

New Step Toward Fascism

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 not burn its bridges to Hitler. A Papen Hitler government is on no account more improbable than the conciliation that has taken place before our very eyes between the Nazis and the Center. Neither can a Papen-Hitler government, however, be of any permanency; it leads further to the Hitler dictatorship. The dissolution of the Reichstag is a consummation of Schleicherian Bonapartism. But it is also a further important step to the fascist dictatorship, in the sense outlined above. We are today directly confronted with the dictatorship of the generals. But this should not in the slightest degree affect our vigilance against the fascist danger.

It is no accident that the government was overthrown in the parliament because of its economic program. No mass party, not even the Nazis, could afford open operation for this most unheard of assault upon the standard of living of the toilers, so long as it must maintain some responsibility to the mass of its electors, so long as it still acts upon a parliamentary basis. Only with the elimination of the democratic rights can one risk such an attack. The question of defense against the economic attack, the abolition of the emergency decree is thus most intimately linked with the question of the defense of the democratic rights. The moment when the parliament is again sent home out of hand, the moment when a government rules which has nine-tenths of the parliament against it—not to speak of the masses—it is clearer than ever before that the struggle for the defense of the minimum of existence, for defense of the democratic rights, can be conducted only outside of parliament by means of strikes. In spite of this, the social democratic party at the present moment dares to appeal for a referendum against the second section (1) of the emergency decree of September 4, 1932. This is the highest peak of parliamentary cretinism. This is a refined as well as a shameful and fruitless maneuver for diverting the working masses from the real struggle, for belounging the actual, renewed capitulation of the social democratic party.

In contrast to this—just as on July 20—the Communist party wants to fight; unfortunately, however—just as on July 20—it is unable to fight. In spite of all endeavors, after the frightful defeat of July 20, to "perfect" the line, the impotence, the incapacity to action of the C. P. G., is the same as on July 20. The evil has not been attacked at the roots. What is dreadful is not that the social democratic party is making this parliamentary swindle maneuver at the present moment—nothing else is to be expected from it—the worst thing is that it is able thereby to retain its hold on the masses. If on the part of the C. P. G., it is to confine itself to tearing to critical bits this swindle maneuver, to carry on propaganda as in the past, it will run still further into the blind alley of powerlessness. If you want to fight extra-parliamentarily, then the prerequisites for it must first be created.

The United Front
 The only indispensable prerequisite for extra-parliamentary struggle today is the establishment of the united front. The only way out of this situation, out of the grip of Papen as well as Hitler, is in the establishment of the united front. That is why the C. P. G. must do everything, which it has neglected to do up to now, in order to put the united front into effect. Not to turn from the parliamentary cretinisms and swindles of social democratic party leadership in moral indignation, but on the contrary, by means of a concrete demand for joint extra-parliamentary struggle for the defense of the democratic rights, for defense against the Papen program, to compel them today, on September 15, when the program enters into effect, today,

when the Reichstag has been sent home, today, and not in the nebulous future of a referendum, to decide before the masses who follow them: for or against the struggle. It is the masses who are involved, and not the leaders. The demand to the leaders is no all-saving method, we know. But at the present moment, it is the link in the chain which must be seized if the wheel of the revolution is to continue turning, it is the path that must be trod if we are to emerge from the blind alley into the united front. The demand must require that the united front should find organizational expression in the formation of workers' cartels and fighting committees of all labor organizations on the Oranienburg model.

In this hour of confusion, an immediately convoked congress of all factory councils, unemployed and unity committees must deliberate on the next measures of struggle and become a signal for the concentration of the whole working class. Further, the C. P. G., if it wants to establish the united front in the factories, must undertake an open correction of its trade union line, convert the Red Trade Union Organization into an inner-trade union opposition, and openly declare its readiness to liquidate its own unions if the expelled are reinstated. These steps to the united front are indispensable. That is shown by the terrifying calm of July 20, of September 12. Out of the shattered fragments of bourgeois democracy, the proletarian united front can and must arise. The Communist party and only the party can create it if it returns to the tactic of Lenin. Let all give their aid to the Left Opposition in its work of bringing the party to that point.

—ROMAN WELL,
 Berlin, September 15, 1932.

Brilliant Expelled

At a regular meeting of the New York branch on September 27, the branch unanimously voted to expel Robert Brilliant from the Left Opposition. The trial for Brilliant has been carried on since September 9, when written charges were presented against him and at the meeting where he gave a report in his defense. Since then despite notices, personal and written, Brilliant has not appeared at the Trial Committee nor attended any meetings or activity of the Left Opposition. After the committee heard evidence from a number of League members and other union workers the committee came to a unanimous decision for the expulsion of Brilliant.

The outstanding violations of Communist principles have been: that Brilliant worked in another shop while his shop was on strike. In this period he did not carry on any strike activity he deserted his comrades who were forced to elect another shop chairman in his place. After the strike was over, Brilliant asked the N. T. I. U. for a work card this was refused on the grounds that he was working during the strike. Instead of correcting his position or coming to his fraction or to the League to present his case, he went to the Right wing union officials and to persons connected with the Forward and gave them information which appeared in the Forward.

After this non-Communist action was brought before the needle trades' fraction and the League and after Brilliant was called to the trial committee he continued to carry on his struggle against the Industrial Union, by continuing his action with the Right wing officials, the Forward and the Day.

These deeds and actions are contrary to elementary Communist proceedings and outside the bounds of membership in the Left Opposition faction of the Communist movement.

—HUGO OEHLER, Organizer.

I. W. O. Expels Three for «Trotskyism»

The following self-explanatory letter sent by the undersigned to the National Office of the International Workers' Order has not yet been replied to.

At our regular business meeting of the I. W. O. John Reed Branch 546, comrade Solomon requested the floor which was denied him by the chairman, comrade Hammersmark. The reason given was that he was not a member of the branch any more. The chairman based his ruling on a letter received by the branch from the National Office which states as follows:

"Social members are requested to take out insurance policy if they care to remain as regular members of this organization. They can do by paying up the back dues or rejoining the organization as new member."

Comrade Solomon asked the chairman whether he was expelled. The reply was: "You expelled yourself." The name of all social members were then read out as follows: Solomon, F. Shevelenko, V. Shevelenko, Golden, Dr. Broad H. Mashow, J. Mashow.

Hattie Mashow asked for the floor on a special request, which was granted her. Her statement was that Solomon and Mashows will comply with the request as stated in the letter of the national office and, as a matter of fact, Mashow has already paid part of the back dues at the previous meeting. She also added that in view of this fact we should be recognized as members at this meeting. If not, then she considers that we are being expelled not for the reason of not paying the back dues, but for being in sympathy with the program of the Left Opposition. In reply, comrade Ham-

mark, the chairman, made the following statement—that he personally will use everything possible to see that these three comrades should not be reinstated. The reasons given are—(1) That they were too critical of the Communist party and the Third International. (2) That they are using this organization as a platform from which to speak for the Left Opposition.

The chairman was followed by comrade Sakular, a member of the executive of the branch, branding the comrades as Trotskyists and accusing them of doing disruptive work within the organization, altho he did not have one single fact to prove it and he also joined comrade Hammersmark in saying that he is opposed to their reinstatement.

A motion was submitted by comrade Tarlow, the former financial secretary, that the social members be reinstated at this meeting upon paying their back dues. The motion was seconded but still was not accepted by the chair. Comrade Tarlow also stated that it was not the fault of the three comrades that they became social members as they did so at his suggestion. He said that he had suggested this with the consent of the National Office and also of the executive committee of the branch.

We, the undersigned, in view of the above-mentioned facts, consider the ruling of the chairman of that evening not in conformity with the principles of the organization or the spirit of the letter from the National Office.

We further condemn and protest against the bureaucratic method used by the chairman, comrade Hammersmark, and other members of the executive in dealing with members of the branch.

Problems at Gillespie

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 the existing unions that were in opposition to Lewis. But here due to the influence and opposition of the Muste-Howat group and the weakness on the part of some of the Illinois delegation and the "stay-away" policy of the National Miners Union, the formation of the new union was postponed.

The fourth attempt was at the Belleville convention where the "rank and file U. M. W. A." was formed. The "Rank and File U. M. W. A." has a real mass support of the miners, but its leadership, as expressed through Edmondson, the president, (who has since become a gangster for Lewis), could not adopt aggressive fighting policies nor make a complete break with Walker-Lewis and finally went back into the Lewis-Walker fold as the U. M. W. A.

The Progressive Miners union is the fifth attempt. It is the healthiest of the whole lot. It has begun in a militant manner. It has already been baptized in the blood of five rank and file coal miners who died by the bullets of the Lewis-Walker gangsters while trying to build the P. M. A. The Progressive Miners union must avoid the mistakes of the past, build a militant rank and file controlled union and march forward to final victory. It has now become a life and death struggle for the miners of Illinois and there must be NO SURRENDER—but a fight to a finish.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) will aggressively help the Progressive Miners union to build a strong militant miners' union that will be able to get from the bosses what rightfully belongs to the workers.

—JOSEPH ANGELO.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

WHAT NEXT?

What Next? can now be had from us in the English, Russian, Spanish and Greek languages. The price of the Russian copy is seventy-five cents; the Spanish edition is twenty-five cents. The Greek is fifty cents. We have very few left in the foreign languages.

EXCHANGE OFFER

Some time ago we offered to exchange our current literature for out-of-print works by Trotsky. Since that time we have been able to get a copy of *Our Revolution* with the introduction by Olgin that proved so embarrassing to that worthy. Another comrade has offered to exchange a copy of *Terrorism and Communism*. We like the idea so well that we are repeating it. But we want to make one point clear. It is not a sellers' market in these exchanges. Of course the advantage operates two ways. But we intend this exchange to function as a service to comrades and sympathizers who have these old copies on hand and cannot afford to buy the current literature. This is a warning against extravagant demands. You will find us willing to discuss but hard as nails.

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS

Our English comrades inform us that another shipment of *Revolutionary Lessons* by Lenin is on the way—20 copies. As our comrades may remember the price is twenty-five cents. There is no discount on this pamphlet. As orders will be filled in the order in which they are received comrades who want them should order at once.

ELECTIONS IN GREECE

Early reports about the elections just held in Greece indicate that the pressure of the crisis has brought many new recruits under the Communist banner, since the party has made considerable gains. *The Militant* will carry the details of the election in an early number.

A New Crisis in Soviet Economy

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 turn, has its objective causes. To be sure, all these obstacles can be overcome in the last analysis but for that, time is needed. Constraint work at a harassing tempo leads, not to the discarding of the disproportionate relations heaping up, but on the contrary, to their further growth. Every factory works at top speed. The correct organization of the production which is especially important in the belt-system, is not thereby perfected, but on the contrary, undermined. This is the case, for instance, with the automobile factory at Nizhni-Novogorod. The whole administrative force runs around from one department to the other, into the storehouses and back again into the departments, trying for today to get by something and dig up the missing part, and so forth. Thus the whole business is dragged along up to the point of a serious breakdown, after which the shock brigades of Pravda, the Central Control Committee or some of the many other drivers are sent down. The latter send telegrams, look for the culprits, mock at the "objective causes" and reduce everything to "free will", i. e., to the muscles and nerves of the workers.

Agriculture and Industry

The most difficult of the objective causes that disturb the development of industry according to plan, is naturally the interrelationship between agriculture and industry. In this sphere, the task set has not only not been accomplished, but more than that, the leaders have forgotten entirely how to pose it correctly. Lenin in his day formulated as the decisive task of the N. E. P., the creation of the economic alliance (smytchka) between city and country. In the course of a number of years the word "smytchka" constituted the central point of all articles and speeches. We Left Oppositionists were accused primarily of wanting to destroy the "smytchka" with our policy of accelerated industrialization. Now, the word "smytchka" is entirely out of use. No one can find it anywhere in printed articles. If some speaker or other should dare recall the "smytchka", he would surely be accused as a counter-revolutionist. It is considered self-evident that the task of the alliance between city and country can be accomplished by the collectivization of the majority of the peasantry alone and that this theme does not have to be posed any more. The bureaucracy substitutes also in this question, as in many others, the form in place of the content. In reality, the administrative collectivization has not only not solved the problem of the "smytchka", but, at the present stage, under the given, concrete circumstances, it complicates extraordinarily the solution of the problem and in

a certain sense, it even impedes it. The "smytchka" can be secured only by a regulated, normal exchange of goods, beneficial to both sides, between city and country, between industry and agriculture. Whether this exchange is strictly equivalent (in the Marxian sense of the word), whether and how much it deviates from equivalence—that we do not have to consider at length in this place. The question is not posed in this manner, in practice. The peasant must receive industrial goods for his bread under conditions not worse than those existing under capitalism. That is the extreme boundary of the "smytchka". Naturally, the latter will be much more firm and much more reliable, if Soviet industry begins to deliver goods in exchange for the peasant's bread under conditions which are not only more favorable than in pre-revolutionary Russia, but also more favorable than those of the world market today. From that moment onward, the relations between city and country, between workers and peasants, will have a real protection against world capitalism,—not only by means of the foreign trade monopoly and the Red Army, but by their own economic advantages, which is more important than anything else.

The Opposition's Standpoint

We Left Oppositionists have always understood the problem of the "smytchka" in this manner. For this reason, we counter-posed, at the time, to the empty slogan "face to the village", the more serious slogan "industry to the village". For this reason, we have always posed the problem of the scissors between the industrial and the agricultural prices as one of the foremost importance. In the opening of the scissors we saw the most important signs of success or failure in Soviet economy and even in the solidification of the whole structure of the dictatorship. We are returning to these A B C questions once more, because they are now consciously being banished from the memory of the party. All our comrades are fully agreed that the problem of the "smytchka" must under all circumstances be pushed to the foreground now. The actual realization of the "smytchka" would signify the elimination of coercive measures in the sphere of economic relations between city and country. The task consists in this: to make it advantageous for the peasantry to produce as much as possible and to accumulate so as to get a chance to sell them, i. e., to exchange them for the productions of the state industry.

The consolidation of the "smytchka" would automatically have to ameliorate the foodstuff situation in the cities, not to speak of the village itself. In its essence, the question of the "smytchka" (or in inverted form,—the question of

the scissors) retains its full force, with regard to the individual peasant holdings as well as with regard to the collectives.

The experience gained is sufficiently far-reaching to take the results into consideration and to unfold anew a whole series of basic questions. The leadership forbids us to pose the problem of the "smytchka" in the general form; but since the foodstuff shortage has seized all of economic life at the throat, they are forced in one way or another, to give a practical answer. In doing this, they have restricted themselves entirely to isolated patch work and to palliatives.

In the factories, the road toward self-subsistence has been decreed: they have been ordered to set up their own vegetable gardens, their own hog, rabbit and chicken raising. On the other hand, it has also been decreed in these same factories, to produce, aside from the main products, goods of general utility—outside of the plan. The factory directors, the technical personnel and the Communist nuclei must rake their brains for the most part, at present, for ways and means of erecting, besides the given, main production a second—in a certain sense parasitic production. The automobile factory produces spoons and forks or even small brushes, hammers, etc.

These two new fields of economy: industry's "own" agriculture and parasitic industry side by side with main production, are not only conducted outside of the framework of the plan, but they manifestly undermine its foundations. Side by side with the Soviet farms and the collectives there is arising a split-up, "artisan" agriculture, which deprives the workers of a great deal of time and the factories (i. e., the state) of many resources on the other hand, there is developing outside, of the bounds of the Five Year Plan, artisan production of general utility goods in the giant enterprises, once again at the expense of planned industry.

The necessity of an extraordinary agriculture in the factories and of an extraordinary production of general utility goods arose due to the catastrophic way in which the lack of the "smytchka" between planned production and peasant economy—the collectivized as well as individual sectors—became apparent. The solution of the question can in no case rest on the means of accidental improvement, extension, and of the palliatives alone. It is necessary to re-examine all the basic plans and methods in the direction of the amelioration of the disproportionate relationships, in order to achieve a more or less acceptable exchange of goods between city and country.

—N.
 —M.
 Moscow-Leningrad
 July 1932

(To be continued)

Which Party, Shall the Coal Miners Support

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 into the great battle for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The Capitalist Demagogues

This is an election year and the air is thick with the glib phrases and promises of the demagogues of the Republican and the Democratic parties. They want votes and they will promise anything to get them. But actions speak louder than words. And the actions of the Republicans and the Democrats stamp them as lieutenants of the capitalist class in the body politic, just as Green, Lewis, Walker and Co., are the bosses' lieutenants in the trade unions. Look at their records.

Hoover gives billions of dollars out of the government coffers to the railroads and the banks, while the millions of unemployed starve to death. He promises prosperity, talks patriotism and drives the hungry veterans from Washington with a tear-gas bonus. Emmons, the Hoover of Illinois, unleashes his brutal deputies, militia and troopers for a savage attack upon defenseless men, women and children thinking that thereby he will drive the miners back into the pits of poverty.

And the Democrats are their twin brothers. They can afford to howl at the Republicans—it is good politics. But their campaign funds come from the same capitalist sources—the Hearsts, the Youngs, the Raskobs, etc. The notorious Samuel Insull is known to have contributed to the funds of both old parties. Governor Roosevelt talks of unemployment insurance but the nearest the New York worker has come to this insurance is a two mile long breadline. Democratic mayors of Detroit and Chicago have sent police to murder workers demanding bread and relief. And in Franklin County the democratic sheriff swears in deputies to assist the Republican troops in their savage assault upon the miners. And Judge Horner is silent. Like Emmons he must serve his class which is in bitter and mortal hostility to the miners. It is the class that revels in luxury while the workers have nothing to eat. Both these parties have nothing in common with the miners, their strike, their union. They stand on the side of Peabody and the parasitic ruling class.

Now there is a third party—the socialist party. It claims to stand for the workers and a workers' government—socialism. Let us apply the acid test of deeds to this party as we have to the others. The National Executive Committee has decided in Chicago "not to inter-

fere in the internal struggle in the miners union between the rank and file and their official" (Lewis and Walker). What does this mean? It means giving undercover support to the fakers by not condemning them openly and officially. It casts the shadow of doubt into the minds of the rest of the working class as to the guilt and perfidy of these misleaders. The S. P. harbors within its ranks such outspoken supporters of Lewis, Walker, and the wage cut as John Hindmarsh, Adolph Germer, Richard Glover, etc. And this party says it stands for the workers!

The Socialist Program

It declares for a workers' government—Socialism. By what methods does it expect to take over the mines and the factories and the mills for the workers? By the ballot box—"peacefully". You miners that marched down to Franklin County try to picture this. . . The capitalist class that uses machine guns against you to prevent you from getting a dollar more per day, is going to hand over their billion dollar industries to the workers because they cast more paper

ballots! Can we believe these people who, like Lewis, have sold out more than once throughout the world.

In 1914 the socialist leaders drove the workers into the world slaughter for the profits of the bankers and the munition makers. In 1918 the German socialist leaders invested with the support of the majority of the working class did not establish a workers' government but turned the reins of power back to the capitalists and murdered thousands of German workers for protesting. (Like Lewis and Walker who settle for a wage cut after the miners have already voted it down). In 1926 the British socialist leaders of the Labor party betrayed the general strike of many millions of workers and then knifed the miners' strike of several hundred thousands. Need more evidence be produced to show the deceptive character of the socialist party which steers the workers straight back into the capitalist morass after promising to lead them into socialism? It is the third capitalist party.

There is but one party which represents the workers—the Communist party. The Left Opposition (Communist League of America) calls upon the miners to vote for its candidates—Foster and Ford—in this presidential election.

Communism, which we will achieve through our mass strength and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only fundamental way out of this crisis of capitalism for the miners as well as the rest of the working class. Soviet Russia has shown the remarkable achievements possible in a land where the workers rule.

The Communists make no bones about ballots. We think nothing can be obtained by ballots except a guage as to how many workers are ready to go down the line for the abolition of capitalism.

Vote Communist

The Left Opposition is aware of the blunders of the official party—Stalinism—in the miners' struggle as well as elsewhere. It takes no responsibility for them. It realizes and has pointed out the foolish policy of isolation followed by the Communist party. It has condemned the indiscriminate name-calling, the lies and the slanders hurled against the militants of the new union by the Stalinists. The Left Opposition states to the miners that such tactics are not the tactics of genuine Communism.

The force that represents Communism in the coal fields is the Left Opposition—in the election campaign the candidates upholding the Communist banner are Foster and Ford and the party is the Communist party. The Communist League of America calls upon the miners to support the Communist candidates against the candidates of the three old parties!

—CLARKE.

Letter from Party Member

YOUNGSTOWN.

Permit me to express my opinion in the Militant with regard to the present new decrees which my leaders are issuing one after another. I have been a member of the party for the past six years, accepting all the orders which were given without question, because I was under the impression that they were leading me in the right direction. As a worker I am not a theoretician but I always thought that those leaders who never go to sleep without mentioning comrade Lenin's name are not trying to use his name for misrepresenting Marx's teaching. Not so long ago I think it was comrade Molotov who made a speech and told us that by 1937 socialism would prevail in the U. S. S. R. I accepted as a good Communist should, but a few months later I saw a new decree that the peasantry were to be given a free hand to sell their products in the open market. Why all these decrees, comrade Stalin, when socialism is being completed in the U. S. S. R.?

Comrades of the Communist party, I am afraid that the Stalin clique is attempting to use all these methods to poison the mind of the youth of the U. S. S. R. in order to forget the promises about building socialism in one country, but let me tell you, comrade Stalin, it is too late. The youth of the U. S. S. R. will march to victory of the world's revolution under the leadership of the Thermopylae.

—A MEMBER OF THE PARTY

Chicago and the Executive Committee of the Branch and request that action be taken upon it immediately.
 Signed, H. MASHOW
 S. MASHOW
 S. SOLOMON