# Stalinists at the Twelfth Plenum

(Continued from page 1)

of the crisis as the end of the period of capitalism.

had the invasion of China by Japan, the weakened our forces. revolutions "between" the United States | Considering all these factors together, The thesis clings to the theory of and Great Britain in South America, the one cannot at this stage lay down a "social-Fascism" and tells us most Germany? Was this the characterization does. On the contrary, one possible proletariat in Germany. This is not told of stabilization?

period as a period of stabilization, from stabilization, which was not stable for stract thinking and presentations become For the defense of the Chinese people gates actually did participate. The chairtionary upsurges. The C. I.'s guess was of birth, growth and decay has within Germany and its international historical a miserable failure. But history does it its ebbs and flows. Growth has its importance is brushed over with meannot repeat itself. We are on safer dynamic flows and difficult ebbs but de- ingless phrases. ground, not due to Stalinism, but due cay has its turbulent flows and prolonged to the Left Opposition.

Ebbs and Flows in the Decay Stage stabilization and revolutionary upsurge social reformer is looking and hoping. new imperialist war is the Pacific." is to replace Marxian analysis with For the capitalist, it prepares the way "Japanese imperialism in alliance with Stalinist phrases. The "beginning" of for greater explosions or greater accu- France and with the actual support of stabilization is just as dangerous for mulations of contradictions. Because this mechanical schema does formed to deeper levels of revolutionary struggle for the partition of China and not fit the facts of the dialectic stages situations, always put the workers on intervention against the USSR on the and its cycle. Because the cycle of the defense, drive them to lower stand- order of the day" In this sentence the The whole period is a period of wars and Upturns have the opposite effects upon says, "is pursuing its imperialist aims

tions for the seizure of power will exist ditions with no economic gains, which supported by England." This is not the and have existed in the periods of ebbs means relatively worse conditions. The line up in the Far East, even though inas well as flows. A Marxist must pre- released pressure and worse conditions terests ran parallel for a time. sent strategy for the party and the class creates a contradiction, this time for All facts point to a much more comin the decay stage, but this can only be the capitalists which drives the workers plicated imperialist as well as Soviet done providing the ebbs and flows, that into the counter-offensive. Signs of this Union problem. To pass this problem off is, the general direction of the whole are already at hand in isolated examin such a "simple" way and at the same in the downward curve of decay capi- ples especially the miners' strike in Bel- time fail to show its relations to the talism, as well as the parts to the whole, gium and the miners' strike in Illinois, danger of Fascism in Germany is to fail are presented. In other words, the embryonic signs but nevertheless signs. to present the contradictions of world whole period is a period of revolutionary possibilities and in either periods of ebbs and flows within the whole per- perialism this thesis seems to think that iod these revolutionary possibilities are such an imperialism is of little import. Soviet Union is the most disgraceful part. transformed into realities. To take ad- ance in world politics. The proper cleva- To cover up our weak points, to hide vantage of these realities means to know tion of the role of American imperialism, from the world proletariat our true conthe direction, the ebb or flow, so that in a C. I. resolution today, must place ditions, when the whole capitalist world proper tactic can be formulated. This it as the leading imperialist power of knows these difficulties, is to lull to sleep the present and past several years of the Stalinists are failing to do and have world capitalism, as the dominating eco- the only class that will defend the Soviet defensive struggles into offensive strugfailed to do.

What Is the Perspective? still possibilities for ebbs and flows in the role of American imperialism, in of socialism; the second five year plan the economy of capitalism, or will the Europe, in Asia, in South America as provides for the final abolition of classes for the overthrow of the capitalist rule. On the contrary, ebbs and flows are must be an elementary consideration for population of the country into active and

jahead, but different kinds of ebbs and a thesis that makes up the world pro To pose the question in the fourth year flows than we had in the growth stage blems of the vanguard.

of stabilization is to use phrases instead | The reorganization and readjustments of analysis unless the "analysis" means are proceeding not only in the United The danger of Fascism in Germany is that after three years of crisis the condi- States but in other important links at not posed in its proper relationship. The tion is to become worse for capitalism, the expense of the working class, the resolution uses enough ink in speaking difficult position. The policy of Stalinism trade unions was strangled; but for that The same Congress elected a commisthat the semi-open conflicts are to break peasantry and the weaker section of the of Fascism and Germany but does not out into open imperialist wars and rev- exploiters. The failure of the Stalinist pull out the determining factor-THE olutions. However, we will show that leadership to take advantage of the fav- DANGER OF FASCISM IN GERMANY. the thesis speaks differently on this orable revolutionary situations since the Instead, the thesis turns the problem uppoint. We will take this phase up later. 1923 German revolution as well as the side down and tells us that the main If we are now at the end of stabiliza- present German situation has not only enemy is the social democrats. It says, tion what would you call the period of enabled the capitalist class to obtain a "Only by directing our main blows the crisis just before, where we have worthwhile breathing spell, but has against social democracy, this social

spasmodic ebbs.

To talk constantly about the end of workers—the way towards which the says, "The chief hot-bed for breeding a

capitalism as the "end" of stabilization. Crises and depressions, unless trans- its colony and has thus put the armed capitalism has reached the decay stage. and scatter their organized forces. United States, which the thesis correctly revolutions, but within this period there our class. Upturns release a certain in the Far East" is put on the basis as economic pressure but at the same time struggling against a line-up of Japan In this decay stage, favorable situa- usher in the workers into the new con- "in alliance with France" and "actually

Did Stalinism Forget America? In considering the role of American imnomic power that has in the past and Union, disarming them and helping the gles of the proletariat against the capicontinues in the present to take the de- enemy. The thesis says referring to the talist. First for immediate demands to After three years of crisis and deprestermining role in the struggle against Soviet Union, "That country has combe developed with the tempo and to consion what is the perspective? Are there the extension of the October revolution. pletely established itself in the position form to the strength or weakness of the

The Main Danger in Germany

mainstay of the bourgeoisie." Spanish revolution, the Indian situation definite perspective of a worse condition learned and wanted wisdom-that the and above all the danger of Fascism in as the only variant ahead, as the C. I. bourgeoisic is the main enemy of the To draw an analogy we can say that bility of a short upturn. Not a return of the proletariat. Abstract thinking is self-determination in the Black Belts. the "Third Period" designed the second to prosperity or the end of capitalist essential but there are times when ab- For assistance for the ruined farmers. 1923 or 1921 to 1928. In this period of the last three years. It will be one of the worst enemy for advancing the work- and the Soviet Union". stabilization we had the British General the brief flows in the downward curve ers cause. Or more often it is a cheap strike, the Vienna uprising and the Chi- of decay capitalism. This holds the up- substitute for lack of knowledge as to nese revolution. Following this second turn within definite limitations. Every what to do. The latter is the case with period came the third period of revolu- process as well as every major stage, the Stalinists The danger of Fascism in

#### The Far East Conflict

The Manchurian situation is treated in A short upturn solves nothing for the an equal bankrupt fashion. The thesis England, is converting Manchuria into

capitalism in their proper relationship.

The Position of the Soviet Union The question of the position of the

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 counworld crisis upon the Soviet Union, is accelerating the difficulties.

Directives for the United States

The resolution ends by giving such directives in the coming period. With the end of capitalist stabilization the able entities: Leninism and Trotskyism. the question of the make-up of the comthesis 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, for any period. They say, "For immediate assistance for the unemployed.

The thesis, you 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 profor the whole, is toward revolutionary as follows: Lenin-34, Trotsky-34, past bears deadly witness against the upsurge. No sooner do they tell us Sverdlov-33, Zinoviev-33, Bucharin- regime of falsifications! this, when we are ready to prepare for action to fit this, that is action to fit the end of capitalist stabilization and revolutionary upsurge, than the fifth section of the thesis presents the directives. And here they are:

"The general task of the Comintern to wage a concrete struggle: (1) Against the capitalist offensive. (2) Against Fascviet Union". The directives contradict the first part of the thesis. The directives are DEFENSIVE struggles against the capitalists. If the first part is true: revolutionary upsurge are ahead", then period of preparation for revolutionary upsurge, that is sure, but the general note. tasks, means to point to the main line of march and preparations.

The economic analysis of the Left Opposition of world capitalism, on the con- propaganda, and that it is the Russians' side of the square, Trotsky in their midst trary, points to a period ahead where we business to cultivate their own garden . . . It was a magnificent spectacle, demust now inform the party and the class and set the example of a successful So-dicated to the cause of world revolution." to prepare the battle-lines to transform cialist State."

-HUGO OEHLER.

has been scrupulously repressed.

Kremlin policy that world revolution will be a product of circumstances and not

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

Archives of the Opposition

## Legend of

The new generation in the Comintern 32, Sokolnikov-32, Stalin-32, Krestintry, combined with the effects of the knows nothing about how the Chinese sky-32, Smilga-20, Stassova-28, Lashhave placed our fatherland in a most wing Minority Movement in the British 26, Vladimirsky-24, Sergelev-23." it is educated on secondary episodes of sion to elaborate the party program. The the past of the type of the "August bloc" significance of this commission requires (1912!), or the Brest-Litovsk differences no explanation. Let us present here,

> The decision on the Brest-Litovsk dif- mission and the results of the voting: relations of the party to the participants stead of Stalin. in the dispute, the results of the party refused to participate in the elections of the names to a vote. the Central Committee. Thirty-four deleman reported the results (we quote from nikov-25, Trotsky-37, Zinoviev-30, the official published minutes of the Sev- Stalin-21, Smirnov-32, Radek-19, Obenth Congress, page 177):

"A commission including Avanessov, Soloviev and Shelavin served as tellers. Smirnov, Sokolnikov, Stalin. Zinoviev." Permit us to announce the results. Al- (Minutes of the Congresses and Conferletariat." Not that the upsurge will be together, 39 ballots were cast. Five ences of the Communist party of the Soeven, or everywhere at once, but that in comrades abstained from voting. They viet Union (B), pages 169-170.) the present period the general direction cast blank ballots. The rest are divided | Literally every document of the party's

revolution was slain, or how the Left evitch-27, Schmidt-26, Dzherzhinsky-

which are presented as two irreconcil- word for word, the brief discussion on

ferences was adopted by the Seventh "Uritsky-I, at least, am unaware of Congress of the party in March 1918. The any programmatic articles by Stalin or discussions at this Congress were of 2 Zinoviev, but Radek's are well known. I heated character. But to characterize the therefore propose to include Radek in-

"Chairman-Stalin has written on the social insurance, against wage cuts, for elections are more telling than anything national question, whoever read themelse. It was a question of the Central knows. This is not the question. Since variant, far from excluded, is the possi- to school children but to the vanguard For equal rights for the Negroes and Committee. Bucharin's group, in protest, objections have been raised, I will put

"The voting takes place. "For Lenin-37, Bucharin-36, Sokol-

olensky-7. "Elected: Lenin, Trotsky, Bucharin,

### Two Press Comments on Russia

AS IT IS TODAY

"The Soviet press holds true to the proach of the world revolution.

AS IT ONCE WAS

"As to the prospects (of world rev- "Before the review commenced, a group olution.—Ed.) one might think this state of speakers from the Communist Internaof affairs offers to Soviet diplomats, who tional ascended the tribune to greet and its sections in the present period is are alert and experienced in social up- them in the name of their own proletarheaval, the Moscow press says nothing. lat. The Russian leaders, who have Indeed, it is immensely significant that in never for a moment forgotten the interism and reaction. (3) Against the impending war and intervention in the So- affairs in the past two months, anything are conducting, invariably include the to indicate the Soviet attitude or bias representatives of the fighting proletariat of other lands in every celebration of the "What is more, during the celebrations Red Republic. The broader issues of the of Maxim Gorky's jubilee, which occupied contest now being waged on Russian soil. "the end of capitalist stabilization and the pages of the Soviet press, there was are constantly held before the people: scarcely a line in the speeches and arti- the Red Army, on its fourth anniversary, the "genral tasks" are not correct. And cles to show that the Soviet Union was must not forget that it is serving first and if the general tasks are correct for the interested in world revolution. So much foremost as the vanguard of the world coming period, defensive struggles, then so, that a suggestion of the French radi- proletariat in its advancing march tothe first part of the thesis is incorrect. cal writer, Henri Barbusse, that the time wards freedom; while the members of There will be defensive struggles in the was approaching for the proletariat to the Communist International know that throw off its chains struck a jarring on hailing the triumphant forces of Russia, they can rejoice at the closer ap-

" . . . The reviewers stood on one

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

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

By Jack Weber

JAPAN

(Continued from last issue)

Rise of Japan, Decline of England The rise of English capitalism caused Limited Possibility for Japanese Growth rise of Japan as a manufacturing na- growth of the military oligarchy, tends tion is an added force tending towards to strangle democracy in its very birth.

talism. The Rhythm of Cotton Technology est in the world, are still pre-eminent by 40% of all Chinese cotton spindles are in the making of fine goods, the kind owned by Japanese capitalists. In the used in the more advanced countries. But developments of Chinese and Indian cotthe East-India, China, Japan-with its ton manufacturing, we see however the teeming millions, uses coarse yarn and same fate meted out to Japan that she market for coarse piece-goods and the on cheaper labor than that of England heavier, coarser yarns of English make. but both India and China rely on labor Gradually the yarns of coarse size were still cheaper than that of Japan. A produced at home until they ceased to be girl spinner in Japan gets 50 to 60 cents imports and became exports. In this for 10 hours of work. A male spinner stage Japan ousted England from India in India gets from 34 to 43 cents for and China for this type of yarn. Still 10 hours. later the coarse yarn was used in dom- Japan's development in the last 70 estic weaving to produce coarse piece- years, looked at closely, has been slow goods which thus became the export. At rather than fast, much slower than that this stage Japan captured the Asian of England even during its experimental market outside of India almost com- stage. Her home market is not a strong pletely away from England. Japan en- one; for example, in the cotton industry, croached rapidly even on the Indian mar- on the basis of yarn consumed Japan ket with the results already outlined, does not produce nearly as much goods the closing of India to Japan by Eng- as England, the U. S. or even India, and land. In this process not only has Japan yet Japan exports more cotton cloth imported greater and greater amounts of than any other country except England,

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

the ruin of the handicraft cotton indus-. The entire development of Japanese tries of India, China and Japan. But capitalism is conditioned by the epoch not forever could England guard and in which it arose, the era of imperialism. keep secret the machines that gave her Forced to follow in the wake of the imtish Empire and the East ousts England was stunted. Imperialism signifies the from her greatest markets for cotton decay of democracy and the militarizing manufactures. Naturally England will of the imperialist power in its desperate off the inevitable, the British Empire This fact helps to account for the omiswill not vanish without gigantic strug- sion of the bourgeois revolution with its

raw cotton but latterly she has been |-because she sells less at home due to

attain the height of development reached Mitsui cabinet or a Mitsubishi ministry

"The Big Five"

A striking phenomenon illustrating under the imperialist forces shaping her ism so tremendous an impetus that it and to remedy it. Are our lead- 2. The I. L. D. must truly defend institutions, is the growth of tremend- can be said to have reached maturity ers certain that the past policies of all workers regardless of political views ous empires of monopoly capitalism side- with this period. The war freed Japan the I. L. D. have been correct, beyond and affiliations. The position taken by by-side with her backward industrial temporarily from the strangling fetters criticism? Is there no possibility that the I. L. D. officials in the Morgensternforms. The Japanese government has of competition. After a year of painful there is something that the members are Goodman case and towards the marine consistently encouraged combinations of readjustment, Japanese capitalism seized not fully in agreement with? To assume workers, left a stain on the forehead capital. During periods of crisis when its opportunity to invade all the markets that the rank and file who not only of our organization which can be eracapitalists find themselves on the verge of the East as well as Africa, the South follow but also think, after a thorough dicated only by proof that such basic power. To-day nemesis stalks the Bri- perialist powers, Japan's normal growth of bankruptcy, the government intervenes Sea Islands and Australia. No better discussion, would have nothing to say errors will not be repeated in the fudirectly to bring about amalgamations measure can be given of the extent of its in opposition to the role played by the ture. Only in this way will the I. L. D. and greater monopolistic concentrations new trade than the relation of exports prove itself the "shield of the working of industry, banking, etc. The "Big to imports. From the Sino-Jap war up use every weapon of resistance to fend struggle for larger and larger markets. Five" of Japan are the very heart of to the World War, imports exceeded ex-Japanese imperialism. They are banks ports each year, leaving a total excess the Narikin, the newly rich, lived riotin the same sense as the National City of imports of 928,803,000 yen at the begles, death-throes one might well call democratic phase in Japan's development Bank in the U. S. and the Midland Bank ginning of the War. The first three pangs of hunger gnawing ever more isolationist policy. them. The tariff, imperial preference, and for the ease with which the feudal of England; that is to say, they are the years of the War cancelled this deficit fiercely. A period of growing strikes the capitalist onslaught on wages, parti- lords were able to direct Japan's course. sources of finance capital. No big un- so that by 1918 there was an actual surcularly in the Lancashire mills,—these If to-day, before the achievement of any dertaking can be started in Japan with- plus of exports amounting to 467,000,000 in the nation-wide rice riots of 1918. are symbols of the decline of British "real" democracy in Japanese govern- out the aid of one or more of these yen. capitalism, of the precarious position she ment, we witness movements calling banks. To enumerate the companies Before the War England controlled more severe crisis in Japan than in the ers are still under the influence of and occupies in world markets, of the de- themselves Fascist, the reason is that controlled by the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Dai- 53% of the imports of cotton piece-goods other capitalist countries. Once more follow the reactionary and reformist pletion of her natural resources (coal), developments are foreshortened in Japan Ichi, Sumiton and Yasuda banks would to China, Japan sending only 20%. By Japan's imports exceeded her exports so leaders. of the rising costs of manufacturing. The so that the so-called Fascism, the out- be to catalog every great Japanese en- 1925 Japan had 51% of this business, that the first five post-war years showed 5 Educational work and discussion terprise. The Mitsui Co. alone controls England only 38%. The present Jap- a greater deficit than the enormous sur- within the organization to raise the level 25% of the entire export trade of Japan anese steel industry is the product of plus of the four War years. Unemploy- of understanding of the rank and file, to accelerating the decline of English capi- On the economic field imperialism gives and handles coal, copper, sulphur, lum- the War. The number of factory work- ment became general and took on unpre- avoid turning the I. L. D. into a coloccasion to the peculiar phenomenon of ber, cotton, silk, sugar, etc. It imports ers increased almost half a million from cedented proportions for the first time lection agency and every member a colthe export of finance capital by Japan ships, locomotives, steel bridges, opium, the outbreak of War to Oct. 1917. The more advanced the technology, the to China for the setting-up of cotton machine tools, paper pulp. It is the Of far greater importance however, panies of the war period, the overex- the I. L. D. can exist without funds. No finer the yarns and piece-goods it can mills there even before Japan has sat- largest owner of coal mines in the East, are not these figures, but the changed panded industries, experienced wide- one makes such an assertion. However, produce. The Lancashire mills, the old- urated her own home market. Practical- It handles the millions of the spread failures. In 1923 the Great the raising of funds and other questions soya bean crop of Manchuria and practic- few and the utter pauperizing of the Earthquake added its ghastly burden to like it will be more successful when they ally owns the forests of Hokkaido be- masses. The same process of inflation the suffering of the masses. On the are bound up with and a result of a sides having the monopoly of camphor occurred in Japan as elsewhere. Prices land the War accelerated the process of thorough understanding of the class in Formosa. The Mitsubishi Bank con-doubled, then tripled and went skyrocket- concentration of ownership. The number struggle by our membership, and by trols the shipping industry and all the ing. Wages remained stationary or lag- of peasants owing their own land had pursuing a policy which will extend the goods, the type first developed by a new meted out to England,-the loss of mar- large shipping companies of Japan. It ged far behind the rising cost of living. fallen by 38,000 during the six years be- influence and following of the I. L. D. technology. The mastery of cotton kets. Already China has ousted Japan has vast interests in the engineering in- Food became scarce. The profits made fore the War but in the five years fol- Only then will the worker become a manufacturing has followed the same from her market for the sale of yarns dustries. It is vitally concerned in the by the capitalists were simply enormous. lowing the War this class decreased by valuable element in the I. L. D. and in rhythm in every country, Japan being and India already has more spindles South Manchuria Railroad. These banks, Certain mushroom steel companies, sugar 450,000. quite typical. At first Japan was a than Japan. Japanese capitalism rests the "Big Five", are gigantic combines, manufacturers, shipping concerns, showed

the lower per capita consumption of her vertically and horizontally, with tremenpoverty-stricken population. It is a dous and cynically recognized power in foregone conclusion that Japan will never government. Japanese papers refer to a nevertheless, is Japan's greatest industry. Party and the Mitsubishis subsidize the Minseito Party.

Effects of the War on Japan

Japan's uneven capitalist development The World War gave Japanese capital- sivity of the membership, passivity defense of the working class.

(Continued from page 1)

by England in the cotton industry which, since the Mitsui's "own" the Seiyuaki is not to dismiss the whole matter of clusions. the very existence of the organization simply by laying it to the passivity of 1. The I. L. D. must become the

I. L. D. in the Morgenstern-Goodman Had we been given the opportunity to case and in the case of the New York avail oursives of our constitutional right Marine Workers, is to underestimate the of pre-convention discussion, there is no class conscious and thinking ability of doubt that the entire picture would be the workers. A serious consideration of changed. For the most important task these points would lead us to some con-

Conclusions to Draw

the membership, but rather for all of true mass organization for the defense, us to determine the cause of this pas- the organization and training for self-

class".

3. The I. L. D. must go deeper into

4. Our united front conferences in the past. A united front from below is The post-war period brought an even meaningless since the bulk of the work-

in Japan's history. The mushroom com- lector. It would be absurd to say that the revolutionary movement as a whole. CHARLOTTE SCHECHET.

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