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### THEY OVERLOOKED THE GERMAN SITUATION

The first answer of the American Stalinists to the Hoover moratorium was a shocking revelation of the theoretical degeneration which has been brought into the Communist movement under the flag of "socialism in one country." The Russian Opposition attacked this theory from the very start as the cover for a fundamental revision of the Marxist doctrine of revolutionary internationalism tending to turn the attention of the nato the pacifist office of "frontier guards" being constructed there. The first comment of the Daily Worker on the new other demonstration of the fact that comrade Trotsky and his Marxist fellowthinkers did not overstate the case.

Reducing all complexities to one common formula, the Daily Worker had no difficulty in explaining the moratorium proposal to its readers. The issue of editorial to the subject. From this statement of Hoover, says the editorial, "there can be no further doubt of the position of the United States as organizer and leader of the international anti-Soviet front." Hoover's statement, coutinues the editorial, "should alarm every worker as an immediate war threat against the first workers' Republic." On this single theme the entire editorial is developed. As to the direct and immediate aim of the American proposal-to the same thing, and that there is no real head off the proletarian revolution in Germany-and as to the connection of the proletarian revolution in Europe with the defense of the Soviet tions. An abominable practice, it is Union and the consolidation of its victory true, but it cannot be helped. Everyone -on these questions the editorial of the contributes according to his ability. The Daily Worker had not a word to say. Stalinists are able to muddle questions, And that was not a mere "oversight". They do that industriously. The theory of socialism in one country began by overlooking the international revolution and removing it from the REVIVING "THE APPEAL agenda of practical tasks of the day and could not do otherwise, for the two conceptions are incompatible. The American students are faithful to their Russian teachers-and paymasters.

revolution in Spain was viewed with represents an attempt to interpret the disuneasiness in Pravda because it threa- content generated by the crisis in terms tened to upset the European equili- of pre-war radicalism. We do not wish brium and endanger the Five Year success to this venture, although we are is overlooked in the Daily Worker necessity of popular agitation sheets which sees only "defense" of the which extend their appeal and influence Soviet Union-as though there could be far out beyond the boundaries of the any real and permanent defense except conscious section of the labor movement, the revolution in other countries. The The old Appeal did this with an unparwhole sequence of blunders and crimes alleled effectiveness. It reached hunwhich has flowed from the Stalin lead- dreds of thousands, at times even milership-in Russia and on a world scale - lions but nothing came of the movement have proceeded from a theory that is it created. The logic of events disclosed fundamentally false.

day, as many are apt to regard t. No. farce. it is the thread which ties all the current revisionist policies together and ren was an agitator and therein lay its alism is preeminently a struggle to free tional, superficial, and crassly reformist. it from the debasing influence of this The unrest of the times and the ignortheory.

## "SAVING—GERMANY" FOR WHOM?

If the Hoover proposal for the suspension of war debts and reparations fails to hold back the proletarian revolution in Germany it will not be for lack of support in the capitalist camp. | test of events rendered a different ver-In the chorus of praise which has greet. dict. The Appeal To Reason became a ed the new intervention in Europe from all the bourgeois parties and factions there is not a note of discord to be heard. Everything is in close harmony, as though all the parts had been assigned and rehearsed in advance in readiness for the signal of the maestro. The unison is even superior to that of a practised orchestra and more firmly based. They are all united behind the scheme by the compulsion of common interest in the existing social order which is directly menaced by the situation in Germany. That is the real secret of the marvelous unanimity.

From this standpoint one of the applauding voices deserves a special mention. On July 1 Norman Thomas hailed the moratorium policy as a step to save of the Oppositon signifies. It derives Germany and Europe from "collapse". its historic importance not only from Speaking before the Union Theological its implacable antagonism to the old Seminary as quoted by the Times of the reformist agitation under the old and year. following day, he said: "The collapse of Germany under the Hitlerites or Communists threatens the collapse of all Europe, or even all of Western civilization. Although Hoover's plan does not go far enough, it is good as far as it goes." To Hoover and his Wall Street backers this point of view is irreproachable. Support from the Left is necessary for the politicians of reaction, and highly valued by them. But how should the workers many of whom imagine Thomas speaks in their interest regard this utterance?

Thomas is fearful of a "collapse of all Europe, even of all of Western civilization", regardless of whether this collapse occurs under the Communists or ask first of all what such a "collapse" under the Communists would consist Reasonism, open and disguised-the Op- cals, chain stores, office supplies, pubstands to gain by it. Hoover and Co. could answer that question without a revolutionary policy! moment's hesitation. They thought of it

beforehand, and that is why they acted It ought to be obvious to every worker who stops to think-and there are many of them who have time and reason to think these days-that Thomas' fear of a "collapse under the Communists" is an echo of the fear of the ruling class and not an expression of the interests of their exploited victims.

But-it may be objected-Thomas said he also feared the Fascists. Yes, he did say it and he does fear them. In that sentiment he defends the special interests of the social-democracy which would tional Communist parties away from the be deprived of its function if bourgeoisproblems of the international revolution democracy-the present form of capitalist class rule in Germany-were supwho would "defend" the Soviet Union planted by a Fascist dictatorship, another while a complete socialist society was form of the same class rule. This question is not without importance to the workers in the course of their libera-American intervention in Europe is an- tion struggle, but their problem is in no way solved by the prevention of Fascism. Their fundamental task is the overthrow of capitalism which, under the regime of democracy, finds its strongest base of support in the social-democracy. The remarks of Thomas on the Hoover plan, were in essence an appeal June 22, following the publication of to the capitalists to rely on this support Hoover's statement devoted a leading and an assurance that it is the most reliable.

The Daily Worker on July 6 quoted the speech of Thomas with the reference to the "Hitlerites" deleted. An oversight, perhaps, of a careless editorial writer? Far from it. The Daily Worker couldn't conveniently quote a declaration of Norman Thomas against the fascists because it is telling its readers every day that social-democracy and fascism are the same thing, or nearly conflict between them. The theory of "social-fascism" must be vindicated even if it requires a little garbling of quota-

TO REASON"

The announcement of the revival of the "Appeal To Reason", .with Fred Warren, its old managing editor again Yesterday the oncoming proletarian at the helm along with Haldeman-Julius, the German revolution far from denying the importance and a fatal weakness in the whole scheme. The reactionary theory of socialism in its ignominious collapse under the first one country is no abstraction, remote guns of the war was a tragedy; the atfrom the problems and tosks of the tempt to repeat the experiment is a

The Appeal under Wayland and Warunites them into a system. And for that inherent defect. It was merely an agireason, the struggle for the regeneration tator without weight or substance, of the Communist International on the scorning considerations of fundamental foundations of revolutionary internation- theory and, consequently, frothy, sensaance of the movement invested the paper with a great temporary success. It "reached the masses"-with sound and fury signifying nothing except poverty of thought and ignorance of Marxian fundamentals. Theory was drowned out by the noise of empty agitation in those halcyon days before the war. But the vulgar war-monger. Marxian theory stood its ground and became the foundation of a new proletarian movement.

Because of that experience and to the extent that the present-day movement of the militant proletariat has assimilated the lesson, it stands on nigher ground and cannot be dragged back again to the private permanent depression of their to the extent that it proceeds from revolutionary theory, and is constantly tested and regulated by it, does agitation serve as an impetus to the development of a class movement. The first and foremost task is to advance this idea and struggle for its hegemony.

At bottom this is what the struggle discredited trade-marks. The inadequacy of the old movement on this basis has tion even in the socalled "prosperous" been sufficiently demonstrated, at least times ending in 1929, we find a number in the eyes of the workers' vanguard. A more acute and immediate danger is the pressed and were unable to make satisattempt to smuggle in the outworn methods and conceptions under the flag of Communism. The blustering agitation of the Centrists, debasing all the theoretical traditions of the movement borrows more than a little on this account. The ignorant ballyhoo about "mass work" which is heard on the fringes of the Left pidly shrink in depression times: auto-Opposition is at bottom nothing more mobiles, clothing, building materials,

So you will give up the slogan, "Go te the masses"-say the advocates of agitation for its own sake. No. But in slogan read: Go to the masses with a

than this.

# Manuilsky Makes an Unintentional Admission

the Communist International has held. the Eleventh Pleum which recently met without announcement of its sessions or attention to its deliberations or results, undoubtedly occupies the lowest rung in the ladder of the Comintern's history. The whole impression gained from the Plenum is that it met in a vacuum. Yet there are one or two spots of interest and instruction in its proceedings. Material points of interest in a vacuum? There is no contradiction here. As in natural science, there is no absolutely perfect vacuum. The same holds true of the Eleventh Plenum. The instructive point in this case is furnished-again the contradiction is only apparent-by an unwitting admission from Manuilsky, the main reporter.

"In what way," he asks "does the higher stage of the present revolutionary upsurge as compared with preceding years express itself? In the fact that in a number of capitalist countries, and in a number of separate actions, the Communists are beginning to assume the independent leadership in the class battles.

"The Communists in China are not now carrying on a victorious Northern Expedition, occupying Shanghai and the other industrial centers, nor is Chiang Kai-Shek striking them in the flank at the moment of victory. The Communists are now independently, as a party directing the Chinese Red Army of peasants and workers against Chiang Kai-Shek, against all the counter-revolutiondifferentiation.

toiling masses, and this would have re- the minds of the workers. fact that the Communists have assumed

precorr, June 10, 1931.)

Of all the plenums or congresses that Why didn't the Communists give "inde- Communists in England and China to and Citrines by the stubborn mainten-General Strike in Great Britain or the Northern Expedition in China (which) would have resulted in the immediate victory of the proletarian revolution"?

> From Manuilsky's report, no other leadership, which is directed in turn by the movement from the hands of its labor affairs". the infallible General Secretary. Had traducers, Purcell and Chiang Kai-Shek, Manuilsky refrained from invoking the Hicks and Cook and Wang Chin Wei. past, matters would not have stood so badly for his conceptions, for god knows of the general and the miners' strikes, is, the liberation of the Communists from that the leadership of the various Com- when the classes were at sword's points | the strangulating yoke of the "Left" remunist parties is eminently incapable of Stalin and Bucharin prevented the Eng- formists and the creation of the possibilexecuting intelligently any policy-right lish Communist Party from acting as a ity for action independent of Purcell's or wrong. Unfortunately for this religic is legend, however, Manuilsky had to and compelled it to function as the Gen-"strengthen" his case by a reference to eral Council's watchdog against the outthe inglorious past-not of the Commun- raged feelings of the workers stabled the "splitter of the labor movement". ists "in China" or the "Communists in in the back. During the strike, the Europe" but more directly of the "Com- British Communists were locked into munists" in the immediate, most intimate central apparatus of Stalin himself, in warmest collaboration with Buch- and told to act harmoniously under the arin.

pendent leadership to movements like the put themselves at the head of the revolutionary movements. It was they who, abusing the immense power they had usurped, covered up a downright Menshevik policy with all the prestige and authority of the Communist International and answer can be found than that the Com- the Russian revolution. It was they who

In England during the turbulent period party of the revolutionary proletariat control? The Left Opposition. Who deone room with the "Left" wing of the General Council, with the Cooks and Co. banner of the "minority movement". The whole truth of the matter lies in Even after the open betrayal of the

## Thaelmann and the «People's Revolution»

ary generals and the united forces of ridiculous and maliciously confused man- reality, the worker-Communists should the whole imperialist front. In the mat- ner of putting the question cannot be say to the Fascist worker: Of course. Chin Wei. They told the Communists to ter of winning the hegemony of the pro- imagined! "The people's revolution"- ninety-five percent of the population if letariat in the national-revolutionary as a slogan and even with a reference not ninety-eight percent, is exploited by to defend the bourgeois dictatorshipmovement they have made since 1926 a to Lenin. Yet every issue of the paper finance capital. But this exploitation is tremendous and decisive advance and of the Fascist Strasser is embellished organized hierarchically; there are exhave raised the revolutionary movement with the slogan of the people's revolu- ploiters, there are sub-exploiters, subto a new height as a result of its class | tion as opposed to the Marxian slogan of sub-exploiters, etc. Only thanks to this | telegrams to China to "curb the agrarian "The Communists in Europe are not that every great revolution is a people's subjection the majority of the nation. In at this moment leading general strikes or a national revolution, in the sense that order that the nation should indeed be Min Tang as footmen to Sun Yat Senism, on the scale of the English strike of it unites around the revolutionary class able to reconstruct itself around a new 1926, which was betrayed at the decisive all the virile and creative forces of the class core, it must be reconstructed ideomoment by the Purcells, Citrines and nation and reconstructs the nation around logically and this can be achieved only other leaders of the General Council a new core. But this is not a slogan, if the proletariat does not dissolve it-. . . Had the Communists given inde- it is a sociological description of the revpendent leadership to movements like olution, which requires, moreover, precise but on the contrary develops a program the General Strike in Great Britain and concrete definitons. But as a slo- of its proletarian revolution and compels or the Northern Expedition in China, it gan, it is inane and charlatanism, market the petty bourgeoisie to choose between would have implied that they had won competition with the Fascists, paid for two régimes. The slogan of the people's historian, but because only by knowing the majority of the working class and at the price of injecting confusion into revolution lulls the petty bourgeoisie as the yesterday can today be understand

expression of the policy of the united over to the opposite extreme: No agree- a conflict with any serious enemy, think is nourished solely upon uncondemned There is surely an appreciable dif- ments with the reformists, "class against first of all of how to imitate him, how errors. ference between the two "stages" in the class." The very slogan which was to to repaint themselves in his colors and The opportunist has a short memorysecond of which there are allegedly big serve for drawing the social democratic how to win the masses by means of a or rather, he prefers the working cla advances and progress to record, and workers closer to the Communist workers smart trick and not by revolutionary to have a short memory. The revol in the first of which there were in real- came to mean, in the "third period", struggle. A truly shameful posing of tionist gains when the proletarian, I ity two of the most crushing and humili- the struggle against the social democratic the question! If the weak Spanish Com- thinking of the past, is enabled to a ating defeats even experienced by an workers as against a different class. embattled proletariat-in England and Now the new turn: the people's revolutown, they would arrive at the policy of all confession has helped to refresh China. What caused the difference? tion instead of the proletarian revolu- the Spanish Kuo Min Tang. Why are the Communists "beginning" to tion. The Fascist Strasser says: Ninetyassume "independent leadership" new? five percent of the people are interested April 14, 1931

Thanks for the quotation about the in the revolution, consequently this is "people's" revolution from Thaelmann's not a class revolution but a people's revspeech, which I glanced through, A more olution. Thälmann sings in chorus. In the class revolution. It is understood hierarchy do the super-exploiters keep in self into the "people" into the "nation", sulted in the immediate victory of the The evolution of the slogans of the ers, reconciles them to the bourgeois- foundation of today's blunders lie the proletarian revolution. This higher stage Comintern is a striking one, precisely hierarchical structure of the "people", blunders of yesterday, which all of Stalof the revolutionary upsurge is character- in this question. Since the Third Con- and retards their liberation. But under inism's frenzied veering to ultra-Leftism ized by the revolutionization of the class gress of the Comintern the slogan of present conditions in Germany, the slogan cannot eradicate. The error of the past battles and this is connected with the "class against class" became the popular of a "people's revolution" wipes away left unacknowledged and uncondemned the ideological demarcation between is the source of its own reproduction toindependent leadership in these battles proletarian front. This was quite cor- Marxian and Fascism, reconciles part of morrow. The most striking illustration . . . it may be asserted that every move- rect: All workers should be consolidated the workers and the petty bourgeoisie to of this truism is the policy of the Right ment under Communist leadership will against the bourgeoisie. This they after. the ideology of Fascism, allowing them wing today. Read its press; observe its tend to rise to a higher stage, since its wards transformed into the alliance with to think that they are not compelled to actions. Like a dissipated old man it development will not be hindered by the the reformist bureaucrats against the make a choice, because in both camps re-lives the disgraceful experiences 't heavy anchor of reformist officialdom, workers (the experience of the English it is all a matter of a people's revolu- went through jointly with the Centrists which drags the movement back." (In- genral strike). Later on, they went tion. These wretched revolutionists, in who expelled it. Its feeble organism

-LEON TROTSKY, its tragedy.

ance of the Anglo-Russian "Unity" Committee and Tomsky's declaration that the "Russians" (i. e. the Comintern were "in hearty accord" with the British labor skates. The Anglo-Russian Committee recognized the principle of "non-intervention", which meant that the Cominmunist parties have failed to adopt the laid down a rigid prohibition against the tern formally rencunced the aight of directives of the infallible international Communists wresting the leadership of the Communists to "intervene in British

Who was it that demanded "independenti leadership" for the British and world Communists on that occasion, that nounced the Opposition and accused it of being the "enemy of the Soviet Union", "dual unionists"? The Manuilskys and all the other Kuusinens and Smerals. n China, during the revolutionary for-

ward march of 1925-1927, Stalin and Co. taught the Communists that the proletariat had to "do the coolie work" for the bourgeoisie, which proceeded to pay the fact that Stalin, Bucharin bear the strike, the Communists of Britain were the Communists for their services in seas full responsibility for the failure of the gagged in their criticism of the Burcella of blood. Stalin and Bucharin taught the world that the "anti-imperialist revolution" would be accomplished under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek. When the latter had mounted to power in Shanghai on the ladder held for him by Stalin and Manuilsky, the latter, nothing disconcerted, began to teach that the "agrarian revolution" would be accomplished under the leadership of Wang enter the bourgeois cabinet of Hankow. with even worse consequences than resulted from the bourgeois ministerialism of Miller and his similars. Stalin sent revolution". The Chinese Communists were forced to stay in the bourgeois Kuo which they pledged themselves not to criticize. The proletarian red flag was renounced in favor of the hourgeois banner ("We will not surrender the blue flag of the Kuo Min Tang" cried Bucharin!).

The yesterdays have their profound importance, not merely for the academic well as the broad masses of the work- and tomorrow be prepared for. At the

munists were to make this formula their for the future. Manuilsky's unintentio memory which, if not glorious in achiev ment, is at least rich in the lessons

## Economic Crisis -- What Next?

(Contined from last issue)

The "economic age" of an industry, in daily economic life of the United States in accordance with the real course of its terms of the foregoing, will increase with development and from a Marxian point of view. The present article deals with time, and in general the older industries the general features of the crisis that b egan in 1929, seeks to isolate its causes, will show the clearest signs of "econ- and discuss the prospects for the futur e and their political consequences and which has been developed rapidly may to be in the first stage; electric refrigeration, whose sales increased over 10 percent in 1930 over 1929 in the face of depression, in the second; radio set manufacture has quickly reached the third stage; and such old industries as textiles or coal, which have a sort of swamps of yesterday. Agitation in itself own are in the last stage of capitalist possesses no revolutionary virtue. Only decay. The change from one stage to another is clearly illustrated by the automobile industry. In 1908, the industry was still young, from an economic standpoint and registrations at the end of that depression year were 38 percent higher than at the beginning, and in 1921 there was an increase in registration of 13 percent. In 1930, however, registrations increased less than 1 percent, in other words, only a few more cars were made than were scrapped last

Applying the foregoing to the situaof industries which were sharply defactory profits: textiles, coal sugar, lumber, meat packing, agriculture in general, fertilizers, furniture manufacture, paper rubber, shipping, and leather. To these may be added a group of industries which is able to make a profit in good times, but whose profits rairon and steel, machinery, mining, railways, etc. The relatively "young" industries, which are still capable of expanding or at least holding their own arm the movement against Appeal to pictures, prepared foods, certain chemi-

omic old age", although a new industry effects for the labor movement. Future articles will deal with specific industries-coal, copper, steel, automobiles, textiles, railroads and banking-from age fast. Aviation may be considered the standpoint of the economic background of the class struggle.—Ed.

By B. J. Field

thy" industries with those which have only more mouths to feed not more reached a more or less advanced stage jobs or more markets. To say that inof "economic old age" gives a general creased population means, by itself, the idea of the extent to which capitalist possibility of sales at a profit, implies degeneration has already set in.

This analytical examination of the one to the same conclusion as a synthe- means of solving the problems of capitaltic examination of the economic struc- ism-this would be reasoning in a circle. ture as a whole along the broad lines of the conflict between wages and profits, that is the economic contradictions of capitalism in America have already reached a highly acute state compared with past periods of development. The possibility is strongly suggested that the further growth of American capitalism from its own dynamic resources is not far from its end, and that its perspectives are confined to "stabilization", that is, the effort to maintain a declining profit margin against shrinking markets. Politically, this can mean only one

thing: a continuous assault on wages and living standards, offering a background for increasing radicalization of the working masses, while the increasing acuteness of the problems of capitalism paves the way for a breakdown of productive relations based on profit, and ultimately of the whole profit system of production.

### Ways Out?

The only possible alternatives are ei ther ridiculously inefficient or are themtegration of capitalism.

phones, and electrical equipment are the most important. To compare the number goods at a profit. Increased population or it would mean the radical displace of struggle for the American rand importance of these relatively "heal- in a decaying capitalist system means ment in the world markets of American random phones, and electrical equipment are the be defined as outlets for the sale of ritories had already been divided up; talism, and as the door leading to a new most importance of these relatively "heal- in a decaying capitalist system means ment in the world markets of American random phones, and electrical equipment are the be defined as outlets for the sale of ritories had already been divided up; talism, and as the door leading to a new most importance of these relatively "heal- in a decaying capitalist system means ment in the world markets of American random phones, and electrical equipment are the phones are th

that the contradictions of capitalism have already been overcome, as expressed in presnt state of capitalism in America ability to earn profits, and therefore the by industries and groups therefore brings increase in population cannot be the

2. The hopes of a basic revival of American capitalism founded on the development of its export trade are quickly dashed by an analysis of what American hopelessness of the situation, these wage exports really consist of. They are of two types. 1. Raw materials and foodstuffs, such as wheat, cotton, copper, and petroleum. These are in reality a survival of the pre-war days when America's place in world economy was as a sup- his problems individually, by escaping plier of raw materials to the more high- into the growing and prosperous bourly industrialized nations of Europe. Am- geoisie, instead of on a basis of class erica is being displaced in these fields by still newer countries-Canada and South Africa in copper, Persia, Venezuela and Russia in oil, Argentina and ness of wage struggles which gradually Canada in wheat; the Sudan and Central asume a political tinge, is found in the Asia in cotton. 2. Highly-finished mech- history of the labor movement in two of anical devices, luxuries appealing to a the oldest and least profitable American limited class in foreign countries; in this industries, coal and textiles. class are automobiles, typewriters, moving picture films, fountain pens, and opportunities will diminish rapidly, and similar "Yankee notions". Our exports the working class will be impelled into trade is not built, like that of Great increasingly revolutionary activitie Britain on basic economic necessities- with a minimum of wasted time ar steel rails, ships, and the like. To de- struggle in the "socialist" reformis the fascists. It would be in place to order to make its meaning clearer-to in depression times, are few: moving selves symptoms of the growing disin- velop such a trade would imply a great liberal, or other blind alleys. The cri colonial expansion, for which America that began in 1929 may go down in ? 1. Growth of population does not of entered the race too late as a world tory as the last of the crises on of, and who stands to lose and who position adds an amendment to make the lishing, cigarettes, electricity, gas, tele- itself create new "markets" which must imperialist power, after the best ter- century-old upswing of American ca

Note: This is the first of a series of articles intended to interpret the | ica's competitors. The forcible acqui tion of such colonies or of other co pensating markets (China, India) volves the perspective of deep revolu tionary crises and the resperate alternative of war. 3. There remain two typical reformist illusions-increasing the real wages of American labor at the expense of "national savings" (in reality profits), and the peaceful, voluntary coordination of industry and labor to minimize or eliminate the "pro motive" in favor of a planned syste of national economy. We shall not i sult the patient comrades who have fol lowed us this far by an elaborate exposure of the futility of such expecta-

### Political Perspectives

We come back, therefore, to the probability of a prolonged period of wagecutting as the last expedient to maintain a dwindling profit margin. Thi must result in acute wage struggles; and as the workers come to realize the struggles will be transformed into poli tical struggles. The great drawback to the development of political class consciousness in America hitherto has been the possibility for the worker to solve solidarity.

A proof of the close connection between "economic old age" and increasing acute

If the above analysis is correct, these