WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

EMILITANT THE MILITANT



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Hitler in Power; Civil War Starts

LEON TROTSKY

The Danger of Thermidor

An Analysis of the Significance of Stalin's Latest Speech

between the proletariat and the peasan- zation. try. The proletariat constitutes the minority of the population; the peasantry, the overwhelming majority. Yet in the hands five year plan abolished classes and inof the proletariat are the most concentroduced socialism?" But we must untrated m ans of production. The forces questionably ask, "Has it assured the of the peasantry, on the contrary, are "smytchka" between city and country?" split up through their economic relations. The answer is "No", it has shaken and Still more, it is not a homogeneous group. weakened it." In his last speech at the As long as there is no thoroughgoing plenum of the Central Committee, Stalin change in technique and economy in the boasted that the planned collectivization village-and for this even under the had been exceeded three times over. But most favorable circumstances the work who needs these figures outside of the of a whole generation would be needed bureaucratic boasters? The statistics of -the peasantry will crystallize out of collectivization do not take the place of itself a stratum of kulaks, which inevita- bread. The kolkhozes are numerous, but bly strives towards capitalism. The there is no meat and no vegetables. The mechanical destruction of the present city has nothing to eat. Industry is diskulaks decides nothing. After the al- organized because the workers are hunleged "liquidation of the kulaks as a gry. In its relation to the peasant, the class" the Soviet press constantly keeps city has passed from a semi-voluntary complaining (having gone over from ma- exchange through a tax in kind to comterialism to idealism, since bureaucrats pulsory expropriations, that is, to the are always idealists), of the power of methods of war-time Communism. the kulak "ideology", of the remains of kulak psychology, etc. In fact, behind with the policies of the party. The party these complaints is hidden the fact that is dissatisfied with the leadership. The the middle class of peasants, although locked up into kolkhozes, faced with the ization, with collectivization, with the present level of technique and economy, city. Part of the peasantry is dissatissees no other way out for itself than to fied with the regime. What part? We lift itself up to the level of the kulaks.

What the Peasant Demands

tions were interlaced; the end of the exceeded three times over!" But that is democratic one and the beginning of the precisely the misfortune. The forced socialist. By doing away with lease pay- kolkhozes not only do not lead to socialments, the democratic revolution saved ism, but on the contrary undermine the the peasantry almost half a billion gold foundations of the dictatorship of the rubles. The fruits of the socialist rev- proletariat by becoming the organized olution are valued by the poor peasants form of the strike of the peasants according to the quantity of industrial against the city. By hiding its grain products which he can obtain in ex- from the state or purposely limiting its change for a given quantity of grain. seeding, the pasantry places itself on The peasant is no utopian; he does not the road of the kulaks. "Permit me," it demand that socialism be built up in one country and in five years at that. But he does demand that socialist industry desant is prepared to extend an unlimited letariat and its party. The Soviet state would receive the possibility of maneuvering according to the internal condi-

only be the equivalent exchange of the The appeal is issued-"to every A. F. ble. Only such reciprocal economic possible united front." relation between city and country-what In essence this call is no different from Lenin called the "smytchka"-can free that issued by Mooney on August 20, the workers state from the necessity of 1931. On that date Mooney said, "The taking forcible measures against the vil-time for action has come-I ask for a lage to compel the exchange. Only from genuine united front. I call upon the the moment when the voluntary exchange following groups—to unite and organize not lift a finger toward this end. the heavy expenses of a civil war: It is assured will the proletarian dictator- -for immediate action." In the list of Their special job is to divide the has turned over the government to social ship be unshakable. The "smytchka" organizations which follow are to be thus secured, means the closest political found the entire Communist movement, the Socialist party and the IWW and the geois coalitions; it has sought to preurban workers, the firm support of the and outright conservative organizations to act they found a convenient excuse- Bruening party of ultramontanism; it plant in Grand Rapids, Mich. decisive masses of the middle peasantry, like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. and consequently, the political isolation of the kulaks and of all capitalist ele- sity for the second call? Who and what proletarian dictatorship, which in view the party and the ILD play? of the successful industrialization and the unlimited human, largely peasant, reserves, will make it possible for the Soviet state to repulse any imperialist the initiative in building the movement

since 1923, industrialization is the pre- Mooney's appeal was a direct invitations requisite of the march towards social- to the Communists to take over the leadism. Without a rising industrialization neither linen nor nails, not to speak of tractors, can be supplied to the peasants. But industrialization must be carried intern led by comrade Shachtman is postthrough at such a tempo and in accord- poned to the following Sunday due to ance with such plans that the relation the mass meeting on the German situaof the quantity of goods between city tion. All students of the class are urged and village will steadily if slowly im- to attend this rally to be held at the prove, and the standard of living of Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St. and Second workers and peasants rise. This fore- Ave., on Sunday, February 4th at 8 P. M. most condition of the stability of the where comrade Shachtman and Cannon whole regime limits the permissible will be the speakers.

The Soviet regime rests on the alliance; tempo of industrialization and collectivi-

Back to War Communism It means nothing to add, "Has the

The hungry workers are dissatisfied peasantry is dissatisfied with industrialcannot know, but it is clear that under present circumstances, it can only grow.

In the October upheaval two revolu- "The planned collectivization has been (Continued on page 4)

GIVE NOW!

TANT is the first order of business of the League and its sympathizers in the present period. We are confronted with the most serious financial condition possible and unless we obtain several hundred dollars, the very existence of the MILITANT is threatened. On top of this, the Post Office threatens to revoke our mailing rights if we skip another issue.

What are you doing about this? Have you called on your fellowworkers and ask for contributions? Help Save the MILIANT. Send in your contribution at once and then visit your friends and collect funds for the MILITANT.

The MILITANT has performed an international revolutionary duty to the class and the party in keeping the Marxian theories and the Bolshevik-Leninist needs of the day before the English-speaking workers of the whole world. While the press of Stalinism sways between opportunism and adventurism the MILITANT has held high the international revolutionary principles of Marxism. The need of the organization is not a retreat to a semi-monthly but an increase in propaganda in order to keep pace with the growing activity of the League and the sharpening world events. In all parts of the country the demand for our press and our literature is on the increase. The demand is one positive side of the problem. The other side is the organizational end. We must send out organizers, but all this will fail of accomplishment unless the MILI-TANT is kept before the workers each week.

You cannot allow the financial difficulties to drown the voice of the MILITANT. You must strain every resource to help SAVE THE MILI-TANT. Send in your contribution at once, solicit funds for the Militant. Rush all Funds to the MILI-TANT, 126 East 16th St., New York -HUGO OEHLER.

are no worse than those of capitalist industry. Under these conditions, the peasant is prepared to extend an unlimited. Mooney Congress Called

credit in political confidence to the pro- Molders Committee Issues United Front Call for Chicago Meet

issued a call for a Free Tom Mooney Con- issue, and in conferences, wherever they heavy costs of a civil war, and to stake tions and the world situation, and of gress to be held at Chicago, April 30 to were called, we raised our voice to urge their cards upon the mirage of an econdrawing the peasantry into socialist eco- May 2, under the auspices of the Tom the party to accept Mooney's invitation Mooney Molder's Defense Committee- and forge the weapon to smash the chains The basis of mass collectivization can "to plan the final fight for my freedom". that hold him in jail.

products of industry and agriculture. of L. union-local, district, state, and na- ship of our party was to sabotage and ally called upon the Fascist leader to piece workers are kept idle without pay unemployed. But so far the workers Without going into the theoretical econ- tional in its jurisdiction; to the railroad wreck those conferences not organized take over the government, is eloquent omic hair-splitting, we must regard as brotherhoods, and all other labor unions; by them. In St. Louis, for instance, testimony to the desperation of the Ger- or, while forced to wait for repairs or their effectiveness through mass picket-"equivalent" such an exchange as will to all working class organizations-poli- where the local Mooney Molders' Defense man bourgeoisie. Capitalism, in its parts necessary to their process in the ing. stimulate the peasants, individual as tical, economic, defense, social, athletic, Committee, in cooperation with the Com- "normal" state, never does more than industry. Piece workers lose many hours well as collectivized, to till as much fraternal or cultural; and to all liberal munist League of America had organized keep its Fascist hordes in reserve. The a week through this method of wage cutland and harvest as much grain as pos- organizations sympathetic to the work- a genuine united front to which all work- German ruling class knows that the ting. It is "little things" like this that sible, selling the greater part to the city ers." Mooney says, "The time has come ing class organizations were invited, the seizure of power by the Brown-shirted make basic wage rates so misleading in in order to obtain for it as large a when all organizations fighting for my Stalinists split the conference and organ-bandits, especially in a country with a the statistical reports). quantity of industrial products as possi- freedom must be welded into the widest ized one of their own. In southern Ill- well-organized and socialistically school-

The question arises: what is the neces ments in the country in general. The is responsible for the failure to build "smytchka", thus secured, means the un- the movement supon the basis of the shakable loyalty of the Red Army to the call of August 20, 1931? What role did

As our readers will remember the Militant greeted Mooney's appeal of August 20th, and urged the party to take for his release. Our analaysis pointed As the Left Opposition has declared out that under the circumstances,

The class on the History of the Com-

the social democratic betrayers of the workers? How can we unite with Green and Woll? We want the workers. But OPEN FORUM the workers are divided. Ergo - the united front" from below!"

Mooney waited patiently for the party to move. But the party, saddled with a false theoretical approach to the problem, made no headway in passing from agitation in the press to struggle. Now Mooney has issued a call for the same purpose through the Molders' Defense Friday, 8 P. M.

This does not mean that Mooney has abandoned the road of the class strug-(Continued on page 2)

Opposition's Demand for United Front Is Need of the Hour in Germany

Responsibility for Rise of Fascism Must be Established

President von Hindenburg, the victor- in the old way. Reichstag, who is in control of the Prus-

Interior. The Hitler government starts out with tatives of the extreme reaction in Ger- able to accomplish his principal task export to America in competition with many. The von Papens, Hugenbergs, without a bitter fight. His role is to other American producers. von Krosigks, von Neuraths and Seldtes crush every semblance of organized The Bill in its final form provides the represent all that is intensely chauvin- strength and military in the German following safeguards for e imperialists: istic in Germany, all that stands for the domination of heavy industry and the preservation of the "dirty East Prussian" tariat, following with the social dem- Ten years after this they will have "inforces under Hitler, the monarchists, na- ment, and ending with the extermination right for naval bases and retains the tionalists, militarists, bankers, landlords of every other class conscious proletar- right to military posts after the attainand trust magnates rub shoulders amic ian organization. It is already clear ment of "independence". At the same ably with the most prominent representatives of Fascism.

Schleicher's Role

you Schleicher regime which succeeded which they were lulled for the past year, the American tariff walls. In the meanit, fell after having accomplished to the has begun to resist with all the means time the imports are to be limited. A maximum of their abilities the task and at its disposal. role assigned to them. Neither of the two "Presidental" governments which preceded Hitler had behind it a parlia- ascension to power of the Hitler gang this period all goods shipped from the the working class that they stood "above in Germany. Before this is definitely people against it, except the section of the classes" and would regulate the con- accomplished, blood will flow and many American flunkies. The American workning the benevolent neutrality of the reactionary social democratic trade union leaders, headed by Leipart, a neutrality which meant nothing short of a new betrayal of the working class. In the period of their domination, Papen and Schleicher did all they could to stave off the resistance of the working class, to weaken and demoralize it, to avoid-in Under date of January 21, Tom Mooney ership of the movement. In issue after the interests of the bourgeoisie - the omic boom.

The fact that Hindenburg, who was The response of the Stalinist leader- not in a fundamentally class sense, fininois, in Minneapolis, all over the U. S. ed working class, means civil war and they pursued the same tactics. This the consequent disruption of the eco- as follows: strategy played into the hands of the nomic and political life of the country. reactionaries who, while professing belief at least until the issue of the struggle 20 percent wage cut at Briggs Vernon bodies disrupted the entire Ford, belt in Mooney's innocence and a desire to is decided. The German bourgeoisie has fight for his release, have not and will gone to all conceivable lengths to avoid class and keep it divided. It also served democrats; it has drawn them into bour. 15 percent wage cut. liberals of all hues. For their failure serve an equilibrium with the aid of the Park plant, Detroit; and Hayes Body "the impossibility of working with the has resorted to the Bonapartist regimes of Papen and von Schleicher. But none Ave. workers brings total up to 8,000. As a result no movement was built, of these expedients has enabled it to The opportunity to set the class in mo- emerge from the profound crisis under- strike and raise total up to 10,000. Capition was lost. For this the Stalinist mining its domination, the crisis which talist press "discovers" the strike moveleadership of the party and the ILD are has driven hundreds of thousands of ment. to blame. The "theoretical" motivation workers to the support of the party of for their course was the now half-aban- social revolution. For just as the bour-

TECHNOCRACY AND OTHER TRENDS IN BOURGEOIS POLITICAL ECONOMY Technicians and the Working Class

Speaker: HUGO OEHLER FEBRUARY 10th 126 East 16 Street, ADMISSION: 15e

Auspices: gle as the only means of attaining his N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

working class, beginning with the Com- The Filipinos must call a special convenmunist party, the spearhead of the prole- tion to adopt a republican constitution. agrarian lords. In the first collection of ocracy and the big trade union move-dependence." The Bill reserves the from the first news dispatches that the time the Bill provides the following for German proletariat, alarmed by the re- the American competitors, who were the cent events and aroused out of the leth- main ones to drive through the bill. Af-The von Papen government, and the argy and the imaginary security into ter ten years the Islands will be outside

The Coming Civil War

mentary majority upon which to lean, could mean nothing else but the opening United States to the Islands will be duty or a mass movement to base itself on, of a period of civil war in Germany, free. Emigration will also be cut These representatives of the Bonapartist When we speak of Hitler's ascension to bourgeoisie could only be stop gaps, power, it does not yet mean that the creating the illusion among sections of power of Fascism has been established will have all sections of the Filipino flicts between them. Even more than sanguinary battles will be fought. But Papen, von Schleicher succeeded in win- only a blind man could fail to see that conditional release and freedom of the (Continued on page 4)

Pass Phillipines Bill Over Veto

The Filipinos, under the leadership of Quezon and a large section of the national-bourgeoisie, are fighting the Independence Bill. The 35 year struggle for independence is taking on a new ious candidate of the socialist "Iron That is why the bourgeoisie has been form, since the Independence Bill comes Front", the "bulwark of the Republic forced to resort to the desperate expedi- from the United States. This can be acagainst Fascism", has finally appointed ent of Fascism! Hitler in power means counted for when one realizes what is Hitler to the Chancellorship of the Reich. the commencement of the civil war in behind this bill. The Independence Bill With the Fascist leader are his lieuten- Germany. It is entirely unthinkable tries to please different layers of the ants, Hermann Goering, Speaker of the that the German working class, millions American exploiters, and in doing so, strong, trained in the school of the class has forced Congress to turn out an Insian police force of 150,000 armed men, struggle for years, having at its head the dependence Bill loaded with jokers. The and the notorious Dr. William Frick, most powerful Communist party in the Bill retains all of the essential needs of who has taken over the Ministry of the world outside of the Soviet Union, will the imperialists and at the same time permit the Nazi assassins to remain in attempts to eliminate the advantage the power without a violent struggle. It is national bourgeoisie of the Filipinos have the inclusion of all the other represententially unthinkable that Hitler, will be with regard to those commodities they

> graduated scale of export tax on commodities of a competitive nature that are Nor could it be otherwise, for the sent to America will be imposed. In

> > The Bill attempts to unite all sections of the American people behind it. It ers must demand the immediate and un-Filipino people.

10,000 in Strike in Detroit

Wages and «Dead Time» Issues in Briggs Auto Walkout

struggles of the auto workers against the Ford workers against the strikers the boss class since the crisis started, with the argument that the Briggs strikmore than 10,000 men at the four plants ers have thrown them out of work. of the Briggs Mfg. Corp., makers of auto undoubtedly hostile to Hitler, even if bodies, in Detroit, have struck against "dead time". ("Dead time" is the time while being shifted to other departments have maintained their solidarity and

> According to the Daily Worker the progress of the strike movement reads the opportunity to lockout 150,000 work-

Highway Plant in Detroit. January 21-1.000 workers in Motor

Products Corp., Detroit, strike against January 24-Strike in Briggs Highland

January 25-Strike of Briggs Mack

January 26-Two more Briggs plants

January 27-Motor Products workers, who won their strike, refuse to work on doned idiocy of social Fascism. "How geoisie finds it impossible to rule in the material from Briggs plants. 700 of can we", the argument ran, "unite with old way, the masses are refusing to live these workers join A. W. U. Ford laysoff 150,000.

January 28-Murray Body Company forced to close through fear; men join

Solidarity of Workers!

The Briggs Company-three hours after Ford paid a visit to his Highland day, Feb. 3 at 8 P. M. at the Left Op-Park plant in which the Briggs factory position Open Forum at 126 East 16th in Detroit is housed,-agreed to abolish Street. The subject of his lecture will "dead-time" and guarantee its employees be "Is the Time Ripe for a New Federaan hourly wage. It also agrees to raise tion of Labor." He will discuss in this some wages, though not as high as the lecture the most important conference in workers demnd and in some instances Gillespie, Ill., in which comrade Cannon the new scale is lower than the old. The participated and which adopted the polcompany, however, has not negotiated icy of the Left Opposition. It promises with the strike committee but has simply to be an intensely interesting meeting. posted the notice of its proposals. At- Be sure to attend!

Marking one of the first mass | tempts were made, of course, to arouse

The workers had until Monday noon, January 30, to return to work or be replaced by men from Detroit's army of

The Briggs strike became effective January 26, when, after several prior outbreaks, 10,000 closed their ranks ngainst the bosses. Ford is boss of Briggs. He was not slow to try to take advantage of the situation. He seized ers in his employ, on the pretext that January 12-500 workers strike against the failure of the Briggs Co. to deliver system of production. This was an attempt to turn the Ford workers against the strikers. But the workers have not been taken in by this lying cant. They have refused to work on stuff coming

from Briggs. In his efforts to discredit the strike Ford has spread the story that rival manufacturers have instigated the workers against Briggs. Speaking of the men who work in the plants that bear his name Ford said: "There is not a man among them that would strike.." even if his scale of wages is little, if any, higher than that of other manufacturers." Lies! We are confident that the Ford workers will not be long in following the example of the Briggs workers. And as for needing instigation!-(Continued from page 2)

CANNON AT FORUM

Comrade Cannon will speak this Fri-

James P. Cannon Max Shachtman

Stuyvesant Casino

DAY, FEB. 5th, 8 P. M. ADM. 15 CTS.

meeting The CRISIS in GERMANY mass