

Rakovsky on the Five Year Plan

(Continued from last issue)

Just as quality of production sets a limit to the increase in the intensity of labor so the limit to increased intensity in the utilization of equipment is bound up with the problem of the working personnel. Great reserves can be made available for the further use of the old basic capital by making use of more shifts—by transfer to the 24 hour shift. The clarification of the question of the working personnel is not here our problem, everyone who follows this question, cannot but know that this problem cannot be solved in the near future and that, therefore, the reserves available by the increase of shifts can be utilized only to a very small degree. The question of the working personnel arises also, of course in connection with new enterprises but we will not take up this matter in this connection. Here it is important for us to show that the shortage of working personnel bound up with the impossibility of a further "loading" of the existing personnel creates a barrier for the further increase in the quantitative indices by these means.

The third factor lies beyond industry itself although it is closely bound up with it. It is the shortage of agricultural raw materials for light industry. Due to shortage of raw materials the volume of production in light industry fell in two months (May and June) by nearly 30%. During these two months the plan was only slightly over 50% fulfilled. The volume of production in the Fats Industry decreased in April by 15.5%, in May by 15.7%, in June by 38.6% of the figures for May, which means that it practically nearly ceased production. Production in the Food Industry decreased in April by 15.5%, in May by 12.9%, in June by 23.7%. The situation in the Sugar Industry, which was practically at a halt in June, is absolutely catastrophic. For the last year only 42.8% of the production capacity of the sugar industry was realized. From these figures alone we see that we deal not only with individual breaks in certain branches but with a sharp decline of production nearly in the whole light

The Raids on Nazis in Prussia

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munists not only from defeating both the social democrats and the Fascists, but even from preparing the defense of the working class from ruthless extermination at the hands of Hitler's bands. Therein lies the great danger in Germany.

The only way the Fascists can be defeated is by uniting the forces of the proletariat for action. The only way the social democratic influence can be wiped out from the working class movement is by recognizing their actual role by forcing them into a united front on the basis of a struggle against Fascism, by showing to the workers in the course of united action that the impotent and servile policies of the social democracy can only pave the way for Fascism.

The Severing incident is a striking lesson in proof of this. Severing and the social democrats say they want to fight Fascism. Here they had a chance. Did Severing, who had ground enough from the material confiscated in the raids, proceed to outlaw and disrupt the Nazi organizations? He did not. Servile creature that he is, he feared to come into conflict with the federal government, with the Hindenburg-Bruening-Groener regime, which is consciously adding the Fascists. In a united front movement with the organizations which Severing and his ilk are leading, the Communists could press the social democratic traitors and cowards to the wall. They would be forced to show their color. A Severing could be forced to break with the bourgeoisie — which is unwillingly or be driven out of the movement, in an instance like the present. In any case, the social democracy would lose its identity rapidly and be wiped out. The working class would be solidified and readied for revolutionary action.

The Fascists are concentrating all their efforts on the situation in Prussia. They are waiting for the Landtag (Diet) elections next month before they strike. That is their strategy. They mean to start out with a seizure of power in this central German province first. It is in Prussia that the social democracy has its stronghold. There is not much time to lose. If the Fascists are to be repulsed, if the working class is to avoid defeat, if the Communist movement is to avoid disaster, a complete reorientation of the policy of the German Communist Party must take place. The confusion of "social Fascism" must be cleared up. The Marxist appraisal of the situation given by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition must be transfused into the flesh and blood of the German Communists.

industry with a complete suspension in certain branches. Even if the industry itself were in no degree at fault in this matter, the fact of the matter would remain and would have to be reckoned with. In truth, industry is not at fault. We see here the effects which we have warned against several times previously: the delay in the development of industry became the cause for the delay in the development of agriculture.

The above article rightly ascribes the basic causes for the shortage in agricultural raw materials to the following: (1) incorrect price policy; (2) incorrect regulating of the distribution of manufactured goods to producers of agricultural raw materials; (3) the lagging behind of the fertilizer industries. During the current year only 25% of the demand for fertilizers was satisfied. (4) Acute shortage of machines for the cultivation of technical cultures and a nearly complete absence of harvesting machines, due to which the sowing and first plowing of the majority of technical cultures is done by primitive hand method. All these are direct results of the lagging behind of industry.

The study of the question of quantitative indices in connection with the above mentioned factors permits us to make the following fundamental conclusions: (1) the official figures of quantitative growth represent just a statistical fiction due to the ignoring of the quality of production. Only by taking quality into account can we obtain comparable quantity indices. (2) In so far as a quantitative growth actually took place it was based to a decisive degree of the use of a greater number of workers and on the increase of the intensity of labor. (3) In using this method of increase in quantity which contains in itself the conditions leading to its failure and does not at all guarantee the further growth of quantity indices, thus we reach a limit beyond which the further use of this method can give only negative results for the national economy. And this method has now been used to the utmost. (4) The question of the further growth of quantity indices and even of maintaining the level already acquired is directly bound up with the problem of giving industry a new materio-technical base. This question is decided by the amount of accumulation and capital building of which we will treat further on.

—CHRISTIAN G. RAKOVSKY.

Barnaul, July-August 1930

*The above constitutes the last instalment of one chapter of a larger work by comrade Rakovsky. The condition of exile and ruthless physical persecution imposed upon our comrade by the Stalin clique make for the belated publication of his work by the Left Opposition press. At the present time, the whereabouts of comrade Rakovsky are not even known. The repression of the Stalinist against this valiant revolutionary leader have been particularly vicious. The last that has been heard of him is that he was in a frightful and alarming state of health and that no consideration was to be expected of the regime. No revolutionist will forget this crime of Stalinism.—Ed.

Hail the Red Army

(Continued from page 1)

The recruitment campaign had very good but inadequate results. On April 1, Petrograd offered 25,000 volunteers, Moscow—more than 15,000, 106,000 volunteers reported in six weeks.

—From "L'An I. de la Revolution Russe"

A DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

Petrograd, January 15, 1918

The old army was a class instrument of the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the working class. The seizure of power by the laboring class and the class of those who possess nothing has made the creation of a new army necessary. This new army will have the task of protecting the Soviet power and of constituting the base on which the regular army will be transformed into a power founded on the arming of the whole people; furthermore, the new army will serve to support the Socialist revolution that is approaching in Europe.

I. In the execution of the preceding, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to organize the new army on the following basis and under the name "Red Workers' and Peasants' Army".

1. The red workers' and peasants' army is composed of the most conscious and best organized elements of the working class.

2. Every citizen of the Russian republic over 18 years of age can enter its ranks. All those may enter the Red Army, who are prepared to put their forces and their life at the service of the defense of the conquests of October,

Rebel Miners in Action!

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consciousness among the coal miners to the treacherous role of these officials and their growing readiness to combat them. In other words it offers the increasing opportunities for the Left wing to find the common base for these movements and through them to unite for the common immediate objectives.

Of such steps there is no sign whatever. The official Communist Party which is the potential force to give this direction is, when considering this as the essential task, failing just as miserably as the other confused and opportunist groups. The National Miners Union, which it leads, has not yet at any time pursued a policy genuinely aiming at uniting the rebellious movements. It has thereby, in the same manner as the other groupings, been hemmed in within the localizing barriers of each separate struggle, confining itself purely to the spontaneous movement of the workers themselves, lacking perspective, failing actually to organize and losing ground so that it still commands only a few scattered, small and ill-functioning locals. Under such conditions the militancy it displays, the working class and revolutionary propaganda it spreads, becomes entirely too much negated.

A National Perspective for a United Front

While the series of localized spontaneous miners struggles from the past to the present have certainly served to advance the miners to higher levels of experience and consciousness they have most often in their direct implication resulted in defeats and weakening of their organization. The John L. Lewis administration pursued that method as a deliberate policy to serve the operators. But it should have taught us all that when local strikes are so often defeated the object must be the national extension. With the present trend of the struggle, directed, and of necessity so, equally against the U. M. W. official treachery, the national objective must, of course, stand out so much more clearly.

But this is only one side of the question. The other is the need of the actual unification of the rebel movements. Here lies the real task for the revolutionary forces, for the official Communist Party. To talk about establishing "independent leadership" in these struggles, as it does, or to talk about furnishing a program for them without taking into account this burning question of the necessity of a speedy united front of the rebel movements becomes pure nonsense. To proceed to build committees of independent leadership within them endeavoring to struggle independently and in opposition to them is wrong. It is particularly erroneous to endeavor to build the National Miners Union within these rebel movements of the U. M. W. What is needed there is a Left wing of these movements, firmly established, working as part of, and with the movements, criticizing and fighting against opportunist leaders, and working in the closest possible cooperation with the Left wing forces in the National Miners Union. Proceeding from such a basis it should not become an all too difficult task to build a united front in reality of these various movements struggling in common for the common immediate objectives: to dislodge the influence and control of the Lewis machine and for better working conditions. In such a united front movement the Communists would certainly play the main role of leadership provided they pursue Communist policies. They could thus become a much more important factor in uniting the working class against the common enemy.

—A. S.

of the Soviet power and of socialism.

For entrance into the Red Army, the following recommendations are necessary: those of the military committee or those of the civil organizations who depend upon the Soviet power, those of the party or the trade unions—more strictly speaking, the recommendations of two members of one of these organizations. In case an entire division enters the Red Army, collective recommendations and a nominal vote are necessary.

II.

1. The families of members of the Red workers' and peasants' army are supported by the state and receive a monthly subsidy of 50 rubles.

2. The invalid members of the families of soldiers, who have previously been supported by the soldiers, will continue to receive aid according to the local statutes and according to the regulations of the local Soviet.

III.

The Council of People's Commissars is the supreme directing organism of the Red workers' and peasants' army. The immediate conduct of the army and its administration are concentrated in the Military Commissariat and particularly in the all-Russian collegium.

WHAT NEXT? -- by Leon Trotsky

(Continued from page 1)

signify only the resurrection of all the contradictions on the very next successive stage, only in still more acute and concentrated form.

In terms of world economy, Europe is on the downward trend. Already the forehead of Europe is plastered beyond removal with American labels: the Dawes plan, the Young Plan, Hoover's moratorium. Europe is placed thoroughly on American rations.

The decay of capitalism results in social and cultural decomposition. The road is barred for further methodical differentiation within the nation, for the further growth of the proletariat at the expense of the diminution of intermediate classes. Further prolongation of the crisis can bring in its trail only the pauperization of the petty bourgeoisie and the transformation of ever increasing groups of workers into the lumpenproletariat. In its most acute form, it is this threat that grips advanced capitalist Germany by the throat.

The rottenest portion of putrefying capitalist Europe is the social democratic bureaucracy. It entered upon its historical journey under the banner of Marx and Engels. For its goal it placed the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The powerful upsurge of capitalism caught it up and dragged it in its wake. In the name of reform, the social democracy betrayed the revolution, at first by its actions and later by its very words. Kautsky, forsooth, for a long time still defended the phraseology of revolution, making it serve as a handmaiden to the requirements of reformism. Bernstein, on the contrary, demanded the renunciation of revolution: for capitalism was entering the period of peaceful development without crises, and without wars. A paragon of prophets! Apparently, between Kautsky and Bernstein there was an irreconcilable divergence. Actually, however, they symmetrically complemented one another as the right and left boots on the feet of reformism.

The war came. The social democracy supported the war in the name of future prosperity. Instead of prosperity decay set in. Then the problem resolved itself no longer in concluding from the inadequacy of capitalism the inevitability of revolution; nor was it one of reconciling the workers with capitalism by means of reforms. The new policies of the social democracy now consisted in making society safe for the bourgeoisie at the cost of sacrificing reforms.

But even this was not the last stage of degeneracy. The present crisis that is convulsing capitalism obliged the social democracy to sacrifice the fruits achieved after protracted economic and political struggles and thus to reduce the German workers to the plane of existence of their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers. There is no historical spectacle more tragic and at the same time more repulsive than the fetid disintegration of reformism amid the wreckage of all its conquests and hopes. The theater is rabid in its straining for modernism. Let it stage more often Hauptmann's "The Weavers": this most modern of modern dramas. But the director of the theater must not forget to reserve the dress circle for the leaders of the social democracy.

Incidentally, however, these leaders are in no mood for the theater: they have reached the utmost limits of their adaptability. There is a level beneath which the working class of Germany cannot drop willingly or for any length of time. Moreover, the bourgeois régime, fighting for its existence, is in no mood to recognize this level. The emergency decrees of Bruening are only the beginning, only feelers to get the lay of the land. Bruening's régime rests upon the cowardly and perfidious support of the social democratic bureaucracy which in its turn depends upon the sullen, half-hearted support of a section of the proletariat. The system based on bureaucratic decrees is unstable, unreliable, temporary. Capitalism requires another, more decisive policy. The support of the social democracy with its one eye ever cocked on its own workers, is not only insufficient for its purposes, but has already become irksome. The period of half-way measures has passed. In order to try to find a way out, the bourgeoisie must absolutely rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations, these must needs be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed.

At this juncture, the historic role of Fascism begins. It sets on its feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and who are ever in dread of being forced down into its ranks; it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government, and it directs them to the extirpation of proletarian organizations, from the most revolutionary to the most conservative.

Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular governmental system based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society. The task of Fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist advance guard but in holding the entire class in a state of forced disunity. To this end the physical annihilation of the most revolutionary section of the workers does not suffice. It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat, and to uproot whatever has been achieved during three quarters of a century by the social democracy and the trade unions. For, in the last analysis, the Communist party also bases itself on these achievements.

The social democracy has prepared all the conditions necessary for the triumph of Fascism. But by this fact it has also prepared the stage for its own political liquidation. It is absolutely correct to place on the social democrats the responsibility for the emergency legislation of Bruening as well as for the impending danger of Fascist savagery. It is absolute balderdash to identify social democracy with Fascism.

By its policies during the revolution of 1848, the liberal bourgeoisie prepared the stage for the triumph of counter revolution, which in turn emasculated liberalism. Marx and Engels lashed the German liberal bourgeoisie no less sharply than Lassalle did, and their criticism was more profound than his. But when the Lassalleans dumped the feudal counter-revolution together with the liberal bourgeoisie into "one reactionary mass", Marx and Engels were justly outraged by this false ultra-radicalism. The erroneous position of the Lassalleans turned them on several occasions into involuntary aids of the monarchy, despite the general progressive nature of their work, which was infinitely more important and consequential than the achievements of liberalism.

The theory of "social Fascism" reproduces the basic error of the Lassalleans on a new historical background. After dumping National Socialists and social democrats into one Fascist pile, the Stalinist bureaucracy flies headlong into such activities as backing the Hitler referendum; which in its own fashion is in no wise superior to Lassalle's alliances with Bismarck.

In the present phase, German Communism in its struggle against the social democracy must lean on two inseparable facts: (a) the political responsibility of the social democracy for the strength of Fascism; (b) absolute irreconcilability between Fascism and those workers' organizations on which the social democracy itself depends.

The contradictions within German capitalism have at present reached such a state of tension that an explosion is inevitable. The adaptability of the social democracy has reached that limit beyond which lies self-annihilation. The mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucracy have reached that limit beyond which lies catastrophe. Such is the three-fold formula that characterizes the situation in Germany. Everything is now poised on the razor edge of a knife.

When of necessity one must follow conditions in Germany through newspapers that arrive almost a week late; when one must allow another week before manuscripts may bridge the gap between Constantinople and Berlin; after which additional weeks must pass before the pamphlet reaches its public, involuntarily the question arises, "Won't it be altogether too late? And each time one answers oneself: No! The armies that are drawn up for battle are too colossal that one need fear a simultaneous settlement of the issue at the speed of greased lightning. The strength of facts will make itself heard more imperiously of the German proletariat has not been drained. Its powers have not as yet been brought into play. The logic of facts will make itself heard more imperiously with every passing day. And this justifies the author's attempt to add what he has to say even if it is delayed a few weeks, i. e., an entire historical period.

The Stalinist bureaucracy came to the conclusion that it would be able to complete its labors more peacefully were the author of these pages confined in Prinkipo. It obtained from the government of Herman Mueller, the social democrat, a refusal or a visa for... "a menshevik": in this instance the united front was established without any wavering or delay. Today, in official Soviet publications, the Stalinists are broadcasting the news that I am "defending" Bruening's government in accordance with an agreement made with the social democracy, which in return is pulling strings to allow me the right of entry into Germany. Instead of becoming indignant over such viciousness, I permit myself to laugh at its stupidity. But I must cut short my laughter, for time is pressing.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the course of events will demonstrate the correctness of our position. But in what manner will history demonstrate its proof: Through the catastrophe of the Stalinist faction, or through the victory of Marxist policies?

Therein lies at present the crux of the entire question. [This question is the question of the fate of the German nation, and not of its fate alone.]

The problems that are analyzed in this pamphlet did not originate yesterday. It is nine years now since the leadership of the Comintern has busied itself with the revaluation of values and with disorganizing the advance guard of the international proletariat by means of tactical convulsions which in their totality fall under the label of "the general line". The Russian Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) was formed not only because of Russian problems but also because of international ones. Among these, the problems of the revolutionary development in Germany occupied by no means the last place. Sharp divergences on this subject date back from 1923. During the succeeding years the author of these pages spoke more than once on these debatable questions. A considerable portion of my critical works has been published in German. The present pamphlet is in its turn a contribution to the theoretical and political work of the Left Opposition. Much that is mentioned hereafter only in passing was in its time submitted to detailed analysis. Therefore I must needs refer my readers for particulars to my books, THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMINTERN—A Criticism of Fundamentals, THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION, THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION, etc. Now, at the time when these divergences appear before everybody in the light of a great historical task, it is possible to estimate their origins much better and more profoundly. For the serious revolutionary, for the true Marxist such a study is absolutely essential. Ecclectics live by means of episodic thoughts and improvisations that originate under the impact of events. Marxist cadres capable of leading the proletarian revolution are trained only by the continual and successive working out of problems and disputes.

PRINKIPO, January 27, 1932

—L. TROTSKY.

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