

The Stalinists at the Twelfth Plenum

(Continued from page 1) To pose the question in the fourth year of the crisis as the end of the period of stabilization is to use phrases instead of analysis...

If we are now at the end of stabilization what would you call the period of the crisis just before, where we have had the invasion of China by Japan, the revolutions "between" the United States and Great Britain in South America, the Spanish revolution, the Indian situation and above all the danger of Fascism in Germany?

Ebbs and Flows in the Decay Stage To talk constantly about the end of stabilization and revolutionary upsurge is to replace Marxian analysis with Stalinist phrases.

In this decay stage, favorable situations for the seizure of power will exist and have existed in the periods of ebbs and well as flows. A Marxist must present strategy for the party and the class in the decay stage, but this can only be done providing the ebbs and flows, that is, the general direction of the whole in the downward curve of decay capitalism...

What is the Perspective? After three years of crisis and depression what is the perspective? Are there still possibilities for ebbs and flows in the economy of capitalism, or will the whole future from now on be downward?

ahead, but different kinds of ebbs and flows than we had in the growth stage of capitalism. The reorganization and readjustments are proceeding not only in the United States but in other important links at the expense of the working class, the peasantry and the weaker section of the exploiters.

Considering all these factors together, one cannot at this stage lay down a definite perspective of a worse condition as the only variant ahead, as the C. I. does. On the contrary, one possible variant, far from excluded, is the possibility of a short upturn. Not a return to prosperity or the end of capitalist stabilization, which was not stable for the last three years.

A short upturn solves nothing for the workers—the way towards which the social reformer is looking and hoping. For the capitalist, it prepares the way for greater explosions or greater accumulations of contradictions.

Crises and depressions, unless transformed to deeper levels of revolutionary situations, always put the workers on the defense, drive them to lower standards and scatter their organized forces. Upturns have the opposite effects upon our class. Upturns release a certain economic pressure but at the same time usher in the workers into the new conditions with no economic gains, which means relatively worse conditions.

Did Stalinism Forget America? In considering the role of American imperialism this thesis seems to think that such an imperialism is of little importance in world politics. The proper evaluation of the role of American imperialism, in a C. I. resolution today, must place it as the leading imperialist power of world capitalism, as the dominating economic power that has in the past and continues in the present to take the determining role in the struggle against the extension of the October revolution.

a thesis that makes up the world problems of the vanguard.

The Main Danger in Germany The danger of Fascism in Germany is not posed in its proper relationship. The resolution uses enough ink in speaking of Fascism and Germany but does not pull out the determining factor—THE DANGER OF FASCISM IN GERMANY.

The thesis clings to the theory of "social-fascism" and tells us most learned and wanted wisdom—that the bourgeoisie is the main enemy of the proletariat in Germany. This is not told to school children but to the vanguard of the proletariat.

The Far East Conflict The Manchurian situation is treated in an equal bankrupt fashion. The thesis says, "The chief hot-bed for breeding a new imperialist war is the Pacific."

All facts point to a much more complicated imperialist as well as Soviet Union problem. To pass this problem off in such a "simple" way and at the same time fail to show its relations to the danger of Fascism in Germany is to fail to present the contradictions of world imperialism in their proper relationship.

The Position of the Soviet Union The question of the position of the Soviet Union is the most disgraceful part. To cover up our weak points, to hide from the world proletariat our true conditions, when the whole capitalist world knows these difficulties, is to lull to sleep the only class that will defend the Soviet Union, disarming them and helping the enemy.

conscious builders of a classless society." The internal difficulties due to objective conditions of a backward country industrializing the country, with world capitalism fighting this industrialization, and the subjective difficulties of the wrong theory of socialism in one country, combined with the effects of the world crisis upon the Soviet Union, have placed our fatherland in a most difficult position.

Directives for the United States The resolution ends by giving such directives in the coming period. With the end of capitalist stabilization the thesis gives the following directives for the United States. Even though we grant that the tempo toward revolutionary upsurge in the United States will be slower than the other countries the directives are inadequate and wrong for this period.

The thesis will remember speaks of "the end of capitalist stabilization," and "the development of the revolutionary upsurge and preparation for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat." Not that the upsurge will be even, or everywhere at once, but that in the present period the general direction for the whole, is toward revolutionary upsurge.

The economic analysis of the Left Opposition of world capitalism, on the contrary, points to a period ahead where we must now inform the party and the class to prepare the battle-lines to transform the present and past several years of defensive struggles into offensive struggles of the proletariat against the capitalist.

—(HUGO OEHLEK.)

Archives of the Opposition

The Legend of Brest-Litovsk

The new generation in the Comintern knows nothing about how the Chinese revolution was slain, or how the Left Wing Minority Movement in the British trade unions was strangled; but for that it is educated on secondary episodes of the past of the type of the "August bloc" (1912!), or the Brest-Litovsk differences which are presented as two irreconcilable entities: Leninism and Trotskyism.

The decision on the Brest-Litovsk differences was adopted by the Seventh Congress of the party in March 1918. The discussions at this Congress were of a heated character. But to characterize the relations of the party to the participants in the dispute, the results of the party elections are more telling than anything else.

"Chairman—Stalin has written on the national question, whoever read them—knows. This is not the question. Since objections have been raised, I will put the names to a vote."

Two Press Comments on Russia AS IT IS TODAY "As to the prospects (of world revolution.—Ed.) one might think this state of affairs offers to Soviet diplomats, who are alert and experienced in social upheaval, it is Moscow press says nothing.

"What is more, during the celebrations of Maxim Gorky's jubilee, which occupied the pages of the Soviet press, there was scarcely a line in the speeches and articles to show that the Soviet Union was interested in world revolution. So much so, that a suggestion of the French radical writer, Henri Barbusse, that the time was approaching for the proletariat to throw off its chains struck a jarring note."

—(Wireless dispatch from Moscow to the New York Times (10-2-1932) by Walter Duranty.

32, Sokolnikov—32, Stalin—32, Krestinsky—32, Smilga—29, Stassova—28, Lashvievich—27, Schmidt—26, Gelzerzhinsky—26, Vladimirovsky—24, Gdelev—23."

The same Congress elected a commission to elaborate the party program. The significance of this commission requires no explanation. Let us present here, word for word, the brief discussion on the question of the make-up of the commission and the results of the voting:

"Chairman—Stalin has written on the national question, whoever read them—knows. This is not the question. Since objections have been raised, I will put the names to a vote."

"For Lenin—37, Bukharin—30, Sokolnikov—25, Trotsky—37, Zinoviev—30, Stalin—21, Smirnov—32, Radek—19, Obolensky—7."

"Eleven: Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Smirnov, Sokolnikov, Stalin, Zinoviev." (Minutes of the Congresses and Conferences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), pages 169-170.)

AS IT ONCE WAS "Before the review commenced, a group of speakers from the Communist International ascended the tribune to greet them in the name of their own proletariat. The Russian leaders, who have never for a moment forgotten the international character of the struggle they are conducting, invariably include the representatives of the fighting proletariat of other lands in every celebration of the Red Republic. The broader issues of the contest now being waged on Russian soil, are constantly held before the people; must not forget that it is serving first and foremost as the vanguard of the world proletariat in its advancing march towards freedom; while the members of the Communist International know that on halting the triumphant march of Russia, they can rejoice at the closer approach of the world revolution."

"... The revolution stood on one side of the square, Trotsky in his mind ... It was a magnificent spectacle, dedicated to the cause of world revolution."

—Report from Moscow on the Red Army Anniversary to the Communist Review (June 1922) by E. Roy.

How the Stalinists Ran the I. L. D. Convention

(Continued from page 1)

Had we been given the opportunity to avail ourselves of our constitutional right of pre-convention discussion, there is no doubt that the entire picture would be changed. For the most important task is not to discuss the whole matter of the very existence of the organization simply by laying it to the passivity of the membership, but rather for all of us to determine the cause of this passivity and to remedy it.

profits ranging from 38 to 120%. While the Narikin, the newly rich, lived riotously, the workers and peasants felt the pangs of hunger gnawing ever more fiercely. A period of growing strikes and tenant outbreaks culminated finally in the nation-wide rice riots of 1918.

The post-war period brought an even more severe crisis in Japan than in the other capitalist countries. Except more Japan's imports exceeded her exports so that the first five post-war years showed a greater deficit than the enormous surplus of the four war years. Unemployment became general and took on unprecedented proportions for the first time in Japan's history.

I. L. D. in the Morgenstern-Goodman case and in the case of the New York Marine Workers, is to underestimate the class conscious and thinking ability of the workers. A serious consideration of these points would lead us to some conclusions.

Conclusions to Draw

- 1. The I. L. D. must become the true mass organization for the defense, the organization and training for self-defense of the working class. 2. The I. L. D. must truly defend all workers regardless of political views and affiliations. 3. The I. L. D. must go deeper into the masses. It has suffered more than it can stand through its sectarian and isolationist policy. 4. Our united front conferences in the future must be a complete turn from the past. A united front from below is meaningless since the bulk of the workers are still under the influence of and follow the reactionary and reformist leaders. 5. Educational work and discussion within the organization to raise the level of understanding of the rank and file, to avoid turning the I. L. D. into a collection agency and every member a collector. It would be absurd to fund the I. L. D. can exist without funds. No one makes such an assertion. However, the raising of funds and other questions like it will be more successful when they are bound up with and a result of a thorough understanding of the class struggle by our membership, and by pursuing a policy which will extend the influence and following of the I. L. D. Only then will the worker become a valuable element in the I. L. D. and in the revolutionary movement as a whole. — CHARLOTTE SCHECHET.

JAPAN

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

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

Rise of Japan, Decline of England

The rise of English capitalism caused the ruin of the handicraft cotton industries of India, China and Japan. But not forever could England guard and keep secret the machines that gave her power. To-day nemesis stalks the British Empire and the East ousts England from her greatest markets for cotton manufactures.

The Rhythm of Cotton Technology

The more advanced the technology, the finer the yarns and piece-goods it can produce. The Lancashire mills, the oldest in the world, are still pre-eminent in the making of fine goods, the kind used in the more advanced countries. But the East—India, China, Japan—with its teeming millions, uses coarse yarn and goods, the type first developed by a new technology. The mastery of cotton manufacturing has followed the same rhythm in every country, Japan being quite typical. At first Japan was a market for coarse piece-goods and the heavier, coarser yarns of English make.

importing additional yarn (made in China) for her factories.

Limited Possibility for Japanese Growth

The entire development of Japanese capitalism is conditioned by the epoch in which it arose, the era of imperialism. Forced to follow in the wake of the imperialist powers, Japan's normal growth was stunted. Imperialism signifies the decay of democracy and the militarizing of the imperialist power in its desperate struggle for larger and larger markets. This fact helps to account for the omission of the bourgeois revolution with its democratic phase in Japan's development and for the ease with which the feudal lords were able to direct Japan's course.

On the economic field imperialism gives occasion to the peculiar phenomenon of the export of finance capital by Japan to China for the setting-up of cotton mills there even before Japan has saturated her own home market. Practically 40% of all Chinese cotton spindles are owned by Japanese capitalists. In the developments of Chinese and Indian cotton manufacturing, we see however the same fate meted out to Japan that she meted out to England—the loss of markets. Already China has ousted Japan from her market for the sale of yarns and India already has more spindles than Japan.

Japan's development in the last 70 years, looked at closely, has been slow rather than fast, much slower than that of England even during its experimental stage. Her home market is not a strong one; for example, in the cotton industry, on the basis of yarn consumed Japan does not produce nearly as much goods as England, the U. S. or even India, and yet Japan exports more cotton cloth than any other country except England, —because she sells less at home due to

the poverty per capita consumption of her lower-stricken population. It is a foregone conclusion that Japan will never attain the height of development reached by England in the cotton industry which, nevertheless, is Japan's greatest industry.

"The Big Five"

A striking phenomenon illustrating Japan's uneven capitalist development under the imperialist forces shaping her institutions, is the growth of tremendous empires of monopoly capitalism side-by-side with her backward industrial forms. The Japanese government has consistently encouraged combinations of capital. During periods of crisis when capitalists find themselves on the verge of bankruptcy, the government intervenes directly to bring about amalgamations and greater monopolistic concentrations of industry, banking, etc. The "Big Five" of Japan are the very heart of Japanese imperialism. They are banks in the same sense as the National City Bank in the U. S. and the Midland Bank of England; that is to say, they are the sources of finance capital. No big undertaking can be started in Japan without the aid of one or more of these banks. To enumerate the companies controlled by the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Dai-ichi, Sumitomo and Yasuda banks would be to catalog every great Japanese enterprise. The Mitsui Co. alone controls 25% of the entire export trade of Japan and handles coal, copper, sulphur, lumber, cotton, silk, sugar, etc. It imports ships, locomotives, steel bridges, opium, machine tools, paper pulp. It is the largest owner of coal mines in the East. It handles the millions of tons of the soy bean crop of Manchuria and practically owns the forests of Hokkaido besides having the monopoly of camphor in Formosa. The Mitsubishi Bank controls the shipping industry and all the large shipping companies of Japan. It has vast interests in the engineering industries. It is vitally concerned in the South Manchuria Railroad. These banks, the "Big Five", are gigantic combines,

vertically and horizontally, with tremendous and cynically recognized power in government. Japanese papers refer to a Mitsui cabinet or a Mitsubishi ministry since the Mitsui's "own" the Seiyuaki Party and the Mitsubishi subsidize the Minseitō Party.

Effects of the War on Japan

The World War gave Japanese capitalism so tremendous an impetus that it can be said to have reached maturity with this period. The war freed Japan temporarily from the strangling fetters of competition. After a year of seized opportunity to invade all the markets of the East as well as Africa, the South Sea Islands and Australia. No better measure can be given of the extent of its new trade than the relation of exports to imports. From the Sino-Jap war up to the World War, imports exceeded exports each year, leaving a total excess of imports of 928,803,000 yen at the beginning of the War. The first three years of the War cancelled this deficit so that by 1918 there was an actual surplus of exports amounting to 467,000,000 yen.

Before the War England controlled 53% of the imports of cotton piece-goods to China, Japan sending only 20%. By 1925 Japan had 51% of this business, England only 38%. The present Japanese steel industry is the product of the War. The number of factory workers increased almost half a million from the outbreak of War to Oct. 1917. Of far greater importance however, are not these figures, but the changed social conditions, the enriching of the few and the utter pauperizing of the masses. The same process of inflation occurred in Japan as elsewhere. Prices doubled, then tripled and went skyrocketing. Wages remained stationary or lagged far behind the rising cost of living. Food became scarce. The profits made by the capitalists were simply enormous. Certain mushroom steel companies, sugar manufacturers, shipping concerns, showed

BOOKS BY TROTSKY

Table listing books by Trotsky: PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R., THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION, COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM.

Table listing books: STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION, THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER, WHITHER ENGLAND, PIONEER PUBLISHERS.

Table listing books: WHAT NEXT—Vital Questions for the German Proletariat, THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA, PIONEER PUBLISHERS.