

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Hoover's Message

While the police of Washington were terrorizing the National Hunger Marchers who had come to the opening session of Congress to demand immediate relief and unemployment insurance, Hoover delivered his message to Congress. The message called for greater support for the bankers and a greater struggle against the workers. The highlights of the Hoover message called for: reorganization of the banking system for the bankers; greater centralization of the governmental apparatus in the interest of the imperialists. An 11 percent wage cut for the Federal employees; a cut for the Veteran Fund; reduction of government building and expense; and a sales tax to shift a greater share of the tax burden to the workers and the middle class. Hoover may not be the next president but Hoover is making haste to serve the imperialists and beat down the workers further before he turns the job over to Roosevelt and the Democrats.

Hoover dealt primarily with the internal difficulties of the capitalists. In the main he kept in the background the equally vital international questions confronting American imperialism. This is primarily due to the fact that if Wall Street can keep Congress busy with the internal problems (that must be answered), Wall Street will see to it that the president and the cabinet take care of the international problems.

The international problems can be handled in the best interest of the imperialists if the facts are in the files and archives. Further, the American state structure has a carry-over from the past stage that is cumbersome and must be eliminated if the state is to function with speed for the imperialists. There is still too much middle class weight in the old school. The new flunkies will be lined up to support imperialism and, in the mean time, the "reorganization of the government through the grouping and consolidating of more than fifty executives and independent agencies" must be put through.

Smith's proposal for New York bears the same stamp. The imperialist must centralize the government for economy but then also use the economy argument as a smoke screen to extend its grip over the whole state at the expense of the other sections of the exploiters.

After this is accomplished they will be able to take up the international questions as free and above board as they do the internal measures for the bankers and against the workers.

The major international questions confronting the imperialists that the government departments are handling are: war debts, the economic conference, the disarmament conference, the position of the dollar and a relations with the USSR. The question of the USSR falls into three subdivisions: to obtain markets; the possibility of a change in the form of the economic war being waged against the Soviet Union; and prevention of the extension of the October revolution. Around the other questions, this question of the October revolution and the relation to the other imperialists, such as England, France, Japan and Germany are interwoven. America must find a way to gain a position of advantage in the coming

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Save the Militant!

This issue appears a week late. That means that we have been forced to skip an issue. This is a retreat from the weekly Militant. It was made necessary by the increasing depth of our financial crisis which placed insuperable obstacles in the way of getting out last week's issue.

There is no point in detailing here all the debts and consequent technical difficulties which forced us to this retreat. More eloquent than this is the loss of an issue.

The loss of this issue is a warning to all of us, comrades, that unless we come to the aid of the Militant now we may not be able to avoid skipping issues again. We may even be forced to return to a semi-monthly basis. As a matter of fact, at the present moment, we have no way of telling whether we will be able to get out next week's issue.

The life of the weekly Militant is at stake. The issue is squarely up to us. We alone can decide that it will appear regularly as a weekly. We must make the decision and make it promptly.

This blow comes at a critical moment. The League has been making forward strides in Pittsburgh, New Castle, Davenport, Des Moines and Montreal. Branches have been organized in these cities. We have held aloft the banner of Communism in the Illinois coal fields. The recent developments in the A. F. of L. have confirmed our program on unemployment.

In all of these activities the Militant has played an outstanding part. It has consistently and tirelessly hammered out the Leninist line of the Left Opposition. Now we stand on the threshold of further advances new and greater

possibilities to put forward, the ideas of Leninism are opening up new avenues. We must assure the regular appearance of the Militant. If our central organizer is forced to retreat all our other activities will be forced to retreat to a slower tempo.

Against this perspective we are sounding a serious note of alarm. This dark perspective must not be realized. We must make a determined struggle against it.

At the present moment this must take the form of donations. First of all we must dig into our own pockets. The Militant comes first. Then we must surround to every sympathizer and friend, put the plight of the Militant squarely before him and ask him for help.

Large donations will accomplish more than small ones. But no amount is too small. And every penny counts. All funds must be raised in the shortest possible time and rushed to the Militant at 126 East 16 Street, N. Y.

It is up to us to save the Militant. Let us pull it through this crisis. It is our paper; it is the organ of the international proletarian revolution in the United States; it is the voice of Marxism; the banner bearer of the ideas of the October Revolution, of the International Left Opposition. To have it retreat would be to strike a blow at the entire international movement. This must not be allowed to happen.

The movement and its friends must avert this catastrophe. It must respond with help at once. Funds must be raised and rushed. Will you do your share?

L. Trotsky: BONAPARTISM IN GERMANY

The elections to the Reichstag put the "presidential" government to a new critical test. It is useful, therefore to remind of its social and political nature. It is precisely through the analysis of such concrete, and at first glance "stupid" political phenomena, as the government of Papen-Schleicher, that the Marxian method reveals its invaluable advantages.

At one time we defined the "presidential" government as a species of 'bonapartism'. It would be incorrect to see in this definition the chance outcome of a desire to find a familiar name for an unfamiliar phenomena. The decline of capitalist society places again bonapartism together with Fascism and in connection with it on the order of the day. Previously we have characterized the government of Brüning as a bonapartism one. Then, in retrospect we narrowed its definition to a half, or pre-bonapartism one.

What did other Communists and in general 'left groups say in this connection? To await an attempt at a scientific definition of a new political phenomena from the present leadership of the Comintern would, of course, be naive, not to say foolish. The Stalinists simply place Papen in the Fascist camp. If Wells and Hitler are "twins" then such a trifle as Papen is altogether not worth breaking ones head about. This is the same political literature which Marx called vulgarian and which he taught us to despise. In reality Fascism represents one of the two main camps of civil war. Stretching his arm to power, Hitler first of all demanded the relinquishing of the street to him for 72 hours. Hindenburg refused this. The task of Papen-Schleicher—to avoid civil war by disciplining amicably the national-socialists and chaining the proletariat to police fetters. The very possibility of such a regime is determined by the relative weakness of the proletariat.

The SAP rids itself of the question of the Papen government as well as of other question by means of general phrases. The Brandlerites preserved silence on our definition as long as the matter concerned Brüning, that means the incubation period of bonapartism. When, however, the Marxian characteristic of Bonapartism confirmed itself fully by theory and practice of the presidential government the Brandlerites came out with their criticisms: the wise owl of Thälheimer takes flight in the late hours of the night.

The Stuttgart "Workers Tribune" teaches us that bonapartism is the military-police apparatus over the bourgeoisie in order to defend its class domination against its own political parties, must be supported by the peasantry and must use methods of social democracy. Papen is not supported by the peasantry and does not introduce a pseudo-radical program. Therefore, our attempt to define the government of Papen as bonapartism "does not fit at all". This is severe but carries no weight.

How do the Brandlerites themselves define the government of Papen? In the same issue of the "Tribune" there are very timely announcements of the lecture of Brandler on the subject: "Junker-monarchical, Fascist or proletarian dictatorship?" In this triad the regime of Papen is presented as a Junker-monarchical dictatorship. This is most worthy of the "Forward" and of vulgar democrats in general. That titled German bonapartists make some sort of little presents to the Junker is obvious. That these gentlemen are inclined to a monarchistic trend of thoughts is also known. But it is pure liberal nonsense that the essence of the presidential regime is Junker monarchism.

Such terms as liberalism, bonapartism, fascism have the character of generalizations. Historical phenomena never repeat themselves completely. It would not have been difficult to prove that even the government of Napoleon III, compared with the regime of Napoleon the first, carries no weight.

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A.F.L. and 6-Hour Day

Cincinnati Convention Shows Left Wing Opportunities

The present storm and stress of the capitalist economic system begins to leave an indelible imprint upon the American Federation of Labor. It has produced a new view, which is advanced under pressure and solely for the record. In this respect the four years from the end of bourgeois prosperity to the present day widespread destitution and starvation, record a change of front on the key problem of unemployment. It is graphically illustrated in the last four annual conventions.

At the Toronto convention, in 1929, there gathered a galaxy of labor skates

gaily partaking of the coveted liquid stream which flows so freely across the border. Their main subject of conversation, outside of the monotonous convention routine, was the latest quotations on the stock exchange. At Boston in 1930, some rumblings of dissatisfaction were audible; but the gathering denounced any schemes of unemployment insurance in customary reactionary terms. At Vancouver, in 1931, the rumblings became almost a storm; but the gathering remained adamant and only the phrase became radicalized. At Cincinnati, during the last couple of weeks, the delegates were compelled to debate serious issue and the convention adopted a policy of favoring unemployment insurance.

This change, of course, is not so sweeping when we consider the millions of the present crisis and the millions out of work. Moreover the view of the A. F. of L. leadership of the (Continued on page 4)

OPEN FORUM

The A. F. of L. Convention

Speaker: ARNE SWABECK
Friday, December 16, 1932
126 East 16 Street, ADMISSION: 15c
Auspices: N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

Gov't. Answers Hunger Marchers With Force

Militants Surrounded by 5000 Armed Police

WASHINGTON, D. C.—

While we are parked on a street on the outskirts of this city with police on all sides I can take this opportunity to write an account of the most striking events in the Hunger March up to this point.

It was in Wilmington, Delaware, that we suffered the first attack of the police. When we reached the outskirts of Wilmington, Friday night about 5:30 P. M., we left our trucks, formed into lines and marched through the streets with our banners despite the announcement in the press that we would not be allowed to march nor to stay overnight.

We marched through side streets. I suppose we were not allowed on the main streets. The crowds were by far the largest that we had seen since leaving New York, except in Philly. This must have been due to the expectation that the police would make trouble. However we reached our destination, a large, empty, barn-like structure, without encountering any violent developments. These came later.

Shortly after the meeting started the police, reinforced by firemen and various home-guard elements broke up the meeting with their clubs and drove the marchers to the church and scattered the crowd. The marchers barricaded the doors and fought off the police until tear gas bombs were hurled through the windows.

The delegates numbering 300, of whom almost 200, were women were forced to leave the church. The men were mercilessly beaten by the bulls who outnumbered them. The marchers were scattered; many were arrested; numbers of them required medical attention and some were taken to the hospital. Ben Gold, who is with us on the march, is in the hospital. Anne Burlak is arrested. The men, though outnumbered, put up a good fight, and several cops had to be taken away to quieter places.

Many comrades are missing, mostly women. At the present it is impossible to check up. The 23 arrested are held on various charges and the I.R.D. is looking after them. A delegation went to the police station to demand their release. We don't know the result yet.

En Route Again

Saturday morning under heavy police guard we left for Baltimore arriving there late in the afternoon. Food, and shelter had been provided for some of us in an armory by seven citizens after all had been refused by the mayor. This was the first time on the trip that we received aid other than that given by the WIR and workers' organizations. A meeting was held later in the armory.

Sunday noon we left for Washington under guard of the state police. The police led us into a sort of blind alley at the dead end of a cross street. A large squad of cops with tear gas was posted on the hill above us on our left. This location is such that it was a simple matter for the police to control the situation.

In Washington the district and federal

officials put every obstacle in the way of the committee in their efforts to rent a hall for a convention which was to take place today, Monday. The committee finally succeeded in renting a small hall that holds 800. Whether 800 of us will be permitted to enter the city proper is another matter. At present the situation is deadlocked; we are waiting here and so are the police. The plan of the police seems to be to keep us here until we become discouraged.

The Convention

The convention was finally held out here. Three resolutions were adopted. One scored the refusal of the authorities to grant a permit to parade in Washington; the second endorsed the demands of the Hunger March. Amter and Benjamin spoke. Benjamin said that if we were not allowed to parade, a committee which would be selected would present our demands to Congress. His speech also contained a vague threat to march in any event. He concluded by saying that when we return home we should attempt to draw the broad masses into the next march. But he didn't say how!

Just another word about the camp. Conditions here are very unsanitary and most of us have severe colds due to exposure. Although lodgings for the women and sick had been secured in Washington many of the men were refused admission to Washington by the police. Provocateurs also made several attempts to start trouble.

We have here about 3000 marchers including 350 women and a large number of Negro comrades. That special efforts were made to get Negro delegates I learned from conversation with delegates from all sections of the country. The only organizations represented are party organizations. There are a few delegates elected by Left wing groups in the A. F. of L. This is the sum and substance of the united front below. Recognition of Soviet Russia was demanded only in the slogans carried by the seamen.

The marchers displayed considerable militancy, evidenced by their actions in various cities where, in spite of police terror, they succeeded in parading and holding meetings. The organizational side of the march was fairly well handled when you consider the difficulties connected with handling so many people.

1 P. M.

We have just returned from our march to the Capitol where a delegation presented our demands to Congress. The spirit and the marchers, despite their exhaustion and the double lines of police that flanked us on both sides, was excellent. This was all the more remarkable in face of the unsympathetic attitude of the large crowds that lined the streets to watch us.

Our march in face of the determination of the authorities to prevent us from even entering Washington can be considered only as a victory. This proof of the power of mass pressure brings to mind the possibilities in a genuine united front movement.

—BILL KITT.

Opposition at Anti-War Meet in New York

Over six hundred delegates attended the United Youth Conference Against War held in New York City, November 25 to 27. The conference was called by a provisional committee strongly dominated by the socialists, and composed of the leading pacifist and socialist youth organizations and the Lovestoneite youth. At the conference itself, in addition to the sponsoring organizations, the student groups of the National Student League, the NSL itself, the YCL, the National Youth Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) and the New York Spartacist Youth Club participated.

The entire conference proceedings were controlled by the socialist and pacifist initiators. Previous to its opening, a caucus meeting of these groups decided to bar the Communist and Left wing representatives from all committees and posts. A well-oiled, steam-rolling machine was organized to prevent the Communist viewpoint from being adequately presented to the delegates. The election of a credential committee—an elementary procedure at conferences—was substituted for by the provisional groups!

The keynote speech of A. Fenner Borckway, the chairman of the British Independent Labour Party, gave a left socialist tenor to the conference. He spoke of the inadequacy of the tactics of the socialist parties on war, the need to mobilize the youth to refuse to fight; the development of a 'new technique'—to achieve revolution without bloodshed,—which he refused to explain on the ground

that a counter-technique would thus be facilitated!

Steam Rolling Tactics of the Socialists

The most important phase of the conference was the report of the resolutions committee. The latter consisted of seven socialists and pacifists. The committee rejected, out-of-hand, not merely the resolution presented by the Left Opposition youth, the resolution of the YCL endorsing the Barbusse Amsterdam manifesto, but even the innocent ones of Left wing student groups on student fees, student rights and for participation in the coming Chicago anti-war conference.

In view of the steam-rolling tactics of the Conference, the monopoly of the pacifists and the socialists on the resolutions committee and the organized plan to prevent Communist and dissenting resolutions from being submitted to the delegates, a number of student groups presented a statement, condemning these tactics and calling for the reading of all resolutions from the floor. This procedure was ruled out of order by the chair.

Discussion on the Resolutions

Resolutions on the cancellation of international debts and reparations, recognition of the Soviet Union, etc., were carried. The Committee introduced a resolution which greeted the Soviet Union's disarmament proposal, condemned the United States for not accepting it, and called upon the American youth to support the slogan. The second part of the resolution called upon the American government to disarm by example. The

delegates from the Left Opposition spoke against this resolution. The Lovestoneites favored the resolution on the grounds that it calls for the disarmament of the capitalist government!

One of the NSL delegates moved to divide the two sections of the resolution and then spoke against the second part in line with the speeches of the Left Opposition delegation. The socialists replied that they did not expect the American government to disarm but that the demand for disarmament would expose the government before the people. The Young Communist League delegates did not participate in the discussion. All groups with the exception of the Left Opposition voted for the first part of the resolution; a number of NSL delegates joined in the voting against

(Continued on page 2)

NEW YEAR'S EVE DANCE AND ENTERTAINMENT

JAZZ BAND - SKITS - SOLOS

SATURDAY DECEMBER 31, 1932
at 126 East 16th Street
ADMISSION: 35 CENTS
Auspices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

CONCERT AND DANCE

with a program of MUSIC — RECITATIONS — IMPROVIZATIONS
Also Fine Dance Music
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1932
at 126 East 16th Street
Admission in Advance 25c at door 35c
Auspices: Unser Kampf Arbeiter Club

Second School Term to Open

With a number of successful courses already held during the first season of its existence, plans are now already under way for a series of courses that will make up the second season of the International Workers' School, organized under the auspices of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

The first season had only three courses and it is now planned to enlarge that number to five. The instructors will include comrades Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Hugo Oehler, Max Shachtman and Jack Weber, and the courses will cover a wide range of subjects dealing with some of the most important questions before the revolutionary movement today. The school board has proceeded with the idea in mind of making it possible for workers of varying degrees of proletarian instruction to make their choice of one or more of the five courses.

ENROLL NOW!

8 P. M.

The History of the American Labor Movement . . . James P. Cannon

A Series of Eight Lectures Starts Sunday, January 22nd

Elementary Communism . . . Martin Abern

Starts Monday, January 2nd

Marxian Economics . . . Hugo Oehler

Starts Monday, January 2nd

American History . . . J. Weber

Starts Wednesday, January 4th

Program of the Left Opposition . . . Max Shachtman

Starts Wednesday, January 4th
Registration one dollar per course.
J. WEBER, Administrator
126 East 16th Street,
New York City

MASS MEETING
DEC. 21, 1932

Soviet Economy in Danger

STUYVESANT CASINO
9th Street and 2nd Avenue

ADMISSION: 10 Cents
Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speakers:
MAX SHACHTMAN
ARNE SWABECK

Letters from Militants

Pittsburgh Opposition and the Hunger March

PITTSBURGH—A successful meeting in support of the Hunger March to Washington was held here last night by the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The crowd was of good proletarian character, including a group of the most victimized workers in Pittsburgh who came up from the wretched charity slop-house down town (the so-called "Helping Hand"), to attend the meeting which occupied the Miller School auditorium, near Centre Avenue.

Comrade Jim Sifakis opened in the name of the Left Opposition and after a short introductory address, gave the floor to Phil Frankfeld, local party leader and representative of the Unemployed Council. This is the first time to our knowledge that a leading member of the official party has spoken from the platform of a meeting called by the Left Opposition. The Stalinist representative took this step as a consequence of the persistent and successful attempt of the local branch of the League to bring about a measure of united action in the present Hunger March.

Frankfeld gave a well illustrated version of the general line pursued by the Stalinists in the unemployed movement all over the states. He spoke of the possibilities in the budget of the capitalist city government to grant relief; said that the workers could force through this relief only by struggle and then went on to paint the hunger march demonstration in Washington as a general panacea for the sufferings of the working class in this crisis. At no time did he even mention the broader aspects of the hunger march and the struggle of the unemployed in a revolutionary sense. Nor did he link up this struggle with the main aim of overthrowing capitalism.

But he made up for these reformist shortcomings in policy, in the last few minutes of his talk by a terribly revolutionary attack upon the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky, full of the usual Daily Worker lies and slanders against us. He called us disrupters, people who want to undermine the work of the hunger march to bolster up their own political position. This is apparently the Stalinist idea of carrying out the Leninist united front.

The chairman, comrade Sifakis, made a brief but telling reply to this attack and introduced comrade Gordon who spoke on the Communists and the Hunger March. Comrade Gordon answered Frankfeld's slanderous attack on the Left Opposition, ridiculing Frankfeld's lies and his charges against us as disrupters, underminers, etc., by pointing to our loyal cooperation with the united front committee, of which this meeting, held under the auspices of the League, to which we had invited a representative of the U. F. C.—going even so far as to tolerate his vicious personal attack against us—was in itself sufficient evidence. He then went on to explain the real Leninist reasons for the Opposition's participation in the united front as an inseparable part of revolutionary policy, namely, to foster working class unity in action no matter how small a scale, and to raise this unity in action up to the level of the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The League speaker outlined the means by which the capitalists suppress the working class and attempt to divide it to prevent common action in its struggle. In the unemployment situation especially, the capitalists attempt to create division in the working class, trying to pit the Negro workers against the white workers, the employed against the unemployed, and, on an international scale, the American workers against their brothers abroad. If the hunger march is to be more than a furry, comrade Gordon said, it is to be a durable achievement for the working class, then it must rally the working class against the attempts of the bosses to divide it. It must adopt slogans that unite the workers. In addition to immediate relief and unemployment insurance, it should inscribe on its banner the six-hour-day, five-day-week, without reduction in pay, to tighten the bonds between the unemployed workers who would thereby get some jobs and the employed workers who would be relieved to some extent of the fear of scabbing by the unemployed. The six-hour-day, conceived in this spirit, would also serve as a practical means of getting the workers on the job to support the jobless in their fight for relief.

While imperialist war is threatening Workers' Russia an economic war against the Soviet Union, fierce and intense, has been going on for fifteen years. This economic war has the greatest share in the creation of those tremendous difficulties which the U. S. S. R. encounters in its Five Year Plan, which are due to the fact that the Soviet State has to sell a great part of its exports at low prices in the world market in order to buy machinery for which the imperialist

countries refuse to grant them loans. The American unemployed have a great practical stake in the Socialist construction of Soviet Russia. Long term credits for the Soviet Union would produce orders for American factories and give jobs to thousands of our unemployed. The slogan of Defend the Soviet Union must be concretized in the Hunger March with the demand for Long Term Credit for the USSR, as a form of international solidarity with the Russian workers and as a means of practical self-aid for the American unemployed.

The speaker asked whether this unemployed program could not serve as a practical basis for broad working class action? It undoubtedly can. The Unemployed Councils with such a program could approach the widest strata of the masses for common action. By challenging the labor fakers in the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party to join in a united front on this basis, they could help to put these seasoned betrayers of the toilers to the test before the workers following them and expose them for what they really are. The Hunger March will be a real success if it serves as the starting point for such an action and on this basis. All class conscious workers were called upon by the speaker to join with the Communist League in supporting the march and in helping to make it a real demonstration of mass power, the opening of an era of genuine and solid united front action on the part of the American working class in this crisis.

With this the representative of the Communist League (Opposition) closed his address. The chairman then announced the arrival of the Hunger Marchers in Pittsburgh and asked the workers present to join in greeting them at West Park the following Thursday. The meeting was then adjourned amid interested discussions between Left Oppositionists and party members or sympathizers as well as other workers present.

Opposition Active in Smokey City

PITTSBURGH—The Marxist Study Class organized by the League some time ago, has been plugging forward constantly, every new session bringing new forces and increasing the intensity of the discussions. Although the classes are already rather advanced, it is not yet too late to join up. One study group meets on Sunday afternoons, at 2:30 P. M., and has for its subject: The History of the Three Internationals. The next few lectures will deal with the development of the Second International; the Struggles between the Revisionists and the Marxists; the Betrayal of 1914 and the Collapse of the Second International; the Rise of the Third International and the Present Role of the Second (Socialist) International.

The other study group meets on Wednesday evenings at 8:30 and has for its subject: The Communist Manifesto. If enough interested newcomers show up, it is planned to start another group on Fundamentals of Communism. All revolutionary workers are invited to attend and to participate in the discussions. The classes meet at 15 Granville Street, near the Wylie Avenue Branch of the Carnegie Library and at present constitute the only Communist educational activities in the city of Pittsburgh. No sincere revolutionist can fail to take advantage.

Work for the United Front Hunger March
In accordance with its participation in the Hunger March United Front Conference, the local group of the League is actively engaged in the preparations for its success. One collection of funds has already been made at the 15th anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution (held under the auspices of the Marxist Study Class) and turned over to the United Front Committee. From the Committee also, the group has obtained leaflets and collection list and the Pittsburgh comrades are on the go putting these to work. In the very near future, the League intends to hold a couple of mass meetings to rally support for the March and has already obtained leaflets for this purpose. The United Front Committee has promised its cooperation by sending down a speaker to represent it at these meetings.

Greek Workers Educational Circle
The Greek Workers Educational Circle, organized by the League recently, has been holding a class in the Principles of Communism with comrade Sifakis as the instructor. Party members and sympathizers have been attending regularly and discussing together in a comradely manner so as to be able to come to a common understanding of the tasks of the Communists and to prepare the ground for a united effort for revolutionary work among the Greek-speaking workers.

The Stalinists, alarmed at this evidence of a desire for Communist unity between

workers belonging to the Left Opposition and members of the party, have launched a campaign of terror against the party comrades, threatening to expel them for discussing with Left Oppositionists and even going so far as to accuse them of being stool pigeons. But the party members not allowing the bureaucrats to prevent them from getting a Leninist education with this terror. The Marxist ideas of bers can judge for themselves and are the Communist League will not be stopped from making themselves clear to the party members. No amount of bureaucratic terror will suffice for that.

Stalinist Attacks All Along the Line

The recent increase in the activities of the Left Opposition in Pittsburgh and the formidable progress achieved cannot, of course, help but burn up the Stalinists and their lackeys locally. Not only is the Opposition attacked and slandered right on the spot, as in the Progressive Youth Club and at the United Front Unemployed Committee, but far more so behind its back. Party members and sympathizers are warned not to buy the Militant, not to attend our classes and affairs, attempts are made to blacken the name of workers in any way connected with the Left Opposition. But in spite of everything, the Communist League hurdles the obstacles of the bureaucracy and entrenches itself more and more every day. The Stalinists are forced to the lowest sort of lies and to direct intimidations.

One particularly headless participant in this campaign to defame the Opposition is the local court-jester of the bureaucracy, a certain Jenkins. Jenkins is a well-known pie-cake whose chief argument against the Left Opposition is—that it is a minority. His terrible rev-olutionary work in the course of twenty years has taught him one paramount principle: namely, that the majority is always right. We will not burden Jenkins with an apt quotation from Engels on the question of majorities and minorities in the revolutionary movement. Engels did not live on the "Hill", and he died before Jenkins' time. Besides—he was a German and never wrote for the Freiheit. Since Jenkins knows only what he reads in the Freiheit, it would hardly be fair of us to tax him with the words of Marx's comrade and co-founder of the proletarian revolutionary movement.

But we do have a right to pose the question as to whether this perennial majorityite speaks in the name of Com-

munist or in the name of some new sort of "proletarian" Zionism? In his unsigned articles in the Freiheit and in his slanderous drizzle among the Jewish workers of the "Hill", he constantly harps on the Greek comrades of the Left Opposition, particularly comrades Sifakis and Vomvas, and calls upon the "Jewish workers" to drive these "Greek young (!) gentlemen" away from the "Jewish workers' Street"! In his headless anxiety to besmirch the Opposition and to prevent its irresistible progress, Stalinism has driven this pitiful fool to resort to the arguments of a chauvinist, and a Jewish chauvinist at that!

This very dangerous manifestation of chauvinism in the ranks of the party is only amplified by the fact that the chauvinistic utterances of Genosse Jenkins do not restrict themselves to the Left Opposition alone. The Left Opposition, especially through its Jewish comrades on the "Hill" will mercilessly combat this dangerous sign of Stalinist degeneracy, it will arouse the workers of Pittsburgh to watchfulness in the preservation of the internationalist character of the proletarian revolutionary movement. We will not allow Stalinist corruption, in this chauvinistic form or in any other form to poison the well of our Leninist party. And to Jenkins we can say with confidence, that the few petty bourgeois elements in the "Icor" with whom his shady antics against the Leninist Opposition make a very curious hit, will be a poor consolation to him. The revolutionary workers will learn to judge such tactics and to call them by their proper name.

Other Activities of the Left Opposition

Within the near future the Communist League here intends to hold a number of public meetings and affairs. Preparations are already in process. At these meetings the Left Opposition will strive to make the Pittsburgh workers acquainted with its position, in principles, as well as in the every day class struggle. Dates and places will be announced in forthcoming issues.

Among our comrades here, there are a number active in the trade union movement. Their contacts are increasing and they report that Left wing sympathies within the unions are growing daily. The League is attempting to gauge the possibilities for work in this important field as well, and to help in utilizing them. A start has already been made in the form of a small trade union group.

Opposition at Anti-War Meet in N. Y.

(Continued from page 1)
the second part—the voting of the Lovestonete youth and the YCL on the second part is uncertain although it appears that they did not vote against.

The Chicago Anti-War Conference

Another resolution which aroused dispute was one supporting a number of student anti-war conferences to be held in the coming few months. It included the conference to be held during Christmas at Chicago as an outgrowth of the Barbusse-Amsterdam Conference. The intent of the resolution was to avoid the direct endorsement of the Chicago conference called-for in a resolution submitted to the committee by the National Students League. An amendment was introduced by Donald Henderson, of the NSL, calling upon the delegates to send the students on the campus to get representatives to Chicago.

Comrade Carter of the National Youth Committee, Left Opposition, amended Henderson's proposal by adding that the conference call upon working class youth-organizations as well as students to participate at Chicago. In the ensuing discussion he explained that it was a mistake to limit the conference call to students; that only under the leadership of working class youth organizations could the students effectively struggle against war; that the Communists should play a leading role in this movement. The Young Communist League delegates kept quiet. On the vote, both the amendment of the NSL and that of the Left Opposition were defeated—the latter being supported by a number of NSL members, a few Socialists and the Lovestonetes. The conference to send a delegation to Chicago.

The Young Communist League introduced a motion condemning the procedure of the Conference and calling for the support of the Barbusse manifesto. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated. The fraudulent character of the so-called united front conference was obvious to all.

The December issue of the Young Spartacus will carry a detailed report of the Conference and a criticism of the various groups participating.

Lewit-Bleeker Tour Extends Basis of «Unser Kampf» Workers Clubs

From Toronto we proceeded to Cleveland. One of the most striking features of party life in the provinces, is the fact that there is no attempt made to carry on any educational work. The Stalinists have no use for revolutionary theory. This despite the fact that the turnover in the membership is so great and that not alone the ranks, but the leading cadres as well, are ignorant of the basic principles of Communism. When the Left Oppositionists were expelled in the Cleveland district in 1928, it meant the expulsion of the entire educational department from the party, comrade Brahtin was the agit-prop director conducting a circuit school, and Gleisser was the principal instructor. Since then, this entire highly industrial district was found to be on a sufficiently high theoretical level not to require any more education.

Our comrades, on the other hand, failed to continue under Opposition auspices the educational work they had been carrying on for many years in the party, thus filling this gap in the work of the party. Had our comrades done this, we would now have a flourishing branch in Cleveland. We realized this immediately upon our arrival and in the meetings with the comrades, decided to proceed with the immediate organization of classes in Marxism. All our other efforts during our stay in Cleveland were spent on procuring subs for Unser Kampf, and the broadening of the circle of our readers and laying the base for future organization work. On our return trip from the tour, we will stop off in Cleveland and Youngstown to hold lectures on the Opposition viewpoint, for which our comrades are now making the necessary preparations.

Youngstown was visited by us for an overnight stay and we met with the

PAID SUB CARDS FOR THE MINERS

Our campaign for subs for the miners isn't over yet. It is true that we haven't realized the number of subs that we expected. To date we have received only twenty-one subs. That must be an incentive to push on.

The Paid Sub Cards can be used very easily for this purpose. All you have to do is to raise units of two dollars and send them in, specifying that they are for subs for the miners.

Or, to recapitulate our former approach: take a Club Plan blank; see what you can do in the way of getting two half year subs at the regular rate of a dollar and apply the reduction that is given on a Club Plan blank to two subs for the miners. Either method will place the Militant in the hands of the miners.

NEW YORK AND MONTREAL

Two cities continue to move upward. They are New York and Montreal. New York is continuing its spurt upward and has now reached the leaders creating a tie for first place. That is only a momentary condition. At this rate, by next week it will be away out in front. Watch it!

Montreal too is climbing. As a result H. Nash is now in third place. And there's no telling what he'll do next.

New York achieves its results through the application of the Paid Sub Card. Montreal gets its results by the use of the Club Plan blank. There is no contradiction between these two phases of the plan. But swing around the idea of a reduction of fifty per cent in the price of a half year sub provided four of these subs are sent in at one time.

THE PAID SUB CARD IDEA

The Paid Sub Card is a special application of this idea. It is really a division of the Club Plan Blank into four separate cards, each one for one of the provisions on the Club Plan blank. But it has this additional feature. On the Club Plan blank the subs accompany the money. With the Paid Sub Card we get the money before the sub. That is an advantage to the Militant.

There is another angle to the Paid Sub Card. Because it is, as to speak, a division of the Club Plan blank into

four component parts it has greater flexibility and greater range. Whereas with the Club Plan Blank you are more or less limited in space and time with these Paid Sub Cards these limitations do not apply. Once you have paid for your four cards you dispose of them over as wide an area as you can and within whatever time you can. The first one may be shot in right away; the others at much later dates; one may come from your home town; the others from distant parts of the United States. Watch these weekly records for results.

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It's growing apace but it's not fast enough yet. There are several cities that have not scored yet. How about it Cleveland, New Haven, Youngstown, Kansas City? What about the West coast? The Militant is read on there, Let's get started.

Sample PAID SUB CARD

Exchange This Card For One Half-Year Sub to the Militant

50c	Good for One Half-Year Sub to the Militant	\$1.00 a Half-Year (without this card)
A Marxian Paper for Class Conscious Workers		

THE MILITANT, 126 E. 16 STREET, New York City

Please send me THE MILITANT for 26 weeks.

Name Address

City State

Militant Builder

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WHITHER ENGLAND 178 Pages Paper \$.75	PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

established a number of contacts for Unser Kampf, securing subs. In Minneapolis we stayed for nine days, because our field here is so much broader. The time was well spent. We delivered three lectures: one by comrade Bleeker on the trade union question in the English language, one by Lewit on the Left Opposition, and the third one was under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum open forum, where comrade Lewit was to speak on the duties of revolutionists in trade unions and fraternal organizations; both of them in Jewish. When we discovered that comrade Trotsky was to broadcast over the radio in the morning the lecture at the Labor Temple was to take place, we made a hurried change in the plans, brought a radio to the lyceum, listened to the broadcast, after which we had it translated and explained, with a general discussion following. The total attendance at our meetings in Minneapolis was over 200. Our Minneapolis comrades treated us to an excellent spirited banquet where we raised 25 dollars for Unser Kampf. Here too we organized an Unser Kampf Club. This is the third club that is now definitely organized and is functioning as a result of the tour, with one in the process of formation in Boston.

Our Des Moines branch, which we visited next, inspired us greatly by the activities it is carrying on. It holds a regular weekly open forum, a class, participates in the unemployed work, and is even branching out into near-by cities. The lecture the comrades arranged for us had an attendance of 50. The local Stalinists came to take issue with us, but they only helped us by revealing their bankruptcy in broad relief. They even brought with them a national figure, a certain Green from New York, who announced himself to be a member of the national committee of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League. In his opening remarks he stated apologetically, to the amusement of the audience,—that in view of the fact that we "spoke revolution", he is compelled to use the same terms, although he is under instructions not to talk about revolution in the West and in the South! This simpton merely revealed to us that the faith of the Stalinists in the "third period" has shaken, and that this official emissary from New York brought the message to the local comrades to be "practical", and when Stalinists become "practical", there is no telling where they will stop. We have had enough of that experience in the so called "second period" of opportunistic crimes.

We succeeded in Chicago to build up an Unser Kampf Club of people who have been won to our viewpoint recently and who will now carry on the work of the Opposition in the Jewish field in an organized manner, one of these comrades Gurevitch suffered the wrath of the Stalinist bureaucrats by being expelled from the Freiheit Singing Society. It appears that he has been singing out of tune with the "general line". This comrade was their best tenor, he was one of those who led the Left wing fight in the socialist singing society, while his present expellers were on the other side of the fence. His sole crime consisted in selling the Unser Kampf. The existence of our paper terrified the scared Stalinists, and rightly so. Our paper is read eagerly by the Jewish workers who have been led to and misled by the Freiheit for so many years. Our lecture in Chicago will take place on the 8th of December on our return.

In Davenport we stopped over night on the way to Minneapolis. Here we had occasion in a few hours to meet some of the new comrades in the branch, and we

—SYLVIA BLEEKER.
—MORRIS LEWIT.

USE THE CLUB PLAN. GET SUBS FOR THE MINERS.

New Expulsions in the Comintern

The much-vaunted "ideological consolidation" imposed upon the Communist International by the Stalinist apparatus had for years been of a kind that went hand in hand with an organizational disintegration. The "consolidation" never took place around a straight central shaft of cohesive doctrine. Such a consolidation, absolutely necessary in the Communist movement, would have permitted the attraction of homogeneous elements in increasing number. What passes for revolutionary doctrine in the Stalinist camp, however, has formed a disjointed, eccentric, badly geared axis, put together out of odd scraps borrowed from every conceivable tendency in the working class movement. This is what accounts for the bumpy voyage on which the Stalinists have taken the Communist International, zig-zagging through the class struggle in accordance with the momentary effectiveness—not of the axis as a whole, but of this or that joint in it.

At each turn in the road, the Centrist apparatus has had to cast out elements now from the Right, now from the Left. As its ideological baggage diminished, so also did those who carried it. The base of the bureaucracy in the International has steadily narrowed, so that nobody can say today who will be the representative spokesman of the apparatus tomorrow. The foreknowledge of their precarious position has not always helped the Stalinist functionaries to remain stable in their loyalties. In some cases, they have anticipated the inevitable and hastened the break with the apparatus, before the apparatus consummated its break (plus the attendant humiliations and petty preliminary persecutions) with them. This category includes a wide range of people—from Bessedovsky and Agabekov to J. T. Murphy of England and Paul Marion of France.

In the last few months alone, expulsions and near-expulsions have taken place in several countries. The official party press has either passed them over in silence or commented upon them with the maximum of obscurity. Each instance, however, sheds its own share of light upon the state of affairs in the Stalinist camp, the policies it has pursued and the manner in which it is pursued. Almost a year ago, we commented extensively in the *Militant* upon the campaign begun in the French party against

the so-called "Group" of Celor, Barbe, Lozeray and others, who had only the day before been the leaders of the party. In this campaign to find a scapegoat for the stagnation and retrogression of the French party, the "Group" served admirably, for its spokesmen humbly acknowledged the justice of all the terrible accusations made against them. In one case at least, it now appears that there was method in this servility. The case is that of the principal leader of the "Group" himself, Celor. During the campaign a year ago, it was revealed that this group of leaders had associated itself without the slightest pretense of a platform, and had systematically and successfully occupied itself with taking over the whole party apparatus. It was further evident that Celor, who was a member of the ECCI, had been appointed leader of the party by none other than the central Stalin faction itself, which found in this clique (as it did in the Neumann clique in Germany) a

thoroughly reliable agency. This gang of political bandits was uncovered by other, similarly virtuous bureaucrats, only when a sacrificial offering had to be thrown to the party ranks in order to put the quietus on the mounting discontentment.

A few weeks ago, it was suddenly discovered that M. Celor was a police provocateur all the time! To our knowledge, this is the first police spy who ever penetrated as high as the Executive Committee of the Communist International. That the police send their agents into the Communist movement is a tribute to the fear which Bolshevism inspires in the hearts of the bourgeoisie. But that such agents can so easily reach the highest instances of the International, is not a tribute, but a striking commentary, on the internal regime established by the Stalinists. Celor came, so to speak, out of nowhere, like most of the figures who now adorn the Centrist household. The elementary tests to

which a Communist is—rather, should be—submitted, were never put before him. He was given only one test for leadership: Was he sufficiently lacking in integrity, independence and knowledge to qualify him for the post of ever-ready servility and obedience to command from above? This test he passed with superb ease. As leader ex-machina, he had no concern about being checked up or controlled by that constant democratic interrelation between ranks and leadership. He could go his own way arbitrarily, with no fear from the "sheep" below, and none from the masters above—his support was automatic so long as his servility was unexhausted.

Need it be added that Celor fought intransigently against "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism"? It goes without saying. He probably did it with more real conviction than most bureaucrats, for his hatred of Trotsky and the Left Opposition sprang from the deep wells of a class antagonism: the bourgeoisie which employed him versus the revolutionary proletariat in the name of Communism. But this too is no tribute to the Stalinists and their regime.

(To be continued)

Greek Stalinists Meet Arguments of Left Opposition With Slanderous Attacks

In all Communist literature not a single line of slander or lies can be found as an argument for the fight against the exploiting class and its multicolored agents within and outside the labor movement. From the highest theoretical works down to the propaganda leaflets, the Communists always present clearly the true nature of the capitalist system before the eyes of the masses. Upon this correct presentation, the Communists formulate a scientific program of organization for immediate action and for the final overthrow of the capitalist system.

In contradiction to this, the Stalinists, in their fight against the Left Opposition, always and unfailingly misrepresent and falsify the views of the "Trotskyists". They categorically declare everywhere that we are counter-revolutionists, enemies of the working class, and agents of the international bourgeoisie.

When comrade Trotsky, before the increasing danger of Fascism, criticizes the wrong policies of the C P G, and proposes a Leninist united front of all working class organizations as an urgent necessity to combat and destroy Fascism, he is accused of "helping the social democracy". When he analyzes the events in Manchuria and points out that Japan cannot attack the Soviet Union due to its weak position before the powerful Red army, and that the immediate danger is in Germany, he is again accused of being an agent in the service of Japanese imperialism. When he criticizes the errors of the Five Year Plan, similar accusations are made.

The Greek functionaries, loyal servants of their masters, no less than they were faithful to Lovestone in his time, in their fight against the Greek comrades of the Left Opposition. Time and again could not but apply the same methods through the pages of *Empros*, the party paper, slanders describing us as enemies of the working class, co-workers of the *National Herald*, a capitalist sheet. The issues raised by our organ, *Communist*, are thus avoided.

Empros of November 26, after a repetition of the usual slanders, announced in effect that the character of the five or six Greek Trotskyists has already been exposed in the past with the exception of Sebastian Pappas, this "New hero of the *National Herald*" who wanted to enlighten the German Communist Party. They therefore leave it to the Greek "Political Bureau and the Food Workers' Union" to expose and denounce his disruptive activities.

The *Empros* editors know that in the statement to the party for which I was expelled without even a hearing, I did not formulate any new ideas of mine to enlighten the C P G, and that I only proposed a discussion of the views of the Left Opposition in Germany. The remark of *Empros* that I wanted to enlighten the C P G therefore means to say: "Rank and file: do not question the infallibility of the line of the leadership; carry out orders the way I, the functionary, do." How is it that the Greek Bureau, which reprinted in the *Empros*, the statement of the District Committee on my expulsion, made no comment at that time about my alleged un-Communist conduct in the Greek field, and only now

four months later they undertake to expose me? It is simply a maneuver to avoid the arguments raised in my article on the language sections and the trade unions, published in the October *Kommunist*.

As to the Food Workers Industrial Union. Immediately after my expulsion, when the D. C. avoided the issue I raised in my statement, and instead brought out that I was always a "disruptive element" in the fraction and the union, I addressed a letter to the C. P. fraction pointing out that I was ready to discuss my conduct openly with the membership of the party, and for the benefit of the party, I challenged them to a debate before the union on Trotskyism. Up till now I have not received a reply. However, the following facts should be sufficient to explain my conduct in the union.

Since the inception of the union, I was always in its leading committees. And also for years, I was a member of the leading fraction of the union till April 1931, when my health broke down and I was forced to withdraw from all activities. In the summer of 1931, the cafeteria section voluntarily collected \$324 for the purpose of sending me to the Soviet Union for recovery. On December of the same year, the convention of the union unanimously decided that I should be sent to the S. U. immediately at the union's expense until I recovered completely. John Steuben, of the TUUC, and member of the D. C. of the C P district 2, in addressing the convention said: "Your decision in sending comrade Pappas to the S. U. whose health is undermined due to his activities in the union is the highest example of your class solidarity." Steuben knew that I was for years sympathetic to the ideas of the Left Opposition. For two days before the convention, this same Steuben criticized severely some comrades who dared to propose the Trotskyist Pappas as secretary of the union. Why, then, did he not expose me as a counter-revolutionist before the convention instead of speaking very highly and enthusiastically about me? Do these facts show that I was "always a disruptive element in the union"?

I repeat the arguments of *Kommunist*. The *National Herald*, in its efforts to combat the accusations of the *Empros*, so as to appear whitewashed before the masses, exploits our differences in our criticism against the *Empros*, by pretending to favor the Opposition. The *National Herald* is a bourgeois paper, the same as *Atlantis*, and in their competition for business on the one hand, and their desire to win over Greek workers, on the other, will resort to any methods to accomplish their goal. The duty of the *Empros* is to reveal the reactionary character of both papers. Instead the silence with respect to the *Atlantis* which lately poses as a workers' friend strengthens its influence among the Greek workers. On the other hand, the articles written in the *Empros* by Alex Mikros, for an entire period against the *National Herald*, in some cases was harmful to the Greek workers in that they spread illusions as to the justice of the capitalist courts, etc. Time and again, the Greek bureau quoted Lenin and Lassalle in the *Empros* to the effect that when the bourgeoisie appraise the position of some revolutionist in a favorable light, he, the revolutionist, must be dangerous to the working class. This is true. Does it follow, therefore that when a dissatisfied petit-bourgeois writer speaks in favor of the Soviet Union, or when a theatrical company imports Russian film for business purposes, are shown to the masses and consequently benefits the Soviet State—does it mean that the Soviet State ceases to be the Fatherland of the working class? Far from it. The politically headless petit-bourgeois will take almost any position that is of some profit to themselves. To make the above point clearer to the Greek bureau, let us take up the question of Vassardakis, with which they are very well acquainted. Didn't he shift his position towards the *Empros* when he clashed with the *National Herald* clique and is extremely friendly with you? Does not this indicate the character of this petit-bourgeois? Unfortunately, Vassardakis was permitted to use the pages of the *Empros* for his own satisfaction.

However, the quotations from Lenin and Lassalle apply fully to Stalin and his policies. For the official press of the bourgeoisie, like the *N. Y. Times*, through its foreign representative Duranty, is in agreement with Stalinist policies as against Trotsky; while the leader of the Left Opposition, comrade Trotsky, exiled in Prinkipio by secret agreement between Kemal Pasha and Stalin, is refused a visa to all bourgeois countries. This fact alone shows the violent hostility of the bourgeoisie against the Left Opposition. If Trotsky is what the Stalinists call him, then it would be a simple matter to convince the workers by a public debate in which both sides would have the opportunity to present their respective standpoints. But this is something the Stalinists dare not undertake.

They lie when they say that Trotsky's views have been settled and that they will not debate those who "have no masses behind them." Then why this incessant, increasing campaign in the party press against the Left Opposition. The Greek militants can no longer allow Vassardakis to use the *Empros* for their satisfaction. *Empros* must become a genuine Communist paper. In the organization of the unorganized, as well as in all the other great tasks facing the revolutionary movement, *Empros* must take the initiative. This is the role of a Communist paper.

—SEBASTIAN PAPPAS

Hoover's Last Message to Congress

(Continued from page 1)

struggle for the redivision of the earth. Congress and the House are busy with their "Beer Bill". The Hunger Marchers answered this democratic bunk with the slogan of "bread before beer".

The approach of the president and congress to the most vital problem of unemployment and the crisis has but one

aim! to strengthen the position of the bankers and further to beat down the disorganized and badly directed energy of the working class.

The attempt to balance the budget is forcing drastic inroads into the working class and the middle class. The series of proposals from wage cuts, the cut in veteran's relief, less public building, to the sales tax are all aimed at the classes below the leading capitalists in America.

The demand for the reorganizing of the banking system and the advocating of the branch system is the most fundamental and far-reaching reform in the interest of the imperialists to be taken internally. Once they obtain this, and everything points in this direction, it will strengthen their position not only against the other classes within the country but will give them a stronger home base of operation against the contending imperialists of other nations.

After all, Congress has just opened and is getting down to business. There will be lots of steam and talk about helping the workers and farmers—and a demand for beer, but under it all they

will be ironing out the problems, not of the workers, who have no representatives, who cannot carry out their program through the capitalist state, but the problems of the capitalists in general; and the imperialists in particular whom they represent.

The editorial comment of the "New York Times" on the Hoover message again gives Congress a warning. It ends the editorial with the following words, "The country will be lucky if Congress takes to heart and does as well in action as Mr. Hoover has done in recommendations." As usual, this is a warning for Congress to carry out the imperialists needs.

HUGO OEHLER

The Philadelphia Branch held its regular Thurs. Forum of Dec. 8 with Hugo Oehler speaking on the American Negro and the Class Struggle. An audience of about thirty five was present with a good number of party members, white and black, and some young socialist workers.

The discussion hinged mainly around the Scottsboro case and the Stalinist slogan of "Self-Determination in the Black Belt." Not one of the party functionaries or members present took the floor to disagree with the position of the speaker.

In the main, the questions and discussion were of the character of information in order to further study the problem. The speaker called upon the party to proceed at once to the mobilizing of the masses through a united front to save the Scottsboro boys. Now that the Supreme Court verdict is a victory for the Communists, it is at the same time a decision clearing the road for the legal murder of the innocent boys. The Supreme Court does not object to the burning of these boys in the electric chair. It only objects to the crude methods and technical blunders with which the southern bourgeois went about the job.

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JAPAN

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

By Jack Weber

The Agrarian Problem
"The foundation of all highly developed division of labor that is brought about by the exchange of commodities is the cleavage between town and country. We may say that the whole economic history of society is summarized in the development of this cleavage between town and country." (Marx, "Capital"). In the development of capitalism this cleavage occurs by the increasing subjection of the system of agriculture to the intensive exploitation of the town industrialists through the capitalist market. The utter hypocrisy of Japanese "planned" economy is revealed in the indescribable living conditions of peasant and worker resulting from the "blind" play of capitalist economic forces.

Status of Japanese Farming
Half the population of Japan is still dependent on farming for its livelihood, a proportion equalled only in Italy and Russia. Considering the arable land only the density of population reaches the extreme figure of 1375 per square mile. Necessarily the land is cultivated by the most intensive methods to feed this overcrowded population. But these methods are still crude hand methods, human labor being the cheapest of all commodities. It has been figured that whereas it requires 2 days of labor for the southern U. S. farmer, with the aid of a team of horses, to grow an acre of rice, the Japanese peasant gives 110 days of labor to this most important crop. Every Japanese peasant uses electric light but the mechanical farming methods of the West make slow headway against the poverty and the cheap labor and, above all, the small size of peasant holding.

When, after the Restoration, the Japanese "enclosures" occurred, the feudal lords retained over half of the cultivated land. Today the large landowners own 54 percent of the arable land with their portion ever growing. The "petty owners" of land, forming 70 percent of the rural population, hold 2-1/2 percent of the average. In 1928 only 70,000 families out of 5-1/2 million cultivated more than 12 acres. In its 1-2 acre per member of

each rural family, Japan is worst off of all modern countries. Just as the tenant system with crop sharing grew out of slavery in the South, so this same system grew out of feudalism in Japan. In the course of the first twenty years of this century, the number of tenant farmers increased by 30 percent. The present crisis accelerates the process at great speed, the area cultivated by tenants is constantly increasing, the tenantry already represents more than 30 percent of the farm workers.

Bankrupt Rural Economy
What with the scarcity of land in terms of demand, land rents are extremely high. Tenants are forced to hand over 50 to 60 percent of the crop in kind, a fact which gives complete control of the market to the capitalist-landowner, permitting him to rig the market with ease against the small farmer. At least 13 percent of the crop goes to pay for fertilizer, the rest being ineffectual to support the rural family. To make up the deficit created under these conditions, the farmer is forced to resort to extra work. Two million peasant families engage in the extremely underpaid silk worm industry, thereby doubling their income. They resort also to weaving, spinning, etc., the rural family being the unit of domestic economy, notoriously a sweatshop system. Furthermore to secure a little ready cash the peasant hires out his daughter to the textile mills or even sells her to the city brothels. Nearly half a million persons migrate from country to town each year, half of them women. However, just as in pre-revolutionary Russia, there is a constant migration back to the village. Official statistics show that a quarter of those who return home have tuberculosis, the terrible scourge of modern Japan.

Mortgages
The process of land concentration and peasant exploitation occurs here as elsewhere through the mortgaging of the land. The peasantry owes over 2-1/2 billion yen to the banks. As in America during the present crisis, the banks find it more economic, and less fraught

with danger, to await "better times" before foreclosing on the bankrupt farmers. The capitalist economic system permits the industrialists to fasten the burden of the crisis on worker and peasant. With the silk market completely shattered, the peasant's labor goes begging and his conditions of living become indescribable. He eats the food intended for his animals, the seed for planting, the few cattle remaining—and then he starves miserably.

The Solution
"The (Japanese) peasantry in its entirety represents an elementary rebellion." This rebellion manifests itself ordinarily in Japan through tenant unions which fight first of all for rent reduction. These tenant unions grew from 130 in 1917 to 4,065 in 1926 with a membership of 368,000. The tenant unions have the sympathy and support (sometimes the leadership) of the workers' unions in the cities.

It was his analysis of the revolutionary significance of the Russian peasants that led Lenin to his concept of the role of the proletariat in a democratic agrarian revolt. The peasants can be put at the service of the revolution only by the force that takes over the state power. The seizing of the land and the democratic aspirations of the agrarians can be fulfilled only through the leadership of the proletariat which, however, does not stop short at this goal but establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition from capitalism to socialism. Starting from these same premises, Trotsky generalized and broadened the ideas involved, ideas primarily applicable to backward countries, and formulated in greater detail and more precisely than previously the idea of permanent revolution, applicable to world economy in such manner that a successful proletarian victory in one country becomes the starting point for the consolidation of proletarian victory in all countries.

Japan and Russia
It is a peculiarity of Japanese economy that in no other country has agriculture remained so backward with industry so advanced. Unlike Czarist Russia, Japan has a more powerful capitalist class in close alliance, as yet, with the feudal landed aristocracy. This renders it more difficult for the relatively weak proletariat to assume the leadership and to seize power in a revolution. Nevertheless its role in relation to the peasantry must follow the broad outlines set by the Russian example. It is possible that

Japan's evolution may follow a different course, but only if the vanguard of the working class does not organize into a strong Communist party ready to lead workers and peasants. There are forces at work already to shunt the peasant revolt over to pseudo-Fascist rails. Tachibana, assassin of Premier Inukai, peculiar combination of social revolutionary terrorist turned fascist, reveals clearly the attempts of the military bureaucracy to place itself at the head of any incipient movement of revolt on the part of the peasants so as to render it abortive. The Russian example must be the beacon for our Japanese comrades, showing the way to the only real solution!

FEUDAL REMNANTS IN CAPITALISM
The appearance of nation-wide unemployment during the prolonged crisis in Japanese capitalism marks a distinct turning-point in its development as well as in that of the working class. In 1930 there appeared for the first time in Japan the American type of labor shortage in industry and the beginning of the new epoch of permanent unemployment for an increasing section of the proletariat. Japan's rising labor costs, in the face of low labor productivity, act increasingly to force rationalization,—in essence the use of more productive machines and less labor. Japan reaches the heights of modernity!

Despite this up-to-dateness the relationship between master and man, boss and worker, is permeated with feudal remnants in unique fashion. Prior to the present crisis, despite the extreme poverty of the villages, the peasantry avoided factory labor, thus creating a continual shortage of industrial workers. The employers were forced to send recruiting agents to the farms, these agents luring young girls to the city by glowing accounts of city life, presents, payment of badly needed cash in advance to the parents and advance of transportation money. Every year 200,000 girls were thus lured to the textile mills, there to be kept behind locked gates in factory dormitories.

Over eight percent of the textile workers are women. The present Japanese factory laws permit children of 12 to work in factories and there are over a quarter of a million girls from 12 to 16 at work. The exploitation of these women and children can be depicted only by England in the early 19th century. Half the factories have dormitor-

ies which "imprison" 1-5 of the men and over half of the women hands. The factory act permits a nominal workday of 11 hours for women and children but this is honored only in the breach. The dormitory permit the prolonging of the work-day with ease. The dormitories are also the breeding-place of prostitution fostered by the bosses. The food provided by the companies at a "nominal sum" (in reality part of the low wages) means slow starvation for the victims. Japanese workers do not sleep in beds but on mats, covered by quilts. A mat occupies a space three feet by six, this space being allotted in the dormitories to two or three workers. Overcrowding, poor food, bad sanitation, confinement—no wonder tuberculosis is the scourge of Japan! All unions make the demand that the dormitories be abolished or, more immediately, that food and sanitary conditions be improved.

Not only in the dormitories is there overcrowding. It is common for two families, each of five persons, with boarders as well, to occupy three mats in workers' homes. The infant mortality rate among workers' families is extremely high. Mothers, after long hours of toil, cannot nurse their babies. Here we have the "normal" conditions under Japanese "planned" economy.

WAGES AND DISCHARGE ALLOWANCES
The wages of men in the silk-reeling and cotton spinning mills average from 1.20 to 1.60 yen a day, women receiving .90 to 1.00 yen per day. This meagre wage is augmented by bonuses (deferred wages) granted at the pleasure of the boss and constituting an excellent means of defrauding workers. However, the remnants of feudal psychology have, up till recently, led to a recognition of the duty of the employer to continue the worker in employment. Thus if a worker is discharged he is granted an allowance amounting to a considerable sum in many cases. Not only does this apply in case of discharge but even in strikes the bosses are obliged to pay the returning strikers for the time lost. In the famous Noda Shoyu Brewing Co. strike lasting for 217 days in 1927-28, the strike was lost but the company paid \$190,000 to the strikers dismissed, each one receiving over \$200 and, despite the company's refusal to recognize the union, \$40,000 going to the strike fund. Later these allowances have become a cheap means of avoiding any unemployment dole.

(To Be Continued)

A.F.L. and 6-Hour Day

(Continued from page 1)
 measure is purely a parliamentary legislative one. It is not so much its proposed scheme of insurance upon a state basis, although it absolves the federal government from responsibility, which is important. No, it is rather the fact that these officials can now foresee the possibility of capitalism actually being compelled to accede to a measure of unemployment insurance. They therefore found it necessary to give allegiance, at least in words. And what with the traditional A. F. of L. "non-partisan" political policy—which objectively is partisan to capitalism—as a legislative proposal only it can mean nothing but a continuation of begging capitalist politicians for favors. The working class, however, from a long range perspective, is confronted not only with the question of the necessity of obtaining this measure, it is confronted much more definitely with the question of strengthening its class position in the struggle for this immediate objective.

Toward Social Reformism

That the official A. F. of L. direction is making a bend toward social reformism is only further substantiated by the fact that the Cincinnati convention also went on record against the sales tax. It was branded as a device to soak the poor and then for good measure the convention went on record to soak the rich by a proposal for increased income and inheritance taxation. But that this bend is essentially with the objective of more effective opposition to the advance of Communism was very well attested to in the unanimous greeting of the remarks of the American Legion national commander before the convention. He proclaimed that the Legion and the A. F. of L. would have to do the bulk of the fighting against Communism.

In this connection it is necessary again to examine the approach of the official party leadership to the trade unions on the question of relief measures for the unemployed. In that respect, the same as in regard to the general working class problems, it has proven true to its Centrist position. It has sown confusion and harm, combining the adventurist policy of isolation from the unions with a lagging behind, dragged at the rear of events. The party leadership did not approach the unions as living organisms, subject to changes dictated by the economic structure within which they function. The party leadership did not at all press forward endeavoring to take its part in determining and speeding the direction of the change. When it should have been pressing relentlessly upon the A. F. of L. and its leadership for a united struggle for unemployment relief it continued the opposite course of seeking to withdraw these activities from the unions. Today when the party should be in the midst of building up strong Left wing groups within the A. F. of L. in preparation for the coming serious battles, it is still way behind, agitating from the outside in a manner which widens the separation of the vanguard from the trade unions. Meanwhile, this has facilitated the efforts of the A. F. of L. officialdom to again reinforce its position of domination over the rank and file membership by giving paper allegiance to progressive measures.

Are there Signs of Coming Struggles?

Outstanding today is the fact of the general trade union retreat in face of wage cuts, all along the line. Practically throughout, the officials have been the most active sponsors for acceptance on the general plea of hard times for industry and easy replacement of labor. But within the general retreat there are sufficient indications of what is coming. It is established by the fact of union membership refusal to accept wage cuts and strikes despite the easy

conditions of labor replacement, as well as by the fact of oppositions crystallizing against attempted official sell-outs. Throughout the southern textile fields there have been during the recent months a wave of strikes against the inhuman conditions under which unskilled workers reach as low as \$5.00 weekly wages. Thus while labor is still cheap in the south, the additional bourgeois boats of it being contented definitely belongs to the past.

Undoubtedly the officialdom considers as a bad omen certain rumblings of revolt amongst unions of the skilled crafts. Therefore they feel the necessity of stepping a little livelier. In the New York Typographical local, the "Big Six," very strong opposition developed to the international president Howard's proposal to accept a wage cut. In the big electricians' local number refused to accept a wage cut sponsored by the officials. And to register their opposition further they carried through to victory their fight against the reactionary local machine of president Frank Wilson, despite its support from the international office. But largest of all is looming on the horizon of future indications the revolt of the Illinois coal miners.

These manifestations are small but they point to much more serious clashes with the continuing wage cuts and the ever more persistent demands from the employers for new and additional cuts. The large centralized banking corporations not only make these demands in more definite terms upon the interlocking industrial concerns but they also press the government into action, from the federal down to the municipalities. Hoover has already responded, setting an example in his message to congress, advocating a wage cut for all federal employees down to the lowest brackets, where it hits the hardest, to those earning \$1,000 yearly.

The Six Hour Day Slogan

We have often repeated the contention that as a means of issuing out of the crisis the American capitalists will resort to further lowering of living. This proof of this contention is at hand. This proof forms a part of our conclusion of coming serious struggles. And it is important to remember, that, though yet in retreat, the American workers have not been defeated. On the contrary. They can fully be depended upon to put their strength to the test in battle. It is in this connection that real attention must be paid to the proposal adopted by the A. F. of L. convention for the six hour day, the five day week, without reduction of pay.

As already mentioned, the resolutions adopted are only a paper allegiance so far as the reactionary leaders are concerned. Towards them it is necessary to be more vigilant and more watchful than ever. Not only to watch their resolutions but also to watch their fingers. Yet the resolution is of enormous importance both in respect to the condition which called for its adoption and in respect to the opportunity it offers. There is the possibility of making it a real live slogan, of making it a central slogan which will help to turn the workers' retreat into its opposite, into the direction of the offensive. From this we can begin to perceive the enormous significance of this slogan from the standpoint of class relations, that is when this slogan is really taken up seriously and actively and pressed forward by the revolutionists and militants.

Even in what is indicated by the acceptance of the six hour day at Cincinnati, and despite how little it is taken serious by its sponsors, there is nevertheless a powerful substantiation of the correctness of the Left Opposition in proposing it as a central slogan. But what will it mean to the Stalinist leaders of the official party? Will they insist that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats should make a little step backward and give lip service instead

Weisbord and the Hunger March

In the struggle between the Stalinist faction of the party and the Left Opposition on the question of correct policy in the Hunger March, the Left Opposition has carried on a fight in the most important large cities as reported in the Militant. Weisbord issued a leaflet to the New York Ratification Conference and signed the leaflet, "Communist League of Struggle, (Adhering to the International (Trotsky) Opposition)". The position of Weisbord is false and has nothing in common with the position of the Left Opposition.

Many workers confused this leaflet and the insane policy advocated with that of the Communist League of America. The bureaucrats knew the difference but cleverly utilized the leaflet to "expose the program of the Left Opposition". If this leaflet represented the program of our American section we would deserve condemnation.

The following are several of the outstanding mistakes of the leaflet. More mistakes in a one page leaflet are difficult to conceive of.

According to Weisbord, "The present March cannot merely be an 'exposure' of the government. To a considerable extent this has already been done." The "considerable extent" to which "the government has been exposed", in Weisbord's mind, will be best seen from the infantile Leftism of the "concrete" proposals he makes later on.

Weisbord makes the astonishing "demand for the nationalization of the key industries, for the opening of factories under workers control so that the necessary products can be turned over to unemployed and starving workers." This

demand at this stage of class relations in the United States falls outside the bounds of Communist demands and plays into the hands of class collaborationism. Anyone who advocates the nationalization of industry and workers control of industries in the present condition of the United States has forgotten, or did not know the most elementary education of the Communists, let alone that of the Left Opposition.

The leaflet demands "A great demonstration in Washington threatening drastic action by the masses should the demands be turned down." Weisbord wants us to threaten drastic action. Good. But what action? He answers by saying that "A call for a national general strike to take place on the date set for Congress to act to put pressure on Congress and to support the Hunger March, should be issued by the Hunger Marchers in Washington." A general strike, a national general strike to be called, not by organized unions or mass movement or by the party but by the Hunger Marchers! A general strike is a class weapon of first importance but when played with, as it is by Weisbord, it becomes a mistake of first magnitude—an adventurist piece of ultra-Leftism proposed out of all relationship to the actual situation and the state of mind and organization of the masses.

This leaflet and these ideas are part of the program and base upon which Weisbord wants to base his "mass work". Stalinism has its brand of "mass work". The American section of the International Left Opposition will continue its activity toward greater class activity, but always upon the basis of Marxian policies.

to a proposal for the seven hour day? It would be inconceivable to think that the party leaders should not want to have the trade unions adopt their slogans. The chief "theoretician," Browder, last year, in arguing against our advocacy of the six hour day slogan, said that as against the slogan for the seven hour day leads in the direction of the "revolutionary working class solution" of the unemployment problem. But why there is such a distinction, he failed entirely to make clear. And the reason is because it cannot be made clear. It cannot be defended any more than the general false Stalinist views of policy for the revolutionary and working class movement can be defended.

But the Stalinist party leaders have made the additional mistake of obscuring the shorter workday proposal in its present program of immediate demands. Is that accidental, or is that a part of their general failure to pursue a strategy in which the slogans of today become preparations for the struggles of tomorrow? Are they content to leave that field entirely to the whims of reactionary trade union leaders and the social reformists? Are they content to let that slogan rest in Green's hands? That that would mean leaving it in the hands of the agents of the class enemy.

Green spoke strong words in its favor at the Cincinnati convention. He spoke for strikes to secure this measure. Other worthies seconded him. Is it then not time now to begin to call them to the test in action before the working class whom they are supposed to lead? The method by which to do this is through the building of a Left wing movement within the A. F. of L. The very least that this A. F. of L. convention action should call for from the Communists is to undertake now and in earnest the task of arousing the labor movement as a whole to an actual struggle for the six hour day, the five day week, with no reduction of pay.

—ARNE SAWBECK

PAMPHLETS WANTED

We are now completely out of the Bound Volumes of comrade Trotsky's pamphlets. But the demand still continues. This leaves us no choice but to make another attempt to bind some more. This is where the difficulty comes in. As you remember we advertised the Bound Volumes as containing some pamphlets that were out of print and unobtainable except in these Bound Volumes. That was true. But now that the Bound Volumes are all gone, these pamphlets are unobtainable anywhere, even by us.

In order to bind additional sets we need the following pamphlets: **The Draft Program; The Turn in the C. I.; Germany—The Key to the International Situation; and World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan.** If our comrades will send these pamphlets to us we will be able to go ahead with the binding. We need lots of them. The more we receive the more we will be able to bind.

We ask for these pamphlets on the following terms. We are absolutely unable to pay for them with money. We can issue credit slips for the amount of the pamphlets against any accompanying or future order that the comrade may make. But these orders must be for literature. We are strongly against applying them to sub extensions and renewals. And the pamphlets must be in good condition.

LEON TROTSKY

Soviet Economy in Danger

The Situation on the Eve of the Second Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue)

But one of the most important disproportions consists in the fact that the availability of money. In the language of monetary circulation, this is what is called inflation. In the language of planned economy this signifies exaggerated plans, incorrect division of forces and means, in particular, between the production of objects for consumption and the production of means for production.

From that time when the correlation of prices began to turn against the city, the latter safe-guarder itself by "freezing" the goods, i. e., they were simply not put into circulation, but kept in hand to be distributed bureaucratically. This signified that only the peruncrual shadow of the scissors had closed its blades, while their material disproportion still remained. But the peasant is little interested in shadows. The absence of commodities has pushed him and continues to push him in the direction of a strike in breadstuffs: he does not want to part with his grain for money.

Not having become a matter of simple and profitable exchange for both sides, the provision of foodstuffs and agricultural raw material has remained as hitherto "a political campaign", "militant drive", requiring each time the mobilization of the State and party apparatus. "Many kolkhozes, Pravda cautiously reports (September 26), "reset the collection of grain, hiding their stocks". We know what the word "many" signifies in such a context. If the exchange between the village and the city were advantageous, then the peasants would have no cause whatever to "hide their stocks"; but if the exchange is not advantageous, i. e., if it takes the form of compulsory transfer, then all the kolkhozes, and not "many" as well as the individual proprietors. The duties of the peasants in supplying meat provisions are officially invested at present with the character of a natural tax in kind, with all the ensuing repressive consequences. The economic results of the 100 percent collectivization are designated much more correctly by these facts than by the bald statistics of collectivized hectares.

The fact that severe laws were passed

L. Trotsky---Bonapartism in Germany

(Continued from page 1)

First, was not a "bonapartist" one, not only because Napoleon himself was a doubtful Buonapart by blood, but also because his relations to classes, especially to the peasantry and to the lumpen-proletariat was not at all the same as that of Napoleon the First. Moreover, classical bonapartism grew out of the epoch of gigantic war victories, which the second Empire did not know at all. But if we should look for the repetition of all the traits of bonapartism, we will find that bonapartism is a one-time unrepeatable occurrence, that means that in general bonapartism does not exist but that there once was a general Bonapart, born in Corsica. The matter stands no different with liberalism and with all other generalized terms of history. When one speaks by analogy of bonapartism, it is necessary to state precisely which of its traits found their fullest expression under present historical conditions.

Present-day German bonapartism has a very complex and so to say combined character. The government of Papen would have been impossible without Fascism. But Fascism is not in power. And the government of Papen is not Fascism. On the other hand, the government of Papen, at any rate in its present form, would have been impossible without Hindenburg, who inspite of the final prostration of Germany in the war, signifies in the memory of wide masses great victories of Germany and symbolizes the army. The second election of Hindenburg had all the characteristics of a "plebiscite". Many millions of workers, petty bourgeois and peasants (Social-democracy and Centre) voted for Hindenburg. They did not see in him any one political program. They wanted first of all to avoid civil war and raised Hindenburg on their shoulders as a super-arbiter, as an arbitration judge of the nation. But precisely this is the most important function of bonapartism: raising itself over the two struggling camps in order to preserve property and order, it suppresses civil war, or precedes it, or does not allow it to rekindle. Speaking of Papen we cannot forget Hindenburg on whom rests the sanction of the social democracy. The combined character of German bonapartism expressed itself in the fact that the demagogic work of catching the masses for Hindenburg was performed by two big independent parties: the social democracy and national socialism. If they are both astonished at the results of their work this does not change the matter one whit.

The social democracy asserts that Fascism is the product of Communism. This is correct in so far as there would have been no necessity at all in Fascism without the sharpening of the class struggle, without the revolutionary proletariat, without the crisis of capitalist society. The flunkeish theory of Wells-Gilferding-Otto Bauer has no other meaning. Yes, Fascism is a reaction of bourgeois society to the threat of proletarian revolution. But precisely because this threat is not an imminent one today, that the ruling classes make an attempt to get along without a civil war by the medium of a bonapartist dictatorship.

Objecting to our characterization of the

government of Hindenburg-Papen-Schleicher, the Brandlerites refer to Marx and express thereby an ironic hope that his authority may also have weight with us. It is difficult to be made fools of in a more flagrant manner (?). The fact is that Marx and Engels wrote not only of bonapartism of the two Bonaparts but also of other species thereof. Beginning, it seems, with the year 1864, they have likened not once the "national" regime of Bismark to French bonapartism. And this in spite of the fact that Bismark was not a pseudo-radical demagogue and so far as we know, was not supported by the peasantry. The Iron Chancellor was not raised to power as a result of a plebiscite, but was duly appointed by his legitimate and hereditary king. And never-the-less Marx and Engels are right. Bismark made us in a bonapartist fashion of the antagonism between the propertied classes, and the rising proletariat, overcoming in this way the antagonism within the two propertied classes, between the Junkerdom and the bourgeoisie, and raised a military-police apparatus over the nation. The policy of Bismark is that very tradition to which the "theoreticians" of present German bonapartism refer. True, Bismark solved in his fashion the problem of German unity, of the external greatness of Germany. Papen however so far only promises to obtain for Germany "equality" on the international arena. Not a small difference! But we were not trying to prove that the bonapartism of Papen is of the same calibre as the bonapartism of Bismark. Napoleon the Third was also only a parody of his pretended uncle.

The reference to Marx as seen has a slovenly character. That Thalheimer does not understand the dialectics of Marxism we suspected long ago. But, we must admit, we thought that at least he knew the texts of Marx and Engels. We take this opportunity to correct our mistake.

Our characteristic of the presidential government rejected by the Brandlerites received a very brilliant confirmation from a very unexpected and in its way "authoritative" source. With regard to the dissolution of the "five-day" Reichstag DAZ (Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—organ of heavy industry) quoted on August 28th in a long article the work of Marx "The 18th Brumaire"—for what purpose? No more and no less than in support of the historical and political rights of the president to put his boot on the neck of people's representation. The organ of heavy industry risked at a difficult moment drinking from the poisoned wells of Marxism. With a remarkable adroitness the paper takes from the immortal pamphlet a long quotation explaining how and why the French president as the incarnation of the "nation" obtained a preponderance over the split up parliament. The same article of the DAZ reminds very apropos how in the spring of 1890 Bismark developed a plan for a most suitable governmental change. Napoleon the Third and Bismark as forerunners of presidential government are called by the right name by the Berlin newspaper which in August at least played the role of an official organ.

To quote "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon" in reference to the "July 20th

of von Papen" is of course very risky since Marx characterized the regime of Napoleon in the most acid terms as the regime of adventurists, crooks and pimps. Actually DAZ could be brought to punishment for a malicious slander of the government. But if we should leave aside this indirect inconvenience, there remains nevertheless the doubtless fact that the historic instinct brought DAZ to the proper place. Unfortunately one can not say the same of the theoretical wisdom of Thalheimer.

Bonapartism of the era of the decline of capitalism differs widely from bonapartism of the era of ascension of bourgeois society. German bonapartism is not supported directly by the petty bourgeoisie of the country and village, and this is not accidental. Precisely therefore we wrote at one time of the weakness of the government of Papen which holds on only by the neutralization of two camps: the proletariat and the fascists.

But behind Papen stand the great landowners, finance capital, generals—so to speak other "Marxists". Do not the propertied classes in itself present a great force? This argument proves once more that it is much easier to understand class relations in their general sociological outline than in a concrete historical form. Yes, immediately behind Papen stand the propertied heights and they only; precisely therein is contained the cause of his weakness.

Under the conditions of present-day capitalism a government which would not be the agency of finance capital is in general impossible. But of all possible agencies the government of Papen is the least stable one. If the ruling classes could rule directly, they would have no need either of parliamentarism, or of social democracy, or of Fascism. The government of Papen reveals too clearly finance capital, leaving it even without the sanctified order by the Prussian commissar Brakht. Just because the extra-party, "national" government is in fact able to speak only in the name of the social heights, capital is ever more careful not to identify itself with the government of Papen. DAZ wants to find for the presidential government support in the national-socialist masses and in the language of ultimatums demands of Papen a bloc with Hitler which means capitulation to him.

In evaluating the "strength" of the presidential government we must not forget the circumstance, that if finance capital stand behind Papen, this does not at all mean that it falls together with him. Finance capital has innumerable more possibilities than Hindenburg-Papen-Schleicher. In case of the sharpening of contradictions there remains the reserve of pure Fascism. In case of the lowering of contradictions one will maneuver until the time when the proletariat puts its knee on its chest. For how long Papen will maneuver the near future will show.

These lines will appear in the press when the new elections to the Reichstag will have already passed. The bonapartist nature of the "anti-French" government of Papen will inevitably reveal itself with a new force, but also its weakness. We will take this up again in due time.

Prinkipo, October 30, 1932.
 —L. TROTSKY.

The Conditions and Methods of Planned Economy

Of what sort are the organs of constructing and applying the plan? What are the methods of checking and regulating it? What are the conditions for its success?

Three systems must be subjected in this connection to a brief analysis: (1) special state organs, i. e., the hierarchical system of plan commissions, in the center, as well as locally; (2) trade, as a system of market regulation; (3) Soviet democracy, as a system of living reaction of the masses upon the structure of economy.

If there existed the universal mind, that projected itself into the scientific fancy of Laplace; a mind that would register simultaneously all the processes of nature and of society, that could measure the dynamics of their motion, that could forecast the results of their interactions, such a mind, of course, could a priori draw up a faultless and an exhaustive economic plan, beginning with the number of hectares of wheat and down to the last button for a vest. In truth, the bureaucracy often conceives that just such a mind is at its disposal; that is why it so easily frees itself from the control of the market and of Soviet democracy. But, in reality, the bureaucracy errs frightfully in its appraisal of its spiritual resources. In its creativeness, it is obliged perforce, in actual performance, to depend upon the proportions (and with equal justice one may say, the disproportions) it has inherited from capitalist Russia: upon the data of the economic structure of contemporary capitalist nations; and finally, upon the experience of successes and mistakes of the Soviet economy itself. But even the most correct combination of all these elements will allow only of constructing a most imperfect wire skeleton of a plan, and not more.

The innumerable living participants of economy. State as well as private, collective as well as individual, must give notice of their needs and of their relative strength not only through the statistical determinations of plan commissions but by the direct pressure of supply and demand. The plan is checked and, to a considerable measure, realized through the market. The regulation of the market itself must depend upon the

we see it, Preobrazhensky himself, in any event, was much too hasty in getting down on his knees before the Stalinist bureaucracy.

tendencies that are brought out through its medium. The blueprints produced by the offices must demonstrate their economic expediency through commercial calculation. The system of transitional economy is unthinkable without the control of the rouble. This presupposes, in its turn, that the rouble equals itself. Without a firm monetary unit, commercial accounting can only increase the chaos.

The processes of economic construction are not as yet taking place within a classless society. The questions relating to the allotment of the national income compose the central shaft of the plan. It shifts with the direct development of the class-struggle and that of social groups, and among them, the various strata of the proletariat itself. These are the most important social and economic questions: the link between the city and the village, i. e., the balance between that which industry obtains from rural economy and that which it supplies to it; the interrelation between accumulation and consumption, between the fund for capital construction and the fund for labor wages; the regulation of wages for various categories of labor (skilled and unskilled workers, government employees, specialists the managing bureaucracy); and finally, the allotment of that share of national income which falls to the village, between the various strata of the peasantry—all these questions by their very nature do not allow of the a priori decisions of the bureaucracy, that has fenced itself off from the interference of interested millions.

The struggle between living interests, as the fundamental factor of planning, leads us into the domain of politics, which is concentrated economics. The instrument of the social groups of Soviet society are (should be): the Soviets, the trade unions, the co-operatives, and first of all the ruling party. Only through the inter-reaction of the three elements, State planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can be realized the correct management of the economy of the transitional epoch, and only thus can be assured—not the complete surmounting of contradictions and disproportions within a few years (this is Utopia!)—but their mitigation, and, through just that, the strengthening of the material bases of the dictatorship of the proletariat until the moment when a new and victorious revolution will widen the arena of socialist planning and will reconstruct the system.

(To be continued)