WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Hitler in Power; Civil War Starts

LEON TROTSKY

The Danger of Thermidor

An Analysis of the Significance of Stalin's Latest Speech

The Soviet regime rests on the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. The proletariat constitutes the minority of the population; the peasantry, the overwhelming majority. Yet in the hands of the proletariat are the most concentrated m ans of production. The forces of the peasantry, on the contrary, are split up through their economic relations. Still more, it is not a homogeneous group. As long as there is no thoroughgoing change in technique and economy in the village—and for this even under the most favorable circumstances the work of a whole generation would be needed—the peasantry will crystallize out of itself a stratum of kulaks, which inevitably strives towards capitalism. The mechanical destruction of the present kulaks decides nothing. After the alleged "liquidation of the kulaks as a class" the Soviet press constantly keeps complaining (having gone over from materialism to idealism, since bureaucrats are always idealists), of the power of the kulak "ideology", of the remains of kulak psychology, etc. In fact, behind these complaints is hidden the fact that the middle class of peasants, although locked up into kolkhozes, faced with the present level of technique and economy, sees no other way out for itself than to lift itself up to the level of the kulaks.

What the Peasant Demands

In the October upheaval two revolutions were interlaced; the end of the democratic one and the beginning of the socialist. By doing away with lease payments, the democratic revolution saved the peasantry almost half a billion gold rubles. The fruits of the socialist revolution are valued by the poor peasants according to the quantity of industrial products which he can obtain in exchange for a given quantity of grain. The peasant is no utopian; he does not demand that socialism be built up in one country and in five years at that. But he does demand that socialist industry deliver him goods under conditions which are no worse than those of capitalist industry. Under these conditions, the peasant is prepared to extend an unlimited credit in political confidence to the proletariat and its party. The Soviet state would receive the possibility of maneuvering according to the internal conditions and the world situation, and of drawing the peasantry into socialist economy.

The basis of mass collectivization can only be the equivalent exchange of the products of industry and agriculture. Without going into the theoretical economic hair-splitting, we must regard as "equivalent" such an exchange as will stimulate the peasants, individual as well as collectivized, to till as much land and harvest as much grain as possible, selling the greater part to the city in order to obtain for it as large a quantity of industrial products as possible. Only such reciprocal economic relation between city and country—what Lenin called the "smytchka"—can free the workers state from the necessity of taking forcible measures against the village to compel the exchange. Only from the moment when the voluntary exchange is assured will the proletarian dictatorship be unshakable. The "smytchka" thus secured, means the closest political alliance of the poor peasantry with the urban workers, the firm support of the decisive masses of the middle peasantry, and consequently, the political isolation of the kulaks and of all capitalist elements in the country in general. The "smytchka", thus secured, means the unshakable loyalty of the Red Army to the proletarian dictatorship, which in view of the successful industrialization and the unlimited human, largely peasant, reserves, will make it possible for the Soviet state to repulse any imperialist intervention.

As the Left Opposition has declared since 1923, industrialization is the prerequisite of the march towards socialism. Without a rising industrialization neither linen nor nails, not to speak of tractors, can be supplied to the peasants. But industrialization must be carried through at such a tempo and in accordance with such plans that the relation of the quantity of goods between city and village will steadily if slowly improve, and the standard of living of workers and peasants rise. This foremost condition of the stability of the whole regime limits the permissible tempo of industrialization and collectivization.

Back to War Communism

It means nothing to add, "Has the five year plan abolished classes and introduced socialism?" But we must unquestionably ask, "Has it assured the "smytchka" between city and country?" The answer is "No", it has shaken and weakened it." In his last speech at the plenum of the Central Committee, Stalin boasted that the planned collectivization had been exceeded three times over. But who needs these figures outside of the bureaucratic boasters? The statistics of collectivization do not take the place of bread. The kolkhozes are numerous, but there is no meat and no vegetables. The city has nothing to eat. Industry is disorganized because the workers are hungry. In its relation to the peasant, the city has passed from a semi-voluntary exchange through a tax in kind to compulsory expropriations, that is, to the methods of war-time Communism.

The hungry workers are dissatisfied with the policies of the party. The party is dissatisfied with the leadership. The peasantry is dissatisfied with industrialization, with collectivization, with the city. Part of the peasantry is dissatisfied with the regime. What part? We cannot know, but it is clear that under present circumstances, it can only grow.

"The planned collectivization has been exceeded three times over!" But that is precisely the misfortune. The forced kolkhozes not only do not lead to socialism, but on the contrary undermine the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat by becoming the organized form of the strike of the peasants against the city. By hiding its grain from the state or purposely limiting its seeding, the pasantry places itself on the road of the kulaks. "Permit me," it

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GIVE NOW!

The drive to SAVE THE MILITANT is the first order of business of the League and its sympathizers in the present period. We are confronted with the most serious financial condition possible and unless we obtain several hundred dollars, the very existence of the MILITANT is threatened. On top of this, the Post Office threatens to revoke our mailing rights if we skip another issue.

What are you doing about this? Have you called on your fellow-workers and ask for contributions? Help Save the MILIANT. Send in your contribution at once and then visit your friends and collect funds for the MILITANT.

The MILITANT has performed an international revolutionary duty to the class and the party in keeping the Marxian theories and the Bolshevik-Leninist needs of the day before the English-speaking workers of the whole world. While the press of Stalinism sways between opportunism and adventurism the MILITANT has held high the international revolutionary principles of Marxism. The need of the organization is not a retreat to a semi-monthly but an increase in propaganda in order to keep pace with the growing activity of the League and the sharpening world events. In all parts of the country the demand for our press and our literature is on the increase. The demand is one positive side of the problem. The other side is the organizational end. We must send out organizers, but all this will fail of accomplishment unless the MILITANT is kept before the workers each week.

You cannot allow the financial difficulties to drown the voice of the MILITANT. You must strain every resource to help SAVE THE MILITANT. Send in your contribution at once, solicit funds for the Militant. Rush all Funds to the MILITANT, 126 East 16th St., New York City. —HUGO OEHLER.

Opposition's Demand for United Front Is Need of the Hour in Germany

Responsibility for Rise of Fascism Must be Established

President von Hindenburg, the victorious candidate of the socialist "Iron Front", the "bulwark of the Republic against Fascism", has finally appointed Hitler to the Chancellorship of the Reich. With the Fascist leader are his lieutenants, Hermann Goering, Speaker of the Reichstag, who is in control of the Prussian police force of 150,000 armed men, and the notorious Dr. William Frick, who has taken over the Ministry of the Interior.

The Hitler government starts out with the inclusion of all the other representatives of the extreme reaction in Germany. The von Papens, Hugenbergs, von Krosigks, von Neuraths and Seldtes represent all that is intensely chauvinistic in Germany, all that stands for the domination of heavy industry and the preservation of the "dirty East Prussian" agrarian lords. In the first collection of forces under Hitler, the monarchists, nationalists, militarists, bankers, landlords and trust magnates rub shoulders amicably with the most prominent representatives of Fascism.

Schleicher's Role

The von Papen government, and the von Schleicher regime which succeeded it, fell after having accomplished to the maximum of their abilities the task and role assigned to them. Neither of the two "Presidental" governments which preceded Hitler had behind it a parliamentary majority upon which to lean, or a mass movement to base itself on. These representatives of the Bonapartist bourgeoisie could only be stop gaps, creating the illusion among sections of the working class that they stood "above the classes" and would regulate the conflicts between them. Even more than Papen, von Schleicher succeeded in winning the benevolent neutrality of the reactionary social democratic trade union leaders, headed by Leipart, a neutrality which meant nothing short of a new betrayal of the working class. In the period of their domination, Papen and Schleicher did all they could to stave off the resistance of the working class, to weaken and demoralize it, to avoid—in the interests of the bourgeoisie — the heavy costs of a civil war, and to stake their cards upon the mirage of an economic boom.

The fact that Hindenburg, who was undoubtedly hostile to Hitler, even if not in a fundamentally class sense, finally called upon the Fascist leader to take over the government, is eloquent testimony to the desperation of the German bourgeoisie. Capitalism, in its "normal" state, never does more than keep its Fascist hordes in reserve. The German ruling class knows that the seizure of power by the Brown-shirted bandits, especially in a country with a well-organized and socialistically schooled working class, means civil war and the consequent disruption of the economic and political life of the country, at least until the issue of the struggle is decided. The German bourgeoisie has gone to all conceivable lengths to avoid the heavy expenses of a civil war: It has turned over the government to social democrats; it has drawn them into bourgeois coalitions; it has sought to preserve an equilibrium with the aid of the Bruening party of ultramontanism; it has resorted to the Bonapartist regimes of Papen and von Schleicher. But none of these expedients has enabled it to emerge from the profound crisis undermining its domination, the crisis which has driven hundreds of thousands of workers to the support of the party of social revolution. For just as the bourgeoisie finds it impossible to rule in the old way, the masses are refusing to live in the old way.

That is why the bourgeoisie has been forced to resort to the desperate expedient of Fascism! Hitler in power means the commencement of the civil war in Germany. It is entirely unthinkable that the German working class, millions strong, trained in the school of the class struggle for years, having at its head the most powerful Communist party in the world outside of the Soviet Union, will permit the Nazi assassins to remain in power without a violent struggle. It is entirely unthinkable that Hitler will be able to accomplish his principal task without a bitter fight. His role is to crush every semblance of organized strength and military in the German working class, beginning with the Communist party, the spearhead of the proletariat, following with the social democracy and the big trade union movement, and ending with the extermination of every other class conscious proletarian organization. It is already clear from the first news dispatches that the German proletariat, alarmed by the recent events and aroused out of the lethargy and the imaginary security into which they were lulled for the past year, has begun to resist with all the means at its disposal.

The Coming Civil War

Nor could it be otherwise, for the ascension to power of the Hitler gang could mean nothing else but the opening of a period of civil war in Germany. When we speak of Hitler's ascension to power, it does not yet mean that the power of Fascism has been established in Germany. Before this is definitely accomplished, blood will flow and many sanguinary battles will be fought. But only a blind man could fail to see that

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Pass Phillipines Bill Over Veto

The Filipinos, under the leadership of Quezon and a large section of the national-bourgeoisie, are fighting the Independence Bill. The 35 year struggle for independence is taking on a new form, since the Independence Bill comes from the United States. This can be accounted for when one realizes what is behind this bill. The Independence Bill tries to please different layers of the American exploiters, and in doing so, has forced Congress to turn out an Independence Bill loaded with jokers. The Bill retains all of the essential needs of the imperialists and at the same time attempts to eliminate the advantage the national bourgeoisie of the Filipinos have with regard to those commodities they export to America in competition with other American producers.

The Bill in its final form provides the following safeguards for e imperialists: The Filipinos must call a special convention to adopt a republican constitution. Ten years after this they will have "independence." The Bill reserves the right for naval bases and retains the right to military posts after the attainment of "independence". At the same time the Bill provides the following for the American competitors, who were the main ones to drive through the bill. After ten years the Islands will be outside the American tariff walls. In the meantime the imports are to be limited. A graduated scale of export tax on commodities of a competitive nature that are sent to America will be imposed. In this period all goods shipped from the United States to the Islands will be duty free. Emigration will also be cut

The Bill attempts to unite all sections of the American people behind it. It will have all sections of the Filipino people against it, except the section of American flunkies. The American workers must demand the immediate and unconditional release and freedom of the Filipino people.

Mooney Congress Called

Molders Committee Issues United Front Call for Chicago Meet

Under date of January 21, Tom Mooney issued a call for a Free Tom Mooney Congress to be held at Chicago, April 30 to May 2, under the auspices of the Tom Mooney Molder's Defense Committee—"to plan the final fight for my freedom".

The appeal is issued—"to every A. F. of L. union-local, district, state, and national in its jurisdiction; to the railroad brotherhoods, and all other labor unions; to all working class organizations—political, economic, defense, social, athletic, fraternal or cultural; and to all liberal organizations sympathetic to the workers." Mooney says, "The time has come when all organizations fighting for my freedom must be welded into the widest possible united front."

In essence this call is no different from that issued by Mooney on August 20, 1931. On that date Mooney said, "The time for action has come—I ask for a genuine united front. I call upon the following groups—to unite and organize—for immediate action." In the list of organizations which follow are to be found the entire Communist movement, the progressives, the social reformists, and outright conservative organizations like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The question arises: what is the necessity for the second call? Who and what is responsible for the failure to build the movement upon the basis of the call of August 20, 1931? What role did the party and the ILD play?

As our readers will remember the **Militant** greeted Mooney's appeal of August 20th, and urged the party to take the initiative in building the movement for his release. Our analaysis pointed out that under the circumstances, Mooney's appeal was a direct invitations to the Communists to take over the leadership of the movement. In issue after issue, and in conferences, wherever they were called, we raised our voice to urge the party to accept Mooney's invitation and forge the weapon to smash the chains that hold him in jail.

The response of the Stalinist leadership of our party was to sabotage and wreck those conferences not organized by them. In St. Louis, for instance, where the local Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, in cooperation with the Communist League of America had organized a genuine united front to which all working class organizations were invited, the Stalinists split the conference and organized one of their own. In southern Illinois, in Minneapolis, all over the U. S. they pursued the same tactics. This strategy played into the hands of the reactionaries who, while professing belief in Mooney's innocence and a desire to fight for his release, have not and will not lift a finger toward this end. Their special job is to divide the class and keep it divided. It also served the Socialist party and the IWW and the liberals of all hues. For their failure to act they found a convenient excuse—"the impossibility of working with the Communists".

As a result no movement was built. The opportunity to set the class in motion was lost. For this the Stalinist leadership of the party and the ILD are to blame. The "theoretical" motivation for their course was the now half-abandoned idiocy of social Fascism. "How can we", the argument ran, "unite with the social democratic betrayers of the workers? How can we unite with Green and Woll? We want the workers. But the workers are divided. Ergo — the united front" from below!"

Mooney waited patiently for the party to move. But the party, saddled with a false theoretical approach to the problem, made no headway in passing from agitation in the press to struggle. Now Mooney has issued a call for the same purpose through the Molders' Defense Committee.

This does not mean that Mooney has abandoned the road of the class struggle as the only means of attaining his

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The class on the History of the Comintern led by comrade Shachtman is postponed to the following Sunday due to the mass meeting on the German situation. All students of the class are urged to attend this rally to be held at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St. and Second Ave., on Sunday, February 4th at 8 P. M. where comrade Shachtman and Cannon will be the speakers.

OPEN FORUM

TECHNOCRACY AND OTHER TRENDS IN BOURGEOIS POLITICAL ECONOMY
Technicians and the Working Class

Speaker:
HUGO OEHLER
Friday, 8 P. M. FEBRUARY 10th
126 East 16 Street,
ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices:
N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

10,000 in Strike in Detroit

Wages and «Dead Time» Issues in Briggs Auto Walkout

Marking one of the first mass struggles of the auto workers against the boss class since the crisis started, more than 10,000 men at the four plants of the Briggs Mfg. Corp., makers of auto bodies, in Detroit, have struck against "dead time". ("Dead time" is the time piece workers are kept idle without pay while being shifted to other departments or, while forced to wait for repairs or parts necessary to their process in the industry. Piece workers lose many hours a week through this method of wage cutting. It is "little things" like this that make basic wage rates so misleading in the statistical reports).

According to the **Daily Worker** the progress of the strike movement reads as follows:

January 12—500 workers strike against 20 percent wage cut at Briggs Vernon Highway Plant in Detroit.

January 21—1,000 workers in Motor Products Corp., Detroit, strike against 15 percent wage cut.

January 24—Strike in Briggs Highland Park plant, Detroit; and Hayes Body plant in Grand Rapids, Mich.

January 25—Strike of Briggs Mack Ave. workers brings total up to 8,000.

January 26—Two more Briggs plants strike and raise total up to 10,000. Capitalist press "discovers" the strike movement.

January 27—Motor Products workers, who won their strike, refuse to work on material from Briggs plants. 700 of these workers join A. W. U. Ford lays-off 150,000.

January 28—Murray Body Company forced to close through fear; men join strike movement.

Solidarity of Workers!

The Briggs Company—three hours after Ford paid a visit to his Highland Park plant in which the Briggs factory in Detroit is housed,—agreed to abolish "dead-time" and guarantee its employees an hourly wage. It also agrees to raise some wages, though not as high as the workers demnd and in some instances the new scale is lower than the old. The company, however, has not negotiated with the strike committee but has simply posted the notice of its proposals. Attempts were made, of course, to arouse the Ford workers against the strikers with the argument that the Briggs strikers have thrown them out of work.

The workers had until Monday noon, January 30, to return to work or be replaced by men from Detroit's army of unemployed. But so far the workers have maintained their solidarity and their effectiveness through mass picketing.

The Briggs strike became effective January 26, when, after several prior outbreaks, 10,000 closed their ranks against the bosses. Ford is boss of Briggs. He was not slow to try to take advantage of the situation. He seized the opportunity to lockout 150,000 workers in his employ, on the pretext that the failure of the Briggs Co. to deliver bodies disrupted the entire Ford, belt system of production. This was an attempt to turn the Ford workers against the strikers. But the workers have not been taken in by this lying cant. They have refused to work on stuff coming from Briggs.

In his efforts to discredit the strike Ford has spread the story that rival manufacturers have instigated the workers against Briggs. Speaking of the men who work in the plants that bear his name Ford said: "There is not a man among them that would strike.." even if his scale of wages is little, if any, higher than that of other manufacturers." Lies! We are confident that the Ford workers will not be long in following the example of the Briggs workers. And as for needing instigation!—

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CANNON AT FORUM

Comrade Cannon will speak this Friday, Feb. 3 at 8 P. M. at the Left Opposition Open Forum at 126 East 16th Street. The subject of his lecture will be "Is the Time Ripe for a New Federation of Labor." He will discuss in this lecture the most important conference in Gillespie, Ill., in which comrade Cannon participated and which adopted the policy of the Left Opposition. It promises to be an intensely interesting meeting. Be sure to attend!

mass meeting The CRISIS in GERMANY

SPEAKERS
James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman

Stuyvesant Casino
SECOND AVE., Near NINTH ST., SUNDAY, FEB. 5th, 8 P. M. ADM. 15 CTS.

The Elections and Labor's Struggle

What the Presidential Vote Means for the Workers

Note must be taken, now that detailed figures are available, of the extremely low poll of the various parties of the working class in the national elections in November. Even in absolute terms, in round figures, higher votes have been polled in other elections. But when consideration is given to the millions of new voters, due to increase of population and extension of suffrage to women. It is found that the various labor parties — the Communist party, Socialist party, SLP—received **proportionately the lowest vote in 32 years.** Such a result is surprising in view of the years of economic crisis, which, one could expect or hope, would have a radicalizing, if not revolutionary, influnce on the political attitude of the American worker. Yet, not only did the Communist party receive a distressingly low vote, but even the Socialist party with its emasculated program appealing to the vast mass of the petty bourgeoisie and what remains of the upper strata or aristocracy of labor, obtained a vote lower than the high vote of Debs.

Some Factors in the Low Vote

It will give some comfort, but not be telling the whole story, to acknowledge a number of factors and deficiencies of American political life which effect the tabulation of the voting strength of the American workers. First there is the disfranchisement of vast numbers of the foreign-born, though that need not be a permanent obstacle; there is, too, the intimidation and terror in the South which brings about the real, if not formal, disfranchisement of the mass of Negro workers and peasants. Corruption and vote-stealing are factors, perhaps even worse than conceived by revolutionists themselves, as revealed in the recent elections in New York City when even a Democrat, McKee, swerving from the Tammany machine, found later that some 150,000 votes for him had not been tallied. Allow ,then, for wholesale stealing of Communist and socialist votes. The political writer Kent maintains that the political machine having the most money for campaign purposes always wins the major elections. Grant its importance to the capitalist parties, that phase can nevertheless have only a secondary significance for the working class parties which depend on basic social and economic factors for their ultimate victory. The social-patriot and many times "socialist" minister of Belgium's monarchy, Emile Vandervelde, in his book, "Socialism Versus the State" made out something of a case for the tremendous ballyhoo methods of the American capitalist parties to affect the working class in casting their ballots. But that too can have but transitory significance and had its basis, in part, in a stable American capitalism. In addition, many millions of people continued the practise of staying away together from the polls.

The sad truth is that in 1932, almost four years after the most terrific economic crisis in American history, the workers as well as the bourgeoisie. middle classes and farmers, voted their belief in the efficacy of capitalism yet to solve the ills of unemployment, low wages, etc., etc. It is true that they rejected the reactionary administration of Hoover and accepted the demagogic politician Roosevelt, but that of course was a case of tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. The shift basically was not a change from their capitalist outlook, but only a change of administrators of the system of private property.

Does this mean that relatively swift changes of the political physiognomy of the American people, and particularly the proletariat, are excluded? By no means. Despite the afirmation of faith of the vast mass of American people in the social system of capitalism, it is nevertheless observable that there is a search for new methods, even new systems. There is no longer the same certainty about the durability of capitalism or its parts. Too many dents have been made in its armor and the soldier doesn't seem to be such an ardent fighter. It is a fact that with one hand the American workers gave their okay to American political system as such, and that with the other, they are girding themselves for struggles which will bring them into sharp conflict with capitalist property rights and ideas.

The masses often devise their own strategies in the class struggle, evidently preferring or finding it necessary to experience every possible solution for their requirements. The American workers, having had in the past the least need for independent political experience and actions, because of the circumstances and character of American economic life as against that of Europe, are proceeding to turn over in their minds the ways and means out of their impasse. In this, they are no different than the workers in other countries, albeit not yet so advanced politically and industrially.

A Lesson from England

People often shift their base of attack in the hope of effecting their aims. When the ravages of the Industrial Revolution in England, in the beginnings of capitalism, ate their way into the sinews and bones of the English workers, they turned toward trade unionism and initiated big struggles. Various factors contributed to their defeat on the economic field and they abandoned that field almost entirely and entered the struggle for the granting of suffrage and other political rights. The Chartist movement was the essence of this transference of struggle by the English proletariat from the economic to the political field. The Chartist movement had its vital importance in the evolution of the English labor movement, as did also a sharp turn at another time toward the co-operative movement led by Robert Owen as a panacea for the miserably exploited English workers.

Struggles of all description were to ensue for many decades before the English labor and political movement had made headway in the direction of joint action or agreement between the industrial and political arms of labor to achieve labor's aims. The movement has proceeded by the process of evolution and division. Rapid changes in the condition of Great Britain's imperialist domain bring the mass of English workers, who adhere to the political platform of socialism, to the point where they will have to abandon once and for all the tempo of "gradualism" in socialism and go over to the tempo and outlook of Communism.

There is need to allow and hope to believe in swifter reactions and development among the American workers from now on. Though in the last elections, their vote indicated from a class standpoint, almost total ignorance of the significance of the economic crisis in this social milieu, the fact remains that in their daily life they pay very close attention to it, and can be expected to generalize their experiences in a more thorough-going class manner. How does this show itself?

The Labor Party

Let us take the matter, briefly of the Labor party. It is still by no means excluded that there will be formed a Labor party in the United States. But the relation of the Communists toward it, at least that of the Left Opposition, has been clarified; namely, that of sharp exposure and opposition, despite our readiness to consider what might be our working relation to it if such a movement develops.

Not so many years ago, when Labor party agitation and attempts at organization reached their heights, the bulk of the proponents of the Labor party, in accepting it, undoubtedly attached a definite class significance to it, in fact in many cases, a revolutionary importance. They viewed it, not as the Communists did—as a part of a process of American political evolution,—but rather as the class movement of the workers and a **substitute for any other revolutionary movement.** It is true, also, that this same bulk removed from the Labor party any idea of mass actions, extra-parliamentary activity and viewed it in the parliamentary or English Labor Party sense. And such a Labor party, if it develops, will have all that opportunist virus and confusion. But such as it was in those years of 1922-28, it was essentially a movement of labor and even regarded by opponent classes and groups as a narrow class movement which might have its dangers for capitalism.

But today, irrespective of the development of a Labor party, such a party is looked upon altogether differently. The experiences of the English Labor Party have made their way on an international scale, not excepting America. Among its proponents in America are middle-class leaders who find in the platform of a Labor Party the reflection of the middle classes' own needs and ambitions. The wiser bourgeoisie, despite contrary noise, view such a possibility or other changes with might break up the two-party, Republican and Democratic, system, with equanimity. In fact, such a shrewd political observer as Samuel G. Blythe foresees such a break-up in one more, maybe two elections.

Communists, surely, have no illusions about a Labor party (or do some of them still have?). The Labor opponents of revolution, the middle class and the bourgeoisie—all view such a party as a bulwark against effective class struggle and social revolution. The working class in the United States, which will move on both the social reformist and revolutionary fronts simultaneously, will more swiftly hereafter grasp political lessons, whether or not one of those lessons takes the form of the Labor party. Hence, in respect to the Labor party, it must be said that the last few years have witnessed changes in outlook about it.

But if the American workers have not reacted on the political, or more strictly, the parliamentary, field more in accordance with the acuteness of the economic conditions, they are preparing for class struggle on other fronts. None other than Willian Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, speaks about economic struggles that will engage the workers on many and big fronts. It is not needed here to explain Green's role or his sudden espousal of the cause of militant labor struggle and a "new deal" for labor. That has been done already in the columns of the **Militant.** But it is noteworthy that Green has felt it necessary to give lip-service so far to the pressure of the mass of the labor movement.

Even more important is the fact that the new **program of the labor movement,** with all the confusion and illusion still to be found, **has begun to catch up** with the new situation produced by American capitalism. In this new social program for official labor, which, besides industrial struggles, envisages also independent political action by the workers, is to be seen the positive side of the workers' reaction to the economic crisis. The negative side, the vote of labor in the November elections, has already been recorded—and, more important, is and will be rapidly forgotten in the natural course of the struggles of the working class with the employers and the governmental apparatus.

There need be no doubt that unorganized labor will be found ready to add its forces to organized labor in common struggle, and, indeed, to go beyond the official program in all respects. But that is not under discussion here. What is decisive and important is that the dialectics of the struggle are about to reconcile the seeming contradictions of the actions of the American working class on a higher plane of struggle and vision. While the election results are, therefore, extremely "disappointing" and this field of struggle is yet to be militantly invaded by the American workers, still they are not the final and only barometer. Behind the peaceful gesture of American labor at the ballot box, there is to be seen already the clenched fist about to do battle with his class enemy. The Communist party and the Communist Left Opposition must be prepared to assist and lead in the historic battles that will tend to change rapidly the face of American social and political life.

—MARTIN ABERN.

10,000 Out in Briggs Auto Strike

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they have not forgotten the machine gun fusillade of last spring when four workers were shot down in cold blood for demanding relief from Ford.

Of the same yarn is the fabrication that "You can't stop progress—our plants will be going again full tilt in a very short time." What is full tilt? Before the depression the capacity production of cars in the United States was 7,700,000 a year; the average yearly production was 4,500,000; the peak year of actual production was 1929 with 5,621,715. The latest figures for a full year during the depression give a production for 1932 of approximately 1,411,000 cars and trucks. This last figure is about 18.4 of capacity and 25.0 of the production of the peak year. Full tilt? Pap.

The A. F. of L. and the A. W. U.

This struggle seems to have been quite spontaneous in its beginnings. Certainly the A. F. of L. which has claimed jurisdiction over these fiercely exploited workers, was not on hand and has not offered even to help. It will be recalled that in 1926 the A. F. of L. asserted its intention of organizing the automobile industry. At that time seventeen crafts agreed to waive jurisdictional claims during the proposed campaign, but even with this enormous impetus to start the job no move whatever was made.

According to the **Daily Worker,** Ford's lay-off is a move to break the Briggs strike and prevent it from spreading to "his" own plants where strike sentiment was growing as a result of the activities of the AWU. Be that as it may the Murray Body men, like the Briggs strikers, are following the leadership of the militant AWU. **(Daily Worker,** Jan. 28) The **Daily Worker** also claims militant mass picketing:—"At the Mack Avenue plant the police attempted to drive the strikers away but failed because of the militant mass picketing. The AWU is leading the strike." **(Daily Worker,** January 27).

The rumor was spread in the capitalist press that the Briggs workers adopted a resolution banning Communists from participation in the strike, but the **New York Times** of Jan. 29 states that Phil Raymond, former Communist candidate for Mayor of Detroit, is taking an active part in the strike. Raymond stated that he was a representative of the AWU and had been hired by the strikers to organize their forces.

The AWU in existence now for several years, has yet to prove itself to the workers. This strike is its opportunity leadership of workers exploited by spy-systems, unemployment, low wages, speed-up, and all the refinements characteristic of Ford's "progress". With the auto workers out on strike and the momentum of the mass movement, the workers will quickly sense and follow a responsible leadership which really means to achieve an industrial union for mass blows against the dead hand of trustified competition in the auto industry.

—MARTIN BEARDSLEE.

Mooney Congress

(Continued from page 1)

freedom. No. The language of the call precludes any such idea. There is also the fact that the date is set for April and May. Mooney chose this time knowing that a hearing in the Superior Court on the last count in the original indictment against him and Billings is scheduled for February 11. The dates alone speak volumes.

But what Mooney's move does mean is that he considers the apathy of the Communists no means of solving the problem of his freedom. And we must acknowledge that he is correct. Our failure to act is a disgrace. But for that we are not to blame. The Stalinists, as we have pointed out, must answer to the class for this.

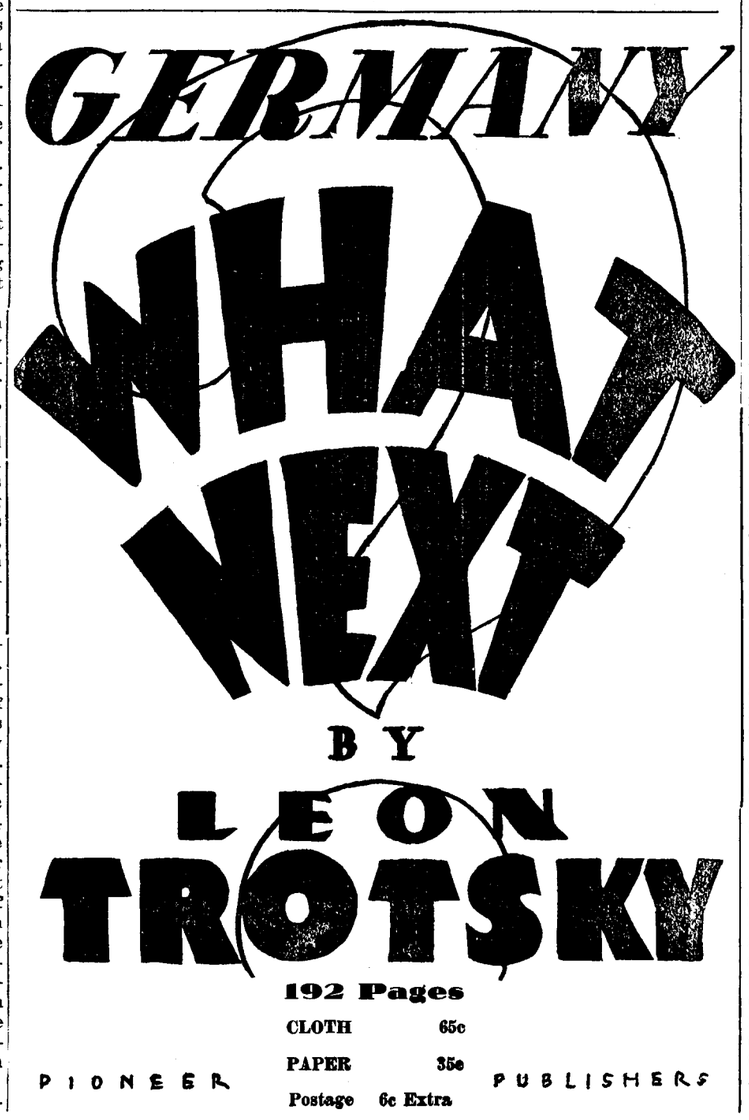
At the Chicago Conference everything will again favor the Communists. Mooney's call insures that no liberal-socialist-Wobbly clique will bar them. It lays the basis for a class struggle fight. Chicago is the scene of the recent gigantic united front of socialist and Communist workers for relief. The traditions of that struggle and the fighting role of the Communists will stand them in good stead at the coming conference. It will give them a sympathetic hearing and following.

Lastly, there is the half-turn that the party and the ILD are making. Hacker admitted at a meeting last Sunday that the line of the ILD in the Mooney fight had been sectarian. And Frank Spector writes in the February issue of the **Labor Defender:** "At the bottom of our failure to develop a broad united front has nearly always been the sectarian attitude on our part." This does not trace the root of the trouble to the soil from which spring these weeds of policy—the theory of social-Fascism. But it is the beginning of wisdom.

If the party members will raise their voices and demand a full accounting instead of this half-way apology (which is accompanied by the usual benedictions of the line and the criticisms of the execution) they can make this turn a genuine one. They must insist that they enter the Chicago conference prepared to work with the other groups represented there, not giving up for a minute their independent role as the vanguard of the class and their right to criticism of their opponents. With a correct policy on the question of the united front and the capital of Mooney's call, plus their splendid record in the relief demonstrations the Communists can win the leadership of the movement and raise the struggle to new heights.

This can very well be the impetus which the class needs to resist the onslaughts of the bosses. Mooney has correctly insisted that the struggle for his freedom is inextricably bound up with the fight of the class against its capitalist masters. That is how we approach the problem, too. Everything now depends on the party. The Left Opposition will be present to raise its voice for Mooney's freedom and Communism, and work energetically in the movement.

—T. STAMM.



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Left Oppsition Grows in China

PEIPING.—

About a month ago we received comrade L. D.'s first letter. About two weeks ago we received his second letter together with yours. The Russian texts have been translated into Chinese and circulated among the revolutionary masses. We are very happy to have these new, precious writings.

Before September 18, 1931, the date of the invasion of Japanese imperialism of last year, the Left Opposition in Northern China was mainly occupied with theoretical questions. After the "invasion" our comrades appeared here and there in the leadership of the movement. Our political program was widely carried out. And we truly became "the most dangerous enemy of the Chinese C. P." as the Stalinists put it.

When the anti-Japanese imperialist sentiment was raging the majority of the Stalinist comrades co-operated with us. Only when the anti-imperialist movement receded did the bureaucratic Stalinist leaders find us "the most dangerous enemy". At the same time they spread more illusions about the peasants' "Red Army" among the masses, while they continued their course along the road of bureaucratic adventurism.

A certain number of the new generation have joined the L. O. and fought energetically for it. Not long before the arrest of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu we gained more militants for the Marxist-Leninist Fighting Club. This club was formerly semi-party in character and was composed mostly of members emerging from the Stalin clique. But now they fully accepted the ideas of the International Left Opposition under Trotsky's leadership and declared their allegiance to the official Left Opposition. They were earnestly welcomed, and are now working for the Left Opposition as a new force.

Despite the blow of comrade Chen Du Hsiu's arrest the work of the Left Opposition took a step forward. More public meetings and debates on theoretical and current political problems were held. More inner discussion was carried on. More members willingly went to work in the workers' districts. More pamphlets and papers were written and distributed. Larger masses were aroused under the Opposition's program. More money was collected.

But we must recognize that this is far from enough. In every respect we must make greater efforts to catch up with the objective needs and become strong enough to correct the wrong course of the Stalinists. We are now working under tremendous physical difficulties but we are sure that "the greater the effort the less the difficulty" is true.

As to our relations with you we must say that we owe you very much and expect much more from you! The scattered copies of the **Militant** that we received enabled us to learn a great deal about the experiences of the International Left Opposition and lessen our mistakes.

* * * *

Our organ is called the **Vanguard.** We have now published six issues. Besides this we have a workers' newspaper which is a weekly and a student weekly, four issues of which have been published. If you can find a Chinese comrade to translate them we will send you some copies.

—LEFT OPPOSITION OF NORTH CHINA.

Oppositionists Expelled from I.L.D.

YOUNGSTOWN.—

On December 29, four workers were admitted to the ILD here in Youngstown. Three of us entered as Left Oppositionists. Our purpose as we stated at the time of our admission was to help in building up the ILD as a weapon of defense against the capitalist class.

About a week ago we met the section organizer of the ILD on the street. She told us that the four of us were expelled from the ILD, in our absence, without a hearing and an opportunity to defend ourselves before the membership. When we asked her what the charges were, she said: "Because of being renegades and counter-revolutionists." That is because we are Left Oppositionists. The fourth worker is comrade Love, a foundation member of the party in Youngstown, now sympathetic to the Lovestone group.

On Friday, January 27, we went to the general membership meeting to ask the comrades whether what the section organizer had told us was true, and to demand that we be given our rights as workers to be heard in our defense. The bureaucrats tried to get around this elementary workers' right by ruling that the ILD meeting was a closed meeting and telling all those who were not members to leave. Two workers who had come to the meeting to join protested.

The membership saw the sense of their protest and our demand. Together with them we succeeded in getting the question on the agenda. At this point Rogers, section organizer of the party, left the meeting and went into the cellar.

After a discussion conducted, surprisingly enough, in a comradely spirit, we came to the vote. There were about eighteen members present. The chairman who, as far as bureaucratic procedure is concerned has nothing to learn from John L. Lewis, counted nine votes for our expulsion. **And that, as far as he was concerned, was the end of the matter.** Despite our protests no vote against was taken; nor were the abstentions recorded.

The Left Opposition comrades rose and left demonstratively. Love remained declaring that he was a member of the ILD and would not be expelled by such bureaucratic procedure. The bureaucrats attacked him. The noise of the fight reached us on the street. We rushed back to separate the comrades and prevent the interference of the police.

The workers in the hall were decidedly against this disgraceful scene. Their interference, however, was temporarily postponed by the sudden appearance of Rogers. He rushed in and drew a murderous wood scraper from his coat. Brandishing this he made for the Left Opposition comrades. He might have killed us had not the workers, alarmed by this lunatic, forced him to curb his lust. "Comrades of the party", he shouted, "throw them out." The workers anxious to put an end to the whole business threw us out.

But this is no solution. The workers must understand that it is not the Left Opposition that must be thrown out but the maniacal bureaucrats. The Left Opposition will continue to press forward in Youngstown, as elsewhere, with the ideas of Marxism. Not all the murderous bureaucrats in the Stalinist apparatus can stifle the voice of the proletarian revolutionists. We will return to the ILD and the party. —S. F.

The "Save The Militant" Drive

To date our comrades and friends have responded to our appeals with the following amounts:

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The Danger of Thermidor

An Analysis of the Significance of Stalin's Latest Speech

(Continued from page 1)

says, "to buy and sell at will". From whom and to whom? To and from the one who offers the right prices, whether it be the state, a private dealer, or a foreign capitalist. The peasant strike for the freedom of internal trade leads immediately to the demand for the abolition of the monopoly of foreign trade. That is the logic of the mistakes of the Five Year Plan.

In his speech Stalin gave the summary. As to this we shall speak in a separate article. But in planned economy the statistical balance sheet corresponds to the economic balance sheet only in case the plan is correct. A plan full of mistakes, on the contrary, can compromise or even annul the greatest successes. The Five Year Plan has brought enormous gains in technique and in production. But its economic results are extraordinarily contradictory. As far as the political balance-sheet is concerned, it shows an open and very great deficit. But politics is condensed, concentrated economy. Politics is decisive. A socialist construction, which drives a wedge between the worker and the peasant and sows dissatisfaction among the proletariat is a lying construction. No figures can change this objective estimation. The real balance is not given on the pages of the newspapers, but in the fields of the peasants. In the barns of the kolkhozes, in the warehouses of the factories, in the dining-rooms of the workers and finally, in the heads of the workers and of the peasants.

Through all its zig-zags, its delays, its forward-leaps, bureaucratic Centrism has not strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, but on the contrary, has increased the danger of Thermidor. Only cowards can fear to name this result out loud. Facts are stronger than words. In order to struggle against inimical facts, we must call them by their right names. We must also call those responsible by their names; Stalin and his clique.

Why do we speak precisely of **Thermidor?** Because it is the best known and most complete historical example of a masked counter-revolution which still contains the outward forms and the ritual of the revolution, but which already changes the class content of the state. Here the clever ones will interrupt us, to show their cleverness, "In 18th century France, it was a question of a bourgeois revolution, in 20th century Russia, of a proletarian revolution; social conditions have changed considerably, the world situation has changed, etc., etc." With such commonplaces any Philistine takes on an appearance of extraordinary profundity. For us too, the difference between the October revolution and the Jacobin revolution is no mystery. But that is no reason for turning one's back on history. Lenin wrote in 1903 that the Bolshviks are Jacobins who are inseparably bound up with the working class. At that time I replied to Lenin explaining in detail the difference between Marxist and Jacobin. My remarks, correct in themselves, completely failed of their purpose. Lenin knew well that Marxist and Jacobin are not the same thing, but it was necessary for a definite reason for him to point out the features which they have **in common.** Without such methods one can learn absolutely nothing from history.

In the same sense in which Lenin called the Bolsheviks the proletarian Jacobins, we can detect in the reaction against the dictatorship of the proletariat, features of Thermidor. Not every counter-revolution can be compared with Thermidor neither; Kornilov, nor Koltchak, nor Lenikin, nor Wrangel had anything in common with Thermidor. In all these cases it was a question of an armed struggle of capitalists and landowners to restore their domination. This danger was repulsed by the proletarian state. Can this danger rise up agin? As an independent factor—scarcely. The Russian big bourgeoisie has been destroyed to the roots. The surviving remains could appear on the stake only as the tail-end of a foreign military intervention or of Thermidor.

Of all the past counter-revolutionary movements in the Soviet Union, the Kronstadt rebellion of March 1921 is the closest to Thermidor in type. All the proletarian elements of the Kronstadt garrison had been removed during the three preceding years for the purposes of Soviet construction and the civil war; the best of them had been destroyed. On the ships and in the barracks remained only the immature, half-starved peasant elements. Many of these sailors considered themselves as Bolsheviks, but they did not want the Commune; they were for the Soviets, but without Communists. It was the rebellion of the injured, dissatisfied peasantry, which had lost its patience, against the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the petty bourgeoisie had won, it would have shown its bankruptcy the next day, and its place could only have been taken by the big bourgeoisie. Under the conditions of the present day, that is, of the 20th and not of the 18th century, years would not have been necessary for this; months, even weeks, would have sufficed. **The petty bourgeois counter-revolution, which still honestly regards itself as revolution, which does not want the domination of capitalism, but inevitably prepares it—that is Thermidor.**

In the Soviet Union, only the peasantry can become a Thermidorian power. For this it is necessary that it seriously separate itself from the proletariat. The destruction of the normal relation between city and village, the administrative collectivization, the compulsory expropriation of agricultural products, confront the peasantry with the Soviet state now no less sharply than in the winter of 1920-21. It is true that the proletariat is now numerically much stronger; therein lies the success of industrialization. But the proletariat is completely deprived of an active, watchful Party, capable of action. The apparent Party is without a Marxian leadership. On the other hand, the peasantry has acquired an organizaiton for resistance against the Soviet state, in the form of the kolkhozes. The abolition of the "smytchka" which was beginning to be formed, threatens to break the political alliance between proletariat and peasantry. Precisely therein lies the source of the danger of Thermidor.

We must not represent the matter to ourselves in such a way, that the break must be marked by a very exact social line; on the one side the peasants, on the other, the workers. The peasant masses surround and interlock with the proletariat from all sides. In the proletariat itself there are millions who have just come from the village. Finally, the open mistakeness of the policies of the leadership, the shipwreck of bureaucratic adventurism, the absence of a clear orientation, the absolute choking-off of workers' democracy—all this makes even the genuine worker accessible to the pressure of petty-bourgeois ideology. Therein lies the second source of danger of Thermidor.

But we also must not think that the line of fracture will have to go somewhere between the party on the one hand, and the peasantry and a part of the working class on the other. No—the line of Thermidor would inevitably have to pass through the party itself. In his will, Lenin wrote, "Our party is supported by two classes. For this reason, an upset of its stability is possible, and if no agreement between both classes can exist, the breakdown of the party is inevitable....in such a case, no measures could prevent a split (of the party—L. T.); but I confidently expect such a possibility will prove too remote, such an event too improbable, to need to be discussed". Lenin in those days expressed the certainty that ten to twenty years of correct policy toward the peasantry would assure the victory of the proletarian revolution on the world scale. Precisely for this reason he thought—and we all did too—that the perspectives of Thermidor were not only far off, but also highly improbable.

Of the ten to twenty years indicated by Lenin, ten have already passed. On the field of the international revolution, the Comintern during this period has reaped only defeats. Today, in spite of the exceptionally favorable objective conditions, Communism and consequently the international revolution is weaker than at the time when Lenin wrote his will. In addition, the danger of a split between the two classes on which the dictatorship in the USSR rests, has been extraordinarily acute.

In spite of the great difficulties, there is nothing in the economic situation of the country which cannot be repaired. But something is needed to do the repairing—a party is needed. But a party in the true sense of the word does not exist. There is an organization, which formally includes millions and millions of members and candidates. Both members and candidates have no rights. In the tight limits of the party there are in fact the terrorized elements of two parties, the proletarian and the Thermidorian. Above them rises the bureaucracy. It bears the responsibility for the mistakes in economic policy, for the undermining of the "symtchka". It bears a still heavier responsibility for choking the party. At the same time, as through its policy it confronts hostilely the peasantry and the state, it has politically disarmed and split up the proletariat. Not only do the workers physically wander from one factory to another, but politically too they find no permanent place.

It would be false to assume that the line of the Thermidorian split must pass between the Stalinist apparatus and the Right wing of the party. No—it must pass through the apparatus itself. What percentage of Bessedovskys and Agabekovs does it contain? That, even the betrayers of tomorrow do not know. All depends on the relation of forces outside of the apparatus. It needs only a sufficient blow from the petty bourgeoisie for the bureaucratic Thermidorians to recognize themselves and to leap over the wall that separates them from the class enemy. Therein lies the third source of danger of Thermidor.

But, someone from the Stalinists or their admirers will say, "Don't you see that the C. C. is preparing to purge the party of the Right wingers? Just this proves that Stalin is taking measures against Thermidor". "No", we will answer, "the bureaucratic 'purging' only facilitates the work of Thermidor." The new purging, like all those that have preceded it in the course of the past ten years, will be directed primarily against the Left Opposition, and in general against the thinking and the most critical proletarian elements. In spite of the official slogan, "The main danger is to the Right"—Rykov too repeats this formulation now—prisons and places of exiles are being filled primarily with Left Oppositionists. Still, even when the blows fall on the Right wing they do not strengthen the Party but weaken it. Among the Right wing, besides the truly Thermidorian elements, there are hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, who are profound enemies of a capitalist restoration, but who demand the revision of the whole policy from the standpoint of the working masses in city and village. The program of these Right wingers is confused. They can for a time support Thermidor; but they can also support the revivification of the party by the revolutionary way. The Stalinist bureaucracy prevents them from understanding the situation. Through its "purging" it endeavors first of all to choke off critical thinking. Thereby it only strengthens the Right wing.

And who will do the purging? In Paris, Bessedovsky led the commission that "purged" Rakovsky. Let us never forget this. Since then the demoralization of the apparatus has gone further. In all the letters which we receive from the USSR, the most tragic note is this: "No one has confidence in another; everyone is afraid that a class enemy with a party card is next to him". Louder than anyone else, the careerists, the adventurers, the Bessedovskys and the Agabekovs will shout about the necessity for a purging. But who will purge the party of these purgers? Not the apparatus, but only the irreconcilable enemies of the absolutism of the apparatus.

Is the situation hopeless? Such words do not belong to our vocabulary. The struggle will decide. On the side of the proletarian revolution, there are many historical possibilities, negative ones; the dreadful decay of capitalism, the raging quarrels of the imperialists, the bankruptcy of reformism, as well as positive ones: the hardened cadres of the Bolshevik-Leninists, understanding the course of development, clear perspectives. The struggle will decide. The danger has grown and has come nearer—that is absolutely unquestionable. But the poison of Thermidor carries within itself too the elements of the antidote. The more immediate and the nearer the danger, the stronger becomes the need of resistance. The more the Stalinist bureaucracy loses its head, and the more its omnipotence proves to be only apparent power, the louder will be the demands of the advanced workers for a Bolshevik leadership.

The last speech of Stalin—we come back to this—means a turn to the Right. Every phrase of his bureaucratic boasting is only a concealed recognition of the falsehood of the whole "general line", which has brought the dictatorship nearer to Thermidor. The diseases and dangers will be treated by Stalin through a new bureaucratic zig-zag amidst redoubled bureaucratic terror. A redoubled struggle against Stalinism will be our answer.

Prinkipo, January 11, 1933

—LEON TROTSKY.

Hitler in Power; Civil War Starts

Fate of World Revolution in Balance

(Continued from page 1)

Hitler today is in a better position than the Hitler of several months ago. Hitler out of office has only his own forces at his disposal, the "illegal" detachments of black reaction. Hitler in office has the opportunity of strengthening the inchoate mass of demoralized petty bourgeoisie, students, and duped proletarians who compose his forces. Hitler in office has the opportunity of really creating a powerful military force. It is not yet too late to smash Hitler and Fascism—only renegades and scoundrels will speak that way to the still undefeated working class of Germany. The decisive battle is still ahead. But it is now clear beyond dispute that the warnings of the International Left Opposition, the demand it made that Hitlerism be smashed before it reached the seats of power—were justified a thousand times over. Had the slogan of the Left Opposition for a genuine united front of the Communists, socialists and the trade unions, been realized in life at the right time, many, many months ago, the Fascist monster would have been crushed like an eggshell and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat would have been far ahead on the road to victory.

Who bears the responsibility for the rise to power of Fascism? It is high time to draw the balance sheet and draw it completely.

Above all and in the first place, the leadership of the yellow social democracy. The course embarked upon in August 1914 has been crowned with the triumph of Hitlerism. It is the social democracy which first turned the masses into the slaughter house of the world war in the name of the imperialist fatherland. It is the social democracy, still in the service of the ruling class, which defended the monarchy until the last moment, when Scheidemann proclaimed the republic from the balcony of the Reichstag only in order to restrain the forces of the social revolution. It is the social democracy which sent Noske to Kiel to prevent the insurrectionary sailors from proclaiming the Red republic. It is in the name of the social democracy that Noske the Bloodhound martyred the Berlin working class during the heroic days of the Spartacan uprising in 1919. It is the social democracy which sent Hoersing to slaughter the workers of Central Germany in 1921. It is the social democracy which joined with the reaction in 1923 to strangle the rising revolutionary movement in Saxony and Thuringia.

It is the social democracy which dragged its followers down to the lowest depths of degradation, giving active or "tolerant" support to one reactionary regime after another. It is the social democracy which made possible Bruening of the Emergency Decrees. It is the social democracy which dragged the workers into the shameful policy of the "lesser evil", during which it seated in the presidential chair the present patron of Hitler—Paul von Hindenburg, generallissimo of the Kaiser's imperial armies during the war, and candidate of the social democratic "Iron Front", "bulwark of the Republic against Fascism" in 1931.

At every stage of its development in the past years, the social democracy paved the road for the march to power of Fascism, by dividing the ranks of the working class, by tying it to the chariot of the bourgeoisie, by bringing demoralization and confusion into the proletariat, by weakening it physically and morally so that its power of resistance to Fascism was appreciably lessened. Hitler will reward it for its services with the same contemptuous kick which its Italian colleagues received from Mussolini for their equally invaluable services to Fascism.

Stalinist Blunders

But the social democracy has not been the only force in the ranks of the proletariat that has served the interests of Fascism. It must be said straight out that without the criminal blundering of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International and of the German Communist Party, the Fascist hordes would not today be in the favorable position they actually occupy. The party had the matchless opportunity of mobilizing the masses of the German proletariat around the militant banner of the class struggle. It stubbornly refused to seize the opportunity. The Left Opposition was the very first to sound the alarm signal that Fascism threatened, that it had to be crushed by the united front of all the workers' organizations. We demanded that the Communist party initiate the movement for a real united front of all the workers to smash the Brown Shirts. Our demands fell on the deaf ears of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The latter operated on the theory of the "third period" and "social Fascism". No better assistance could have been offered to the Fascists on the one hand, and the Social democratic leaders on the other. Instead of building a solid front with their class brothers in the social democracy, the Communists were forced by the Stalinist leadership to enter into an indecent nationalistic competition with the Nazis.

The party reconstructed its program to read a "program of **national** and social emancipation". It allowed itself to be poisoned by the "national-Bolshevism" and anti-Semitism of the Lieutenant Scheringers. It alienated itself from the socialist masses by its criminal support of the Fascist referendum in Prussia. While the Fascists were gaining victory after victory, the party confined itself to the sterile ultimatist policy of demanding that the socialist workers concede in advance the leadership of the Communist party or else there would be no united front. The minds of the class conscious militants were hopelessly befuddled by the irresponsible Stalinist declarations that the Bruening regime was already the victory of Fascism, then, that the von Papen regime and finally the von Schleicher regime, were all the rule of the Fascism. In this manner, the vigilance of the proletariat was relaxed, its attention was diverted from the real danger, its strength was not mobilized and consolidated. When the elections showed a momentary decline of Fascism several months ago, the bureaucracy became intoxicated with its purely parliamentary successes and the parliamentary decline of the Nazis, and announced with smug self-contentment that the acute Fascist danger was at an end. The parliamentary cretins in the Stalinist ranks did not, in this case, rise above the level of their socialist brothers-under-the-skin.

The Maryland Leader, socialist organ, proclaimed in its headlines in November: "Hitler Through in Germany". The Stalinist press rang with the same refrain. At that time we warned the bureaucratic optimists in the columns of the **Militant** (November 12, 1932) not to "roar with vicarious pride over the party's gains in Germany as if the loss of two million Fascist votes and almost a million socialist votes had settled the whole problem". We emphasized how erroneous was the idea "that the Fascist danger to the German proletariat is now eliminated or even definitely on the decline. Such a conclusion can be drawn only by those for whom the class struggle begins at the ballot box and ends with a parliamentary mandate".

Unbelievable as it might appear, the **Daily Worker,** as late as last Monday, that is, on the very day of Hitler's appointment to the Chancellorship, declared that "the tactics pursued by von Schleicher of splitting the Hitler party, have also caused **widespread disintegration** in the ranks of the National Socialist party, with several of Hitler's chief lientenants breaking away from their allegiance to him" (Our emphasis). Both Schleicher and von Papen did indeed negotiate with some of Hitler's lieutenants, but only in the hope of drawing Hitler into a cabinet in an entirely subordinated position. Hitler was too wise to fall into the snare, and that is why all the "breaking away" of some lieutenants had no appreciable significance. The **Daily Worker** merely mistook Hitler's strength, his plan of campaign for the taking over of the government, for the "widespread disintegration" of Fascism! This is the way in which the Stalinists put the masses on the alert against the Fascist danger. This is how they refuted the thousand-times-over corroborated analyses of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition!

The news dispatches, which are so annoyingly inadequate and unclear, declare that the Communist and social democratic parties have formed a united front in Berlin, with eight socialists and seven Communists on the Committee of Action to resist Hitlerism: also, that the Communist party has issued the call for a general strike. It is still too early to comment on the exact nature or significance of these reports, for the superficiality and unreliability of the bourgeois press is only too well known.

United Front Imperative

But it is not too early to declare that unless a genuine united front of the Communist party, the social democracy, the socialist trade unions, the Reichsbanner and the Communist Red Front Fighters, is **immediately** formed, unless the Communists **immediately** take the initiative in calling for this united front and compel the social democratic leaders to enter into it—the results will be catastrophic not only for the German working class, but for the working class movement of the whole world, for the Communist International, and the Soviet Union!

A crushing defeat for the working class of Germany means a crushing defeat of the Communist party, for it is the first organization against which the attacks of the brigands of Hitler's shock troop detachments—assisted by the armed forces of the state—will be directed. A mortal blow at the German Communist Party, means the breaking of the backbone of the Communist International, and for this calamity we declare that the Stalinist leadership of the International will have been primarily responsible. A lasting triumph of Fascism in Germany, furthermore, is inconceivable without an armed attack upon the Soviet Union. Fascism in Germany can maintain itself in the face of chauvinist France only if it becomes the vanguard of the imperialist intervention against the arch-enemy of imperialism—the Soviet Union. The consequences of a Fascist triumph are thus, it is easy to see, of far-reaching historical import for the whole ensuing period.

That is why the Left Opposition cries out today more loudly than ever: The Communist International must speak out in the language of Lenin, in defense of the international proletarian revolution, in defense of the German working class. It must speak out for the mobilization of the world proletariat to crush the monster of Fascism in Germany. It must speak out to say how this is to be done, for it can be done successfully in only one way: by the establishment of a Leninist united front of the whole German proletariat.

To smash Fascism is an obligation and task of the workers everywhere. Upon the class conscious militants and the Communist workers in this country, devolves the solemn duty of joining with the Left Opposition to force that turn in party policy which is now so absolutely imperative, without which the worst calamities are ahead. Our call to the party to form the united front to smash Fascism before it took the governmental helm—was not heeded, and the proletariat in Germany and the rest of the world has been set back accordingly. Today again we repeat: It is not too late! But the time to act is now!

The fate of the German working class, of the Communist International, of the Soviet Union, of the world revolution, hangs in the balance!

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Shall the Revolutionary Students Be Organized Into Separate Movements

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

The existence for some time now of the National Students League in the United States, organized through the instrumentality of the Communist party and YCL, requires from the Left Opposition a fundamental statement of its attitude toward the NSL. Can the Communists stand by quietly when there is formed an independent students' organization, with its own programmatic policy? Moreover, can Communists assist in, and be responsible for, the formation of such independent student organizations?

The recent activities of the NSL and its assumption of various roles in the class struggle bring this question sharply to the forefront and demand a clear enunciation of policy on our part. The organization recently of the Students League of Canada only adds to the need for clarification on the question. The writer presents his views here in sketched form in order to initiate a discussion which will speed the adoption of a position by the Left Opposition. Communists in principle, must oppose, in our opinion, the formation of an independent or separate organization of either the students or the intellectuals. This position, which has been the principle position of the Communists and the Young Communist International in theses adopted at the second congress of the Y. C. L., requires no revision today.

Role of Students

The students have no independent role to play in society and require no separate organization. The division of the students may be roughly made into rich, middle class or petit-bourgeois and proletarian students. Even so, the particular social, economic and political positions of these groupings in society negate any idea that these groups can have an independent role in the class struggle as student groups. Our concern here is mainly with the proletarian students who have historically no interests separate and apart from the industrial proletariat, from the working class as such. The proletarian students to be at all effective in the labor movement, must link themselves organizationally and politically with the vanguard of the revolutionary movement—the Communist party and the YCL, and conduct such activities as they are able to on a Communist program. The Communist student would necessarily, therefore, direct his energies primarily among the proletarian students.

The matter becomes even clearer when it is seen that the National Students League and the Students League of Canada are not formed on the basis of a "broad" student organization which supposedly might appeal to **all classes** of students for the preservation of student rights and needs on the campus, or conduct "general propaganda" and education for liberal, socialist or revolutionary ideas. Both Student Leagues, on the contrary, recognize the weakness of such a position and make their appeal on a "revolutionary" or even "Communistic" basis. In fact, they regard themselves as Communist student organizations. The **Spark,** official organ of the Students League of Canada, is most clear and explicit on the matter of the character of its appeal to the student body. In the issue of December 1932, the **Spark** editorially says:

"....The majority of students...are not members of the proletariat, even though a good many come from working class homes. Because of this fact Marxism, however logical, can have no appeal to most university students for it **is inimical to the interests of their class.** Accordingly, the Students League has no illusions regarding the student body as a whole....We only aim to attract the **small number of students who see an identity between their interests and those of the working class and who are, therefore, willing to take an active part in the working class movement.** After all, a few active members are far more valuable than is a passive recognition of the validity of our views from the majority of the student body—and again on this latter score we have no illusions." (Our emphasis).

What the **Spark** says is correct. But if there is this identity of interests between the students minority, that is, the proletarian students and the workers, then why a separate organization? What are those special tasks of so-called revolutionary or Communist student organizations which cannot better and more correctly be performed in the revolutionary political organization of the youth—the Young Communist League? In our opinion, none; and such an independent student organization can only lead to confusion and malpractices in the revolutionary movement, and bring about just the opposite results from those intended, as will be shown.

The Communist Left Opposition particularly has every reason to reject the organization of separate students organizations. The Left Opposition, in its condemnation of the Stalinists, has stated often, and correctly, its opposition in principle to the creation of so-called "anti-imperialist" Leagues, "peasants" parties, "workers and peasants parties", labor or Farmer-Labor parties, etc., etc. We condemn the formation of these bodies on the ground that they usurp, or attempt to, the role legitimately and necessarily belonging to the Communist party, and, further, that every concession to the formation and activity of such organizations brings successive betrayals of the working class, emasculates and caricatures the revolutionary position, and weakens or destroy the Communist party or YCL. In short, the theoretical position of the Left Opposition, based on historical experiences, refuses to attribute an independent or revolutionary role to such hodge-podge bodies. Our attitude toward the NSL and the Students League of Canada must flow clearly from our fundamental position to analogous organizations in other fields. In the case of an independent students organization, the issue is even plainer.

The Left Opposition contends that the role of a "peasants" party, an "anti-imperialist League", a "four class Kuo Min Tang", a Labor party, etc., proves in every case to be false to, a betrayal of, and reactionary in relation to the working class as a whole, and also, thereby, to the Communists and their organizations, the C. P. and YCL. In such cases, where "independent" organizations like the NSL pretend to a "revolutionary", even Communist position, they place themselves directly in the road of the genuine revolutionization of the proletarian students who, if they accept the revolutionary, the Communist position, should join the organization of their class, the YCL, and function actively therein in their alloted tasks. Wittingly or otherwise, the "revolutionary" position of the NSL, sponsored and organized by the YCL, actually forms a bulwark against—**and not a bridge to**—students joining the YCL. Yet what is demanded of them in the way of profession of belief and activity in the NSL that is not demanded of them in the YCL—minus the discipline required of a member of the YCL? Little or nothing, under ordinary circumstances.

It is demonstrated, not merely in theory but by numerous practices, that when the students or intellectuals undertake tasks, in lieu of no objection by others, which are not theirs historically and which they cannot properly execute—they bungle the job badly, confuse and mislead the workers, ignore the revolutionary position and, by default, usurp the role which only a C. P. or YCL can undertake. They are not to blame, since no one says them nay, and, worse yet, the Communists themselves urge them on in their false steps.

MARTIN ABERN.

(To be continued)

How Far Will The Stalinists Go?

The Swing to Opportunism in Chicago

Close observation of the recent zig-zags in the party's united front policy would lead one to draw one of the following conclusions: 1. That the Stalinists have set themselves the task of devitalizing the united front tactic; 2. That the mad zig-zag results from utter confusion; 3. That they are caught in the contradiction of a fundamentally wrong course hitherto pursued. Discounting the first which would be true only if Stalinism had already severed its weak bonds with the working class one must accept the second and third explanation.

We, in Chicago, are rather fortunate in having been able to watch and in some cases participate in every shade of united front conference, from the ultra-Left sectarian, vest-pocket, united front "from below" species, to the ultra-Right opportunist policy in the present aldermanic election campaign. But our good fortune lies, perhaps, after all in being able to participate in the genuine united front movement which defeated the threatened 50 percent cut in unemployed relief.

The Change in Chicago

The Oct. 16th conference marked the first faltering step of the party, away from the "below" policy. Suddenly, out of the clear sky, amid the loud chanting of ultra-Left hymns "from below", the party found itself faced with the dilemma of either participating in the united front movement together with other ORGANIZATIONS and thus deviate from the line thus far followed, or boycott the impending united front of the Workers' League and the Workers' Committee and thus disgrace itself completely It wisely chose to participate and later tried to justify itself by a process of rationalization. All at once the Stalinists decided to run the risk of staining their simon purity and sat at the same table with reformist leaders whom it but a moment ago stigmatized as "social-fascists". The victory won by this unity of action proved the correctness of the Left Opposition's position on the united front. But in no way can the success of the united front be credited to the party. The fact is that the party leaders were forced into the united front in the same way as were the socialist leaders. And it must also be remembered that if anyone came near wrecking the Conference, it was none other than the party's representative, Williamson, with his provocative speech, previously commented on in the **Militant.**

So great was the force of this united front that it shook the party out of its political lethargy and resulted in the Verblin—Williamson polemic in the December **Communist.** For the first time in years, were the pages of the **Communist** invaded by heterodox opinion. Verblin actually succeeded in setting forth his views which, while not drawing 100 percent political conclusions, nevertheless presented an essentially correct position on the united front. While Williamson and other party sages labored to refute Verblin and justify their own position, the customary fervor was noticeably lacking. Certainly the "Leninist leadership" could not afford to have its infallibility questioned. Self-preservation still remains the first law of nature, politically as well as biologically.

Subsequent events seem to point however to the possibility that the first step away from the "below" policy in Chicago has resulted in a national turn. The recent call for a united front in New York seems to point in that direction. It is quite possible that the Stalinists have decided to scrap at least part of the "below" policy secretly and without the knowledge of the party membership and start a turn to the Right. If this be so then we have much to fear. Under the Stalinist leadership the party proceeds in its turns in a very similar fashion to that of the proverbial drunken sailor who, in attempting to make progress, reels and staggers from the wall on the one side of the road to the ditch on the other. The results of the 1928-29 turn are still fresh in our minds. There is no telling to what opportunist extremes the present Right turn will carry the party. In this respect recent experiences in Chicago are rather indicative.

Students Congress against War

That the "anti-war" adventure would turn out to be a great farce was evident from the start. In sheer despair over the utter impossibility of creating a single "below" united front, the International Stalinist leadership conceived the Amsterdam substitute which no sooner flickered up than it went up in smoke; but not before begetting the Chicago miscarriage in the form of the Student Congress. Engineered by the young Stalinists, this Congress carefully segregated the students from the working class youth. The YCL with its formally "Communist" anti-war program was very conspicuous by not having even a single delegate, in spite of the fact that it was the YCL that really organized the whole thing. Instead they preferred to masquerade behind the Students League which, proceeding along pacifist lines to the last moment, was planning to organize a permanent anti-war organization using the Anti-Imperialist League as a model.

The intervention of the Left Opposition youth was the intervention of the subjective factor which prevented downright degeneration into pacifism and forced the adoption of a formally "correct" though still treacherously ambiguous resolution in the end. But our intervention was insufficient to make something decisive out of this Congress. In their haste to record another paper achievement, the young Stalinists and the old ones to for that matter, forgot to do a very simple thing: they completely forget to raise a concrete issue for the united front. They came to the congress to work out an anti-war **PROGRAM** with the socialists and pacifists. The result of course was that no unity was achieved on any point. Like its deceased progenitor, this Congress gave up its ghost as soon as the last session was adjourned. The silence of the Stalinist press on the "achievements" of this Congress, is more eloquent than any words in proving their disappointment in the whole affair. From our standpoint, quick death is the best thing that could happen to an unnatural monstrosity of this sort.

The Aldermanic Elections

Having stumbled over the anti-war fiasco on the Right, does not seem to have dampened their spirits. On the contrary Stalinism in Chicago continues to careen madly further to the Right, plunging into the swamp of opportunism up to the neck. Bourgeoisie tradition would have it, that in Chicago, Aldermanic candidates do not run on party tickets. In actual practise this is of course not followed and all candidates are supported by one party or the other. But suddenly the Communist party has voluntarily become the dupe of this parliamentary subterfuge.

Instead of running candidates on its own ticket in the various wards, the party has resorted to other measures. United front conference were called in some wards by some mysterious "united front of workingmen's organization" and anonymously in other wards to nominate a "workers' candidate". At these conferences, any worker regardless of his organizational affiliation who agrees to the proposed platform and received the majority of the votes of the delegates present, would stand as the candidate that the party would support. Unfortunately the platform consists entirely of minimum immediate demands on which a Socialist or any bourgeois demagogue could run just as well as a Communist.

In one ward on the South Side this almost came to pass. It happened that a bank clerk of a decidedly bourgeois turn of mind almost received the nomination. Had that happened, the Communist party would either have had to keep its promise and support a bourgeoisie candidate or break its "pledge" and place a Communist rival in the field. One may well shudder at the consequences of a consistent policy flowing from the party's premise.

Moreover, the policy seems to be to hide the face of the party as much as possible in the present campaign. In this connection, the following anecdote, related to the writer by a party sympathizer is of interest. This sympathizer was one night visited by a committee which requested him to sign a petition for a "workers' candidate" for alderman. Upon inquiry as to the party affiliation of the candidate, the committee replied that he was not connected with any political party. Asked specifically whether this candidate was a Communist, the committee emphatically denied it. Whereupon this sympathizer refused to give his signature. The following night another committee came to see him about signing for the same candidate. They behaved in exactly the same manner as the first committee, and again did not receive the man's signature. Only after inquiry among party members of his acquaintance, was the secret finally divulged to this man that the candidate is a Communist.

To such depths of parliamentary opportunism has the Stalinist leadership dragged the party—to a united Labor ticket forsooth. In vain it seems, did the Second Congress of the C. I. elaborate a thesis on Communist parliamentary tactics. In vain all the writings of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht against the parliamentary opportunism of the Second International. It is all lost on the Stalinists.

But after all the present tactics in Chicago differ from the tactics in the presidential election campaign only in degree. Whereas in the presidental elections the revolutionary aim of the party were carefully avoided and all emphasis laid on six badly chosen reformist demands; the Chicago campaign has gone to the extent of avoiding the open and clear mention of the party. And having gone to the Right to this extent, who knows where they will stop?

All the greater is the responsibility of the Left Opposition at this moment. All the greater must be our efforts to swing back the party to the correct path. A gigantic task no doubt. The coarse mocking voice of Stalin at the 15th Congress is heard across the years: "Just imagine a small boat which can hardly float on the surface of the sea...and imagine a splendid steamer which majestically cuts through the waves and advances with full confidence. What would you say if this small boat should come to save this huge steamer?" Laughter greeted this asinine humor. Laughter of officials who had ignorantly and bureaucratically sent away the trained helmsmen and navigators in a small boat together with the charts and compass. And this in the name of the passengers' interests. The "advance with full confidence" has now become a blind drift towards dangerous shoals. Only the intervention of the "small boat" can prevent political disaster on the reefs of opportunism.

Chicago, Ill. —N. SATIR.

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Confusion Marks Stalinist Policy on Fight Against War

(Continued from last issue)

We pointed out that it was impossible for the students to play any independent role, but that it must lend its support to the revolutionary workers. This statement made a good impression upon the Communist delegates and threw the leaders of the congress into a state of horror. The corridor remarks on the "activity of the god-damn Trotskyites" began. The Stalinists considered giving the Opposition delegates the bum's-rush out of the congress. We have no doubt as to the discomfort of the Stalinists. Our presence was unquestionably a thorn in their side and they would have preferred to refuse us admission. But in attempting to make the congress extremely broad (it could hardly have been broader) they could not very well raise the question of the admission of Oppositionists without at once causing a struggle on the floor. The Opposition was represented by thirteen regular delegates, (three sympathizers who were regular delegates) and four alternate delegates. This small group was the clearest political section of the congress.

The first act of the Opposition caucus was a proposal made to the NSL and the YCL for a joint caucus of the Left wing delegates to agree upon policy and present a united action against pacifism and socialism in the congress. Our aim was to fight for the acceptance of a Communist position on the part of the NSL delegates first and then to propose such a policy for adoption by the congress. Our proposal for a joint Left wing caucus was rejected by the Stalinists on the excuse that "it was decided not to hold any caucus. This congress will not be run by any caucuses"! Actually of course, the refusal was because they would have nothing to do with the Opposition.

The congress divided into gronpings at once (as if this was unavoidable). The outstanding tendencies were represented by Communism, socialism and pacifism. At times the struggle between these tendencies were extremely sharp, toward the close of the congress threatening on split. The important day of the congress was the second and final day, since at this session actual resolutions, program and organization would take place. The Opposition caucus in session the night before prepared a general resolution (See **Militant** No. 2, Vol. 6) on the struggle against war and appended to it one on the defense of the Soviet Union. We reiterated our position as embodied in the statements and added to it the practical proposals also. This resolution was presented to the resolutions committee.

The most important session of the congress was the report of the resolutions committee. Here the congress was presented with a number of minor resolutions that carried without any difficulties. Because no resolutions were prepared in advance, no program was worked up prior to the congress; all of that was done on the congress floor in the midst of the session. At this session the resolutions were run off the mimeograph and discussed simultaneously. With such organization no serious discussion could be held. A resolution supporting the pledge of Amsterdam carried. The Opposition delegates did not vote on this in line with the general position of the Opposition at Amsterdam. Similarly with the resolution on practical activity, we were prepared at a genuine conference to propose a minimum program of activity. For this congress our chief aim was to get the congress to adopt a correct resolution and to recognize that by itself it could do nothing; that it must follow the working class and adopt a program in accordance with revolutionary principles. There is no other way out on the question of war. That is why our resolution stressed fundamentals above all.

The surprise of the congress came with the presentation of the main resolution. This resolution, coming upon the pre-congress preparations, the attitude of the leaders of the congress, the early sessions of the congress, was a complete surprise because it marked a decisive change in the right direction. It must be said that in general (we are not concerned at the moment with the practical points contained at the end of the resolution upon which the opposition did not vote) this resolution was correct. It was correct in analyzing the question of war as the product of capitalism, the solution of which will come with the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society. It was correct in establishing (for the first time) that the students could not play an independent role but must join hands with the working class; it stressed the need of the defense of the Soviet Union; it came out against a permanent organization. The question immediately arises: how is it that the resolution was written in this manner, one which marked a complete right about face? I believe that the NSL was dominated by two factors: had the delegation of the pacifists and socialist been larger or equal to the Communist delegation the resolution would have conformed with the pre-congress preparations, it would have been an opportunist one. But in view of the overwhelming delegation of Communists and Communist sympathizers, the organizers of the congress felt at ease in the presentation of a revolutionary position. In addition, the Left Opposition, which had its material in the hands of all the delegates and put pressure upon the Communists, was a strong factor.

The efforts of the leaders of the NSL to laugh off the influence of the Opposition fails miserably when it is recalled how insistent they were in making clear that no resolutions were prepared beforehand, and in defending the whole pre-congress period. One must read the main resolution of the congress alongside a copy of the Opposition resolution to see how on the political questions, the similarity is marked. We insist that the resolutions committee which had no resolution of its own, plagiarized the resolution of the Opposition which was not read to the congress. The resolution did not contain every point of the Opposition resolution, but the main ones were present in it. Because of the manner in which the congress was proceeding the Opposition delegates felt that it was well-nigh impossible to read our resolution from the floor, and because of similarity of the main political views expressed in the congress resolution it was decided to withhold the struggle from the floor. However, several amendments were made by us. Our amendment to include unconditional defense of the Soviet Union in the main resolution was defeated primarily through the active intervention of the YCL delegates who feared that this would create unnecessary schisms in the congress. But a lengthy amendment present by one of the Canadian delegates (Canadian Students League) taken from the resolution of the Opposition (See **Militant,** No. 2, Vol. 6, "The present world crisis....who alone can overthrow capitalism") was accepted by the congress. On the resolution calling for the recognition of the Soviet Union, an amendment introduced by an Opposition delegate for the issuance of the slogan of "economic collaboration with and the extension of long term credits to the Soviet Union" was rejected, once again, by the interference of the YCL delegates (the YCL delegates referred to, represented the National Students League).

(To be continued)

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

It is a far cry from the peaceful, agitational phase of the Japanese labor movement at the time of the Russo-Japanese War to the necessarily stern and virile movement of the present time. At that time the Japanese Social Democrats wrote their famous greetings to the Russian comrades despite the reality of the imperialist war into which both governments had plunged the two nations. The Japanese workers, struggling against nationalist jingoism and capitalist imperialism, understood clearly the international aspect of their movement. Yet they had not advanced beyond the stage where they could say: "We are neither nihilists nor terrorists, but we are Social Democrats. We object absolutely to using military force in our fighting. We have to fight by peaceful means, by reason and speech." Lenin replied to these historic greetings in Iskra and his words stand out today, the day of open violence and organized terror against the Japanese workers, in startling boldness and with striking applicability; "Amid the jingoistic chorus of both countries, their voice sounds as a herald from that better world, which, though it exists today only in the mind of the class-conscious proletariat, will become a reality tomorrow We do not know when that "tomorrow" will come. But we, the Social Democrats the world over, are all working to bring it nearer and nearer. We are digging a grave for the miserable today—the present social order. We are organizing the forces which will finally bury it. Force against force, violence against violence! And in saying this we speak neither as nihilists nor as terrorists....What is important for us is the feeling of solidarity, which the Japanese comrades have expressed in their message to us. We send them a hearty greeting. Down with militarism! Hail to the international social democracy!"

THE EPOCH OF WARS AND REVOLUTIONS

Ours is a stormy epoch, an epoch of profound upheavals. Capitalist civilization, its contradictions laid bare before the entire world, its component parts warring against each other, is bankrupt and threatens chaos unless the vanguard of the workers leads the proletariat along the only road out. But leadership is not a mechanical process, it is dynamic and creative and, after clear-sighted analysis of each situation, it must carefully choose the proper weapons for the struggle.

THE GREAT OBSTACLE

The vanguard must know above all how to unite and rally the workers for the march to power. This road remains blocked and impassable so long as the majority of the working class remain under the deadening influence of the reformists and opportunists. Mere denouncing of these misleaders as social Fascists, not only does not accomplish anything, but tends to alienate the masses still under the yoke of the reformists. Surely the Japanese Communists, the vanguard of a movement that has from the first shown itself sensitive to the bitter lessons of the international proletariat, have learned from the experience in China with Chiang Kai-Shek, the need for a separate, unified Communist party. But surely also they have learned from a study of the German situation for the past several years, the danger of alienating themselves from the masses, the aid given to the reformist leaders by the Stalinist blunders in united front tactics. In Japan the acuteness of the crisis, the crushing of workers and peasants under the heels of the imperialists, offers an unexampled opportunity to unite the workers in struggle. As in every country, the immediate demands must be for relief for the unemployed and the starving, then the workers must be rallied together to demand unemployment insurance. But particularly in Japan, the struggle for bread can be linked directly with the struggle for peace, against militarism. The workers and peasants starve while the government wastes huge sums to maintain an army of conquest. Remember the rice riots!

SPECIAL TASKS OF THE JAPANESE PARTY

The Japanese face the task, as in no other country, of liberating women through organization, first in unions, then in the Party. Young girls and women form the majority of factory workers, the overwhelming majority of textile workers, Japanese women, like all women of the East, have been kept in virtual slavery in the home as well as in the shops and factories. Theirs has been the duty of unquestioning obedience. It is of utmost significance that divorces in Japan are three times as great in number as in America, the classic land of divorce. The reason for this is the wretched position of the woman in the home. Signs are not lacking that the working women of Japan are learning to throw in their lot with that of the organized workers. But organization of women kept in dormitories is necessarily difficult. All unions can surely be united in the fight against this vicious system which has actually been utilized on occasion to starve women into subjection where they have had the courage to strike.

THE ETA

The second special task of the Communists is to secure the cooperation of the outcaste Etas of Japan. The three million or so Etas have an organization of their own, the Suiheisha or Equality Society. This society with its 200,000 members played an important role in organizing the first labor party. The Etas, rough toilers, not afraid of violence, took a most active part in the rice riots of 1918. They live in separate villages generally shunned by the forces of law and order. The Communists must see to it that these sturdy outcasts are not misled into dissipating their energy entirely in a fight for social equality, important as such a fight is. The Etas are inevitably part of the working class and must be taught the importance of struggling for the interests of the entire working class. At the same time the other workers must prove their willingness to accept the Etas into their organizations on an equal footing.

THE ARMY

Conscription makes of the Japanese army essentially a peasant army with a peasant psychology. The army is at the same time the strength and the weakness of Japanese imperialism. The peasants are not suddenly metamorphosed in the army; they remain the potential rebellion. They cannot help but wonder at the contrast between the misery and starvation in the homes they have just left, and the care taken of their health and "welfare" in the army. As cannon-fodder they are evidently worth far more than as toilers on the land.

The army is the armed peasantry and workers. It is in this sense that Communists must propagandize the army, bringing home the meaning of the contrasts between civilian and military life, showing that the starvation at home is the direct result of the use of the army abroad. The Chinese comrades have in this respect a duty whose fulfillment may prove decisive. They must aid their Japanese comrades to spread Communist propaganda among the troops. It may well be that if the next phase of the Chinese revolution, resulting from the Japanese aggression, once more brings the Chinese proletariat in the arena of struggle. The red heat of the Chinese revolution will communicate its intensity to the Japanese army.

The soldier workers and peasants must be fore-warned particularly against their use as tools to set up a Bonapart to stave off the revolution. The military clan in Japan, the dictators to both the Emperor and the Shadow government ever since the Restoration, is ready to proclaim army rule at a moment's notice. The generals are not lacking in Bonapartist aspirations. The Machiavellian role of the military clique in keeping workers and peasants under the heavy yoke of exploitation by using a special (armed) part of the working class and peasantry, must be emphasized in soldier propaganda. Not Fascism is the danger in Japan but Bonapartism (military "mediation" between the classes) due to the special historic status of the generals. Bourgeois democracy has never been established in reality and hence need not be swept aside.

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION.

It is unthinkable that the present crisis in Japan can pass without profound changes. It is the extreme instability of Japanese economy that forces the army into Manchuria in search of desperate remedies. The war of conquest threatens to precipitate world war at any moment, on the one hand with the U. S., on the other with the USSR. To the revolutionist, it is utterly out of the question to think of helping to precipitate an imperialist war (between the U. S. and Japan) in order to avoid an attack on the Soviet Union, as has been in the minds of some. Just as inconceivable is it to think of any alliance between the U. S. and the USSR against Japan. Imperialism must be fought on all fronts, more especially on the home front. And if war nevertheless results, the Japanese workers long ago set an example of solidarity for all the world (of workers) to follow.

The revolutionary way out is only through the proletarian revolution. In Japan the situation is a rapidly-changing one. Under mass pressure, the capitalists, to save their own skins, may attempt to lead the workers and peasants against the militarists. The Communist must know in advance how to act in such an eventuality. If the capitalists are permitted to place themselves undisputedly at the head of the peasants, the revolution is doomed to failure. The Communists at the head of the proletariat must teach the peasants to carry out in actuality their real demands—to seize the land, to refuse to pay rents, to repudiate debts—and thus assure the "democratic" phase of the revolution. But the proletariat must not stop there, it must, with the aid of the poor, overburdened petty bourgeoisie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The international proletariat, beginning with the Russians, must help in this tremendous task.

THE END.

Pioneer Publishing Fund

This is a period of abrupt turns, says comrade Trotsky in the "Strategy". That is true in our publishing plans too. We were driving along the road of getting Soviet Economy out next. Now comes the German developments. The line of march must be changed. First on the agenda stands "The Only Road".

All efforts now must be bent to get it out without delay. Already we have waited too long. That is not because of choice. Money was lacking. But in view of the burning urgency of the German situation the money must be raised. And it must be raised at once.

$50 is the sum necessary. And it must be raised in the shortest possible time. Not next month, or at some vague future time but now! It is our duty to influence the course of the party in this desperate situation. We must act with decision and speed. That is why we ask that all our comrades and sympathizers make the necessary sacrifice to get the book out quickly.

Let the donations pour in. Let them take whatever size and form our comrades can manage. But let them come quickly. Speed is vital. Act quickly. Send funds to **Pioneer Publishers,** 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Militant Builders

THE COPENHAGEN SPEECH

Do you know that the issue containing comrade Trotsky's speech to the social democratic students at Copenhagen was a political sensation? Requests for additional copies are coming in. We want to inform our comrades here that we understand well the burning desire on the part of everyone who reads it to have everyone else read it too. That will have to wait now until we get it out in pamphlet form. There are no more of the issue left.

But what is important at the moment now is: what have you done using the opportunity this speech created to get subs on the club plan? Not enough, according to the results that have come to hand. Lack of space forbids us from sermonizing on this theme. Let the records below speak for themselves. Cities and comrades who have improved their records are noted in bold type.

THE RECORD BY CITIES:

NEW YORK	**65**
Chicago	36
Minneapolis	22
PITTSBURGH	**20**
Philadelphia	15
Montreal	15
Toronto	10
Boston	10
New Castle, Pa.	8
Youngstown	8
Lynn, Mass.	5
So. Bend, Ind.	5
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the **Militant** will contain a report by comrade Cannon of the Gillespie conference of trade unions. Comrade Cannon was the principal speaker at the conference and a mass meeting which followed it.