

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE "HUNGER MARCH"

As a Communist propaganda demonstration on the issue of unemployment the "Hunger March" to Washington at the opening of Congress was an indubitable success.

All that was lacking was the participation of the masses of the unemployed. Doak, the labor-baiting secretary of labor, announced the "sensational" discovery of his secret agents that the hunger march was organized and directed by the Communist Party.

But they could not do it; the masses were not there. The success of the hunger march as a propaganda manifestation of the Party was on a par with its failure as a mobilization of the unemployed workers.

This proceeds inevitably from the false policy and method of the Party. You cannot whittle down a mass movement by sectarian methods from day to day and then expect to have the masses ready when the great occasion comes.

THE KENTUCKY MINERS

The verdict of guilty in the case of William B. Jones, Harlan County miners' leader, with the accompanying sentence of life imprisonment, again brings this historic struggle sharply before the working class and warns against any further delay in organizing a genuine national movement in behalf of the indicted men.

It is by no means a one-sided battle. All the strength is not on the side of Kentucky "law" which licenses thugs to maim and kill and prosecutes workers who defend themselves.

The factional wrangling over the defense has been a scandal and a direct blow to the men and the cause on trial. In the welter of charges and counter-charges around the cases it was hard for a time to ascertain exactly who was handling the defense.

No, that is factionalism in the most perverted form, a factionalism that loses all vision of the class issues, and therefore a corrupt and reactionary factionalism. Class conscious workers are duty-bound to give financial and other support to the defense in every labor case.

meet the heavy burdens imposed by the trials. We do not mean by this to express any approval of the propaganda methods of the I. W. W. in the controversy with the I. L. D.

GREETINGS TO "COMMUNISTES"

As this issue of the Militant goes to press we greet the first appearance of a fellow-fighter in the ranks of the Opposition. Communistes will carry to the Greek workers in America the same message which the Militant has carried in the English language through storm and stress for more than three years.

The Greek Communists in America are not to blame if they have been disoriented and led astray on the great questions of principle which have arisen in the Comintern since Lenin's death. They had no light to show them the way.

The role of the foreign-born workers in American industry is well known. Their shoulders are pillars upon which a large part of the huge edifice of American imperialism supports itself.

If the ranks of the foreign-born Communists did not grow and expand as the social conditions matured for the development of a genuine native movement, it can be attributed, in the first place, to the degeneration that overtook the leading circles of the International movement.

Communistes will have the task of undoing this damage. It will have to explain to the Greek workers the reason for the failures and defeats. It will have to restore and popularize again the doctrines which the bureaucrats have discredited.

If we were to offer one word of advice to the newly organized group of Greek Oppositionists it would be this: Do not chase after quick success. Stand firm on the line of principle and organize your cadre around it.

THE CANADIAN COMMUNIST TRIALS

The helpless impotence of the Party leaders on all questions which arise out of the class struggle and demand a quick answer is again illustrated in the most striking manner by their clam-like silence on the Canadian Communist trial.

over, it owes a duty to the Party and the Party leaders who have been proscribed by the Canadian Government.

We have had a fairly rich experience of the same kind. Our Party went through a test of fire in the Palmer raids; it lived as an illegal organization for three years; and after that, by a combination of legal and illegal methods of organization and a determined will to break out of the underground straitjacket, it re-conquered the right to a legal existence as a Party.

In a previous issue of the Militant comrade Spector has given a report and a political evaluation of the trial. With his comments we are in full agreement.

In our opinion, comrade Spector sounded the right note when he said the problem at the moment consists in going to every working class organization in the country with the slogan of a common fight for the repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code.

The Party should wage a determined fight for legality. But it cannot fight successfully alone. It must make its fight the fight of the working class, in the first place of the more advanced and class conscious workers' organizations.

What the Canadian Party needs most of all is a realistic appraisal of the situation and a deliberate tactic of the united front. It needs to approach the workers of other organizations, not as "social fascists" but as brothers in a common cause.

Events and affairs will continue in Manchuria. But more now than ever, the basic problem stands out: the struggle of the exploited masses against the foreign and native exploiters.

Chicago Opposition Meets

CHICAGO—The Chicago branch of the Communist League (Opposition) is putting in a busy week in connection with the national tour of comrade Swabeck.

On December 12th, comrade Swabeck is to lecture on the "Manchurian Crisis" before the Liberal Science Forum at 1118 W. Madison St.

A Branch meeting of the Chicago League, as this is written, is scheduled, where comrade Swabeck will report on the general situation and prospects of the League.

On New Year's Eve the Branch will hold an entertainment at the headquarters, 1435 No. Western Ave.

What Is A Revolutionary Situation?

The Decisive Importance of the Communist Party

(The points enumerated below represent a summary of the views of comrade L. D. Trotsky. It is the outcome of a discussion between comrade Trotsky and comrade Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), who has been visiting with comrade Trotsky for a number of weeks.

1. For an analysis of a situation for a revolutionary point of view, it is necessary to distinguish between the economic and social premises of a revolutionary situation and the revolutionary situation itself.

2. The economic and social premises for a revolutionary situation begin, generally speaking, at that moment when the productive powers of the country are going, not up but down, that is, diminishing; when the specific weight of a capitalist country on the world market is systematically lessened and when the incomes of the classes are likewise systematically reduced.

The Beginning of A Revolutionary Situation

3. The revolutionary situation, however, begins only from the moment that the economic and social premises of a revolution produce a break in the mentality of society and its different classes.

(a) In every situation which we must analyze, it is necessary to distinguish three classes of society; the capitalists, the middle class or petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat.

characterize a revolutionary situation are very different for every one of these classes.

(b) That the economic situation is very acute, the British proletariat know very well, far better than all theoreticians. But the revolutionary situation begins only at the moment when the proletariat begins to search for a way out, not on the basis of the old society but along the path of a revolutionary insurrection against the existing order.

(c) That a revolutionary situation is one which must, in the next period, permit the proletariat to become the ruling power of society, and that depends in England, less than in any other country, but also there to a degree, on the political thoughts and feelings of the middle class; the revolutionary situation would be characterized by the loss of confidence of the middle class in all the traditional parties.

(d) Both the changes in the mentality of the proletariat and the middle class correspond and develop parallel to the change in the mentality of the ruling class which sees that it has not the means to save its system, loses confidence in itself, decomposes and splits into factions and cliques.

The Changing Outlook of the Classes

4. It cannot be foreseen or indicated mathematically at what point in these processes that the revolutionary situation is totally ripe. The revolutionary party can only establish that fact by its struggles, by the growth of its forces, through its influence on the masses, on the peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, etc., and by the weakening of the resistance of the ruling classes.

5. If we adapt these criteria to the British situation we can see:

(a) That the economic and social premises, as has been stated, are existing and becoming more effective and acute.

(b) The bridge, however, from these economic premises to the psychological results, has not been crossed. For the revolutionary situation in England it is not necessary for great changes in the economic conditions, which are already unbearable, to come about.

catastrophic situation in England.

The Rate of Development

6. The economic change of society is very slow and is measured by centuries and decades. But when the economic conditions are radically changed, a transformation of the retarded psychological factors can be produced very quickly.

7. In political terms it signifies: (a) That the proletariat must lose its confidence not only in the conservatives and liberals, but also in the Labor Party.

(b) That the middle class must lose its confidence in the big bourgeoisie, in the lords, and turn their eyes to the revolutionary proletariat.

(c) That the rich classes, the ruling cliques, rejected by the masses, lose confidence in themselves.

8. These phenomena will inevitably come. However, they do not exist today. They can come in a short period of time, through the acute crisis. They can arrive in two or three years, or perhaps in a year. But this is a perspective and not a fact today.

The Decisive Importance of a Matured Communist Party

9. The political conditions of a revolutionary situation are developing more or less parallel and simultaneously, but this does not signify that they all become ripe at the same moment—there is the danger of the British situation of tomorrow. In the ripening political conditions, the most retarded is the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

10. We say that it is not excluded that the development of the Party can remain retarded in relation to the other elements of the revolutionary situation—but that is not in any case inevitable.

11. How much time will the British proletariat need in the present state of capitalist society to break up its connections with the three bourgeois parties? By a correct policy of the Communist Party, it is entirely possible that its growth will take place in proportion to the bankruptcy and decomposition of the other parties.

What Is Coming?

CONCLUSIONS: That explains sufficiently why it is totally false to affirm that England is now between Democracy and Fascism. The era of Fascism begins seriously after an important and, for a certain time, decisive victory of the bourgeoisie over the working-class.

But it is necessary to add that the Kerenskiade is not obliged to be in every situation, in every country, as weak as the Russian Kerenskiade. The weakness of the Kerenskiade there was a result of the great power of the Bolshevik Party.

This method is contrary to the method of Fascism, but it serves the same aim. To condemn the future Lloyd Georgeade to a weakness is only possible when we foresee it approaching, when we are not hypnotizing ourselves with the spectre of Fascism which is further away than Lloyd George and his instrument of tomorrow—the Labor Party.

Kadikoy, Nov. 17, 1931

Japanese Intrenched in Manchuria

(Continued from page 1) cadone this act: no doubt having similar actions on their part in mind for the future. Ma does openly what the Chiang Kai-Sheks would rather do covertly.

The Communist Party

Events and affairs will continue in Manchuria. But more now than ever, the basic problem stands out: the struggle of the exploited masses against the foreign and native exploiters.

—M. A.

Swabeck National Tour

The National Tour of comrade Arne Swabeck has now carried him into Western territory. After a stay of six days in Chicago where public and Branch gatherings were held, comrade Swabeck went on to Springfield, Ill., Staunton, Ill. and St. Louis, Mo. for meetings.

—M. A.

Swabeck National Tour

The National Tour of comrade Arne Swabeck has now carried him into Western territory. After a stay of six days in Chicago where public and Branch gatherings were held, comrade Swabeck went on to Springfield, Ill., Staunton, Ill. and St. Louis, Mo. for meetings.

Comrade Swabeck reports that the proposal for the issuance of a Jewish semi-monthly paper of the Left Opposition has met with enthusiasm, and that the comrades are at their task of raising the necessary funds.

The tour to date has proved successful and beneficial for the organization. The balance of the schedule follows:

- Kansas City, Mo. Dec. 18, 19, 20. Minneapolis, Minn. Dec. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. Chicago, Ill. Dec. 31 and January 1st. Youngstown, Ohio January 3. Cleveland, Ohio January 4, 5. Philadelphia, Pa. January 10.

PRISONERS FUND DANCE

NEW YORK—Efforts are being made by the General Defense Committee, I. W. W. organization, with headquarters at 555 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill. to follow its annual custom by sending substantial checks at Yuletide to many men and women of the working class.

The New York City Local of the General Defense Committee has arranged a dance for the benefit of the Xmas Fund for class war prisoners. The affair will take place on Saturday, December 19, at Clairmont Casino, 82 East 106th St., New York City.