolution of district committees are being carried out! Very few days have passed without a confiscation of the "Rote Fahne" (official organ of the Austrian C. P.—Ed.). This systematic destruction of the working class press is now to be embodied in laws. The government has introduced a "Press Law Reform Bill" about which we will speak in detail later. And the democratic leaders? They have openly expressed their fundamental approval of the bill!

On the 23rd of July the social democratic party conference decided that a full amnesty should be demanded in parliament for all those arrested in connection with the July events. The bourgeois parties in parliament refused even to discuss the matter. What does the brave democratic 43 per cent majority do? It postpones the debate until the late Autumn as in the meanwhile the over-worked National Council is packing up for its holidays. And up to the time of the debate over a hundred proletarians will sit in prison and the vindictive class-justice is commencing its "work."

Capitulation, miserable, pitiable capitulation of Austro-Marxism in parliament! But not only in parliament! In the Vienna Municipal Council, Seitz the social democratic mayor, has a two-thirds majority, and the social democrats wished to play this trump. On the 17th of July it formed a "municipal guard." This municipal guard was, of course, from the first moment of its existence nothing but an auxiliary body for the police of Schober (Schober, the police president of Vienna, responsible for the shootings.—Ed.); and in all their declarations, from the very beginning, the social democratic leaders assured the public that their guard (it consisted of about 1,500 picked social democratic officials) would "cooperate" with the Schober police and that it was intended to restore "law and order" against undisciplined elements, that it had been formed against the Communists. (On the 31st of July this latter statement was made expressly in the "Arbeiter Zeitung." The official organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party in Vienna.—Ed.). Nevertheless, an attempt was made to make out to the workers that this guard had been formed as a partial arming of the proletariat as a protection against the Schober police.

But Seipel felt himself strong enough to prevent the social democrats from achieving any sort of prestige success, and he therefore demanded the dissolution of this municipal guard. The Municipal parried the first demand and reduced the guard to 1,000 men; secondly, it declared that the guard was only formed for the purpose of doing night service to protect the buildings and the land of the municipality. And finally Seitz declared on the 29th of July that if the constitutional court should declare the formation of the municipal guards to be illegal, then the guard would be completely dissolved! In-

stead of communalizing the whole police force in Vienna—they have not only the power but the constitutional right to do this—the "red" leaders of Vienna have even surrendered on the question of the night-watchmen whose pistols are in any case loaded against the Communists!

Capitulation in parliament, capitulation in the Vienna Municipal Council and continued capitulation in the streets: for seven months a peaceful demonstration of social democratic marshals was being prepared for the 7th of August in Graz, and in connection with this a joint demonstration with the "Reichs-banner." 20,000 members of the social democratic defense force had made all preparations. Fares had been paid, etc. Then a fascist leader in Styria uttered a threat to disturb the demonstration. The provincial government (there are social democrats in the government!) therefore prohibited the demonstration and the social democratic party called it off! The streets belong to the fascists!

These are a few characteristics of the present situation in Austria after the July fighting, one or two snapshots of the capitulation of Austro-Marxism.

All this has caused severe troubles within the social democratic party of Austria. There is almost no conference, no membership meeting but what there are violent scenes. In particular in the meetings of the shamefully misused Republican Defense Force the speakers can hardly obtain a hearing. Perhaps the organizational machinery will succeed in holding the party together; but a continuation of the crisis is inevitable and the joints of the once so proud, so self-confident Party have been severely strained. The social democratic workers are shaking the prison walls of the reformist party.

The Communist Party of Austria is carrying on its struggle despite all the persecution and the hatred which has been let loose against it. It will continue its struggle with unshaken courage and the greatest possible activity. Apart from the agitation for its normal political aims it has taken as the main point of its activity in the immediate future the campaign for the release of more than 100 workers and a recruiting campaign for the Party and the Party press. Excellent results have already been obtained: the circulation of the "Rote Fahne" is growing steadily and the Party is winning new members everywhere by its active agitational work. The Party has the sympathy of the workers to an extent unknown since the days of the revolution. The working masses are now beginning to understand the past and present policy of the Communist Party, they have gained confidence in the Party. It will depend on the organizational strength of the Party, on the permanency of its work in the factories and in the mass organizations to what extent the Party can organize the sympathy which is being shown towards it and create a Communist mass party in Austria.

Austro-Marxism is as yet only ideologically defeated, it is not yet organizationally defeated. The organizing power of Austrian reformism, even after the July events, will remain both relatively and absolutely extremely strong; that is the situation in Austria which has its roots in the structure and in the past of the Austrian working class movement. But the Austrian proletariat has had a tremendous and bloody experience, and this has laid the basis of revolutionary clarity. The capitulation of Austro-Marxism, its impossible treachery has introduced a new period for the Austrian working class movement, a period in which the relation of forces inside the working class will change unceasingly to the advantage of the left!



Pravda Exposes Trotsky's Errors

(Continued from Page Five)

Comrade Trotsky clothed this principle ("so long as class antagonisms exist—discontent is unavoidable," it is obviously therefore a "discontent" of the classes) it only applies to the capitalist countries, in which revolutionary discontent, the class discontent of the toiling masses with the bourgeois regime is actually a driving force. In the country in which the power is in the hands of the proletariat, class discontent with the existing power is expressed in the first place by the bourgeoisie, which conceals itself behind such conceptions as "the people," "democracy," "Constituent Assembly," and which in the fight against the dictatorship of the proletariat frequently makes use of the immediate help of foreign capital (as we remember in the years of intervention). From the standpoint of the proletariat this counter-revolutionary discontent can by no means be recognised as a driving force. But this is what can be inferred from Comrade Trotsky's words. Precisely in the same way, this "discontent" with the Soviet regime was no forward driving force in the period of acute struggle (in the years of the civil war) in which various vacillating sections of the working class were under the influence of the bourgeoisie. In the days of the Kronstadt revolt such vacillations were even a direct menace to the Soviet power. They threatened the country with "retrogression"; they in no way meant "progress."

It is very remarkable that Comrade Trotsky, in his utterances regarding the "incomparably more complete and more immediate possibility under the Soviet regime of the working masses giving expression to their feelings and interests," considered it necessary to link up this principle not with the question of the advantages of proletarian as compared with bourgeois democracy, but rather with the question of "discontent" under the Soviet regime, whereby he passes over in complete silence the enormous social advance of the working and peasant masses, their active and many-sided participation in socialist construction, which is certainly not rooted in "discontent" but in complete support of the Soviet State as the only socialist State (Comrade Trotsky, in his interview, preferred not

to speak of the socialist character of our State, but only of the "non-capitalist" (!) tendency of our government).

The replies of Comrade Trotsky can, in the last resort, mislead the American delegation and also others, both as regards Soviet reality and the views of our Party regarding this reality.

3. We cannot avoid calling attention to the fact that Comrade Trotsky, while veiling the true democratic character of the proletarian dictatorship, at the same time permits a superfluous beautifying of bourgeois democracy insofar as he maintains, without the necessary reservations, that the "workers in any democratic State have the right to their own press, to hold meetings etc."

This assertion is contrary to the facts. Everybody knows that in the most "democratic" countries (for example in America, where just recently the "democratic" bourgeois court caused the workers and Sacco and Vanzetti to be executed) the revolutionary workers are systematically persecuted (arrested, punished etc.) for propagating their views.

It is impossible to understand how Comrade Trotsky could "forget" these political "attractions" of bourgeois democracy and content himself with merely pointing to the purely economic relations which under capitalism prevent the workers from making use of the liberty of the press which is alleged to exist.

4. Moreover, in our opinion the answer of Comrade Trotsky to the question: "Can the Soviet Union catch up to the capitalist States which are marching at the head?" is completely incorrect. The question was formulated in such a manner as to render absolutely necessary a distinction: there are spheres in which we have already long overtaken the capitalist States (the Soviet power as a form of a proletarian dictatorship, as the highest type of democracy; the successes of the socialist methods of economy, which subordinate national economy as a whole to the interests of the proletariat and the working masses). Comrade Trotsky did not say a word regarding this. Even assuming that the questions of the American delegation referred only to the technique of the Soviet industry, Comrade Trotsky's answer was likewise incorrect, for he did not openly say that in this field also we are catching

up to and can catch up to the capitalist world, provided that our development is not interrupted by the intervention of the foreign imperialists. The guarantees for this are the advantages of the socialist planned economy, which capitalism has not and cannot have at its disposal.

5. And finally, the "reserve" which Comrade Trotsky displays in his utterances on the unanimity of our Party on the question of war, is exceedingly ambiguous (and after the declaration of the 8th of August of the Opposition very significant). "What separates us (that is the Opposition from the Party—the Redaction) is incomparably smaller (!) than that which unites us." What a statement! If in the question of defending the Soviet Union the factors dividing were greater than those uniting us, then Comrade Trotsky would find himself outside of our Party. Everybody can understand this without the statements of Comrade Trotsky. But the fact that Comrade Trotsky replies to the question of a non-Communist delegation with such extremely ambiguous phrases (while he knows at the same time that the bourgeois and the social democratic press will take advantage of his assertions against our Party)—this fact proves once again that the Opposition, in this most important question has not freed itself from those errors, the impermissibility of which is clear to every Communist.

We do not wish to deal here with the other "peculiarities" in Comrade Trotsky's "Interview," for example with the "doubts" which Comrade Trotsky expressed—owing to "alleged lack of information" (?)—regarding whether the Soviet Government in any way "goes hand in hand" with the so-called living church! It is remarkable that Comrade Trotsky has forgotten the existence of a number of organs of the Soviet government which are conducting an anti-religious propaganda.

Finally, we express our astonishment that questions put by the American delegation, which according to their very nature are quite simple for every class-conscious worker and bolshevik, could, according to the words of Comrade Trotsky, prove so "difficult" that he was not "sure of his ground" regarding them and could commit so many unpardonable errors.

The
COMRADE
Edited by the Young
A Page for Workers'



Young
SECTION
Pioneers of America
and Farmers' Children

CHILD LABOR

It might strike you funny to hear that there is child labor in the United States, but that it does exist is indisputable. Only three years ago in 1924, there were two million children under the age of fourteen years, employed in the factories, mills, mines and cotton plantations. But now six million children are so employed.

"The Current Events," a capitalist newspaper in the schools once had an article on child labor, and it said that child labor is rapidly decreasing because the bosses are afraid that when the children grow up they might become union members and strikers. Why shouldn't they become union members? The bosses are afraid that the children might learn of their oppression. Not being able to get an education, the young children have to sit in the dirty factories and labor. "The Young Pioneers" are doing their best to organize these children against their oppressors. We need the cooperation of all the workers to help us carry on the work.

All working class children should join the Pioneers of America and help us in the struggle.

THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE NO. 34

This week's puzzle is a number puzzle. 1 stands for A, 2 stands for B, etc. Go right to it!

20 8 18 5 5 3 8 5 5 18 19 6 15 18 20 8 5
3 15 15 16 5 18 1 20 9 22 5 16 9 15 14 5 5 18 19

Send all answers to Daily Worker Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., N. Y. C., giving your name, age, address and the number of the puzzle.

Answers to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 33 is: JOIN YOUNG PIONEERS. There were no correct answers to this puzzle.

Comrades Liberto and Luz Vilarino all the way from Inglewood, California sent in the correct answer to puzzle No. 31.

THE YOUNG COMRADE

By PHILIP CHALEFF.

The "Young Comrade" is the official monthly newspaper of the Young Pioneers of America. It is a workers' children's newspaper which is distributed in the schools, playgrounds, churches, shops and everywhere where workers' children gather. It is the paper which aids in organizing these children into the Young Pioneers of America.

The cooperative section has done and is doing everything within its power to support this paper. At the recent subscription drive, this section came out first in the city. When the cooperative section was first organized in February, we received twenty "Young Comrades" to sell. As the time went on, we ordered larger amounts. In July, we received one hundred "Young Comrades" to sell. We have already decided to order one hundred and fifty copies for the month of August, because of the rapid sale of this paper.

The Pioneers of the cooperative section are going to continue their good work and we hope to make the "Young Comrade" a weekly paper. We can only do this with the cooperation of all the workers. Subscribe to the "Young Comrade." Build a large Pioneer movement.

PIONEERS

By CHARLOTTE FOX.

We are a group of workers' children,
We are Pioneers by name.
We always help the needy workers
And thus we've gained our fame.

Our motto is "Always Ready"
And it is true you shall see.
And if you join a Pioneer group
It will your motto also be.

Soon all laborers' children
Will have joined the Pioneer group.
And workers' children will disperse
From boy and girl scout troops.

AMERICAN SCHOOLS

By DOROTHY GREEN.

Does the American education benefit the children of the workers?

The public grammar schools and high schools were organized with the intention of giving all children a chance to get a free education. But with time this purpose became partially extinct. The capitalist system which backs this free educational system has been the cause for this.

Children often pay with their lives for this free education. They have to learn in stuffy and overcrowded rooms in the warm weather and in ill-heated rooms in the cold weather. Their minds are doped with the poisonous propaganda of the capitalist class. They are taught to break strikes. That strikes are illegal and Bolshevistic and that it might lead in breaking up this wonderful country. They are taught to go against their parents who are workers and join the ranks of their enemies. The children are not given the privilege of expressing their own opinion. They must keep quiet for fear of corrupting the minds of their fellow students.

Comrades, we must fight against the doping of children, the children of the workers. We must fight against the doping of future workers.

Down with the capitalist system of schools.
Join the Young Pioneers of America and help us fight on.

YOUNG COMRADE SUB

Cooperate with us by sending in your subscription to the Young Comrade. Fill in this blank and send it to the Young Comrade Corner, 33 First Street, New York City.

1-Year—50 cents ½-Year—25 cents.

Name

Address

City

State Age.....

(Issued Every Month).

DRAMA

Somerset Maugham Lances a Sore

Katherine Cornell Proves Great Tragic Actress
in "The Letter" at Morosco

The wife (played by Katherine Cornell) of a plantation manager (J. W. Austin) in the Malay Peninsula kills a man. She offers a defense: that he tried to rape her. The defendant's story is almost perfect. The fact that the slain man is living with a Chinese woman prejudices the entire community of imperialists against him—he has broken caste—he has disgraced the conquering class. But you feel that murder among the group of rulers is a dangerous thing; everybody is very serious, most of all, Joyce, the attorney for the defense, played by Allan Jeayes.



Katherine Cornell

Still, Leslie Crosby, the killer, has a perfect case, until Ong Chi Seng (James Vincent), Atty. Joyce's confidential "clerk," delicately breaks the news to his employer that "there is in existence" a letter, written in impassioned tones by Leslie to the dead man, inviting him to come to see her on the night of the murder, "because Mr. Crosby" will be in Singapore.

The Chinese woman, or Ong, or his friend, some one among them, has the letter, and Joyce finally stifles his moralistic prejudices and buys it with \$10,000 of Crosby's money. Whereupon Leslie is duly acquitted.

Crosby, when he hears of the high priced letter, insists that it must be worth reading since it cost him the last cent he has in the world, and Leslie's resulting confession that she was the dead man's lover for seven years, until he deserted her for the Chinese girl, shatters the fool's paradise the poor trusting and over-kind husband has been inhabiting.

You will see that this is a sordid tale, which must be handled with as much high art as is the theme in "The Ring and the Book," or it will merely mess around like another Snyder case. It is supremely to Somerset Maugham's credit that it is so managed. Between Maugham's powerful restraint and sense of decorum, and Katherine Cornell's fine dramatic ability, the plain and simple tale of adultery, murder, blackmail and perjury, such an everyday occurrence, is made to gather around it a halo of omnipotent and fearful fate, as impressive as that which hangs over Oedipus, in the matchless stagecraft of the Greeks.

The entire production, Maugham's part as playwright, Katherine Cornell's as the star, and the excellent support of four male members of the cast, combine to produce a smooth and finished, and moving thing—the listener follows every writhing and twist of Leslie's tortured brain as shown in Katherine Cornell's expressive countenance while she dodges each swish of the gallow's rope—until in the end she meets what perhaps she felt as a more terrible fate.

The play is pessimistic, ironic, and full of a soft patter of sardonic humor—as when Joyce turns to Ong Chi Seng and asks him what he is getting out of the blackmail, only to be met with an unctuous quotation, "The Laborer is worthy of his hire, as Our Lord said." The blackmailer, Ong, is only a product of the culture brot to him by the British school in Hong Kong—a Chinese who has learned the trade of lawyer very well indeed—better than his masters that he would. Incidentally, James Vincent gets all the urbanity, suavity, and cunning into that character that it will stand.

The whole play is a cross section of imperialist life—a kind of Kipling-esque self criticism; to be sure, all the villains and buffons are conquered natives and Chinese, but despite that injustice—it is merciless self-criticism nevertheless.—V. S.

ANTONIO MORENO



Co-starred with Greta Garbo in "The Temptress," Ibanez' famous film story of life in South America, which will be shown for the benefit of the DAILY WORKER at the Waldorf Theatre tomorrow.

N. Y. Symphony Plans Five Great Conductors

The New York Symphony's plans for the season, which opens October 21 and which will mark out its first half century, will include no less than five guest conductors. Fritz Busch of the Dresden Opera House is scheduled to come first. The others include: Ossip Gabrilowitsch; Walter Damrosch, who retired as regular conductor at the close of last season, but who will serve as guest conductor for one month; Maurice Ravel, distinguished French composer, and Fernandez Arbos of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra, leading conductor of Spain. Ravel is known here thru numerous compositions, notably the "Rapsodie Espagnole," concert suites from his ballet "Daphnis et Chloe" and his one act opera "L'Heure Espagnole."

Ninety concerts will be given by the orchestra during the season. Sixty-one of these will be in New York. Among the soloists are Jascha Heifetz, Edward Johnson, Geraldine Farrar, Albert Spalding, Walter Gieseking, Rudolph Laubenthal, Harold Bauer, Paul Kochanski, Ignaz Friedman, Yolando Mero, Emilio de Gogorza, Samuel Dushkin, Rachel Morton and George Barrere.

New works which will be given their premiere this season will be a specially commissioned composition by Gustav Holst, and a symphonic poem by Cyril Scott. Mr. Damrosch plans to present the second act of Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde" in concert form with soloists.

Al Jolson will make his picture debut in "The Jazz Singer" at the Warner Theatre next Thursday night. This is a picturization of Samson Raphaelson's comedy. Vitaphone will play an important part in the picture for Jolson will render many of his famous songs in the musical sequences of the story. May McAvoy and Warner Oland are his chief support.

AMUSEMENTS

The Temptress

A Motion Picture by V. BLASCO IBANEZ

Revival of Charlie Chaplin's "THE CHAMPION"

The funniest of his productions

at the

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An industrial play with an acetylene flame

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THE CENTURIES, by Em Jo Basshe

HOBOKEN BLUES, By Michael Gold

PICNIC, by Francis Edwards Faragoh

AIRWAYS, INC., by John Dos Passos

and a play by John Howard Lawson.

The DAILY WORKER has purchased a special block of tickets.

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THEATRE GUILD ACTING CO.

The SECOND MAN
GUILD Thea., W. 52 St. Evs. 8:30
Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

The Cameo Theatre, beginning today, will show John Gilbert and Renee Adoree in "Honor First." George Gibbs wrote the story. Also showing this week will be Charles Chaplin cinema, "The Champion."

Moss' Broadway screen showing next week will be "The Cat and the Canary" with Laura La Plante featured.

"Loves of Carmen" in which Dolores Del Rio is starred, will be held over a second week at the Roxy Theatre.

B. S. MOSS' THEATRES

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RENEE ADOREE
(STARS OF THE BIG PARADE)
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LOVE VS GLORY
IN WAR-TIME FRANCE

CHARLES CHAPLIN
IN A TIMELY COMEDY ATTRACTION
"THE CHAMPION"

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