

How Far Will The Stalinists Go?

Close observation of the recent zig-zags in the party's united front policy would lead one to draw one of the following conclusions: 1. That the Stalinists have set themselves the task of devitalizing the united front tactic; 2. That the mad zig-zag results from utter confusion; 3. That they are caught in the contradiction of a fundamentally wrong course hitherto pursued. Discounting the first which would be true only if Stalinism had already severed its weak bonds with the working class one must accept the second and third explanation.

We, in Chicago, are rather fortunate in having been able to watch and in some cases participate in every shade of united front conference, from the ultra-Left sectarian, vest-pocket, united front "from below" species, to the ultra-right opportunist policy in the present aldermanic election campaign. But our good fortune lies, perhaps, after all in being able to participate in the genuine united front movement which defeated the threatened 50 percent cut in unemployed relief.

The Change in Chicago

The Oct. 10th conference marked the first faltering step of the party, away from the "below" policy. Suddenly, out of the clear sky, amid the loud chanting of ultra-Left hymns "from below", the party found itself faced with the dilemma of either participating in the united front movement together with other ORGANIZATIONS and thus deviate from the line thus far followed, or boycott the impending united front of the Workers' League and the Workers' Committee and thus disgrace itself completely. It wisely chose to participate and later tried to justify itself by a process of rationalization. All at once the Stalinists decided to run the risk of staining their simon purity and sat at the same table with reformist leaders whom it but a moment ago stigmatized as "social-fascists". The victory won by this unity of action proved the correctness of the Left Opposition's position on the united front. But in no way can the success of the united front be credited to the party. The fact is that the party leaders were forced into the united front in the same way as were the socialist leaders. And it must also be remembered that if anyone came near wrecking the Conference, it was none other than the party's representative, Williamson, with his provocative speech, previously commented on in the Militant.

So great was the force of this united front that it shook the party out of its political lethargy and resulted in the Verblin-Williamson polemic in the December Communist. For the first time in years, were the pages of the Communist invaded by heterodox opinion. Verblin actually succeeded in setting forth his views which, while not drawing 100 percent political conclusions, nevertheless presented an essentially correct position on the united front. While Williamson and other party sages labored to refute Verblin and justify their own position,

The Swing to Opportunism in Chicago

the customary fervor was noticeably lacking. Certainly the "Leninist leadership" could not afford to have its infallibility questioned. Self-preservation still remains the first law of nature, politically as well as biologically.

Subsequent events seem to point however to the possibility that the first step away from the "below" policy in Chicago has resulted in a national turn. The recent call for a united front in New York seems to point in that direction. It is quite possible that the Stalinists have decided to scrap at least part of the "below" policy secretly and without the knowledge of the party membership and start a turn to the Right. If this be so then we have much to fear. Under the Stalinist leadership the party proceeds in its turns in a very similar fashion to that of the proverbial drunken sailor who, in attempting to make progress, reels and staggers from the wall on the one side of the road to the ditch on the other. The results of the 1928-29 turn are still fresh in our minds. There is no telling to what opportunist extremes the present Right turn will carry the party. In this respect recent experiences in Chicago are rather indicative.

Students Congress against War

That the "anti-war" adventure would turn out to be a great farce was evident from the start. In sheer despair over the utter impossibility of creating a single "below" united front, the International Stalinist leadership conceived the Amsterdam substitute which no sooner flickered up than it went up in smoke; but not before begetting the Chicago miscarriage in the form of the Student Congress. Engineered by the young Stalinists, this Congress carefully segregated the students from the working class youth. The YCL, with its formally "Communist" anti-war program was very conspicuous by not having even a single delegate, in spite of the fact that it was the YCL that really organized the whole thing. Instead they preferred to masquerade behind the Students League which, proceeding along pacifist lines to the last moment, was planning to organize a permanent anti-war organization using the Anti-Imperialist League as a model.

The intervention of the Left Opposition youth was the intervention of the subjective factor which prevented downright degeneration into pacifism and forced the adoption of a formally "correct" though still treacherously ambiguous resolution in the end. But our intervention was insufficient to make something decisive out of this Congress. In their haste to record another paper achievement, the young Stalinists and the old ones to for that matter, forgot to do a very simple thing: they com-

pletely forgot to raise a concrete issue for the united front. They came to the congress to work out an anti-war PROGRAM with the socialists and pacifists. The result of course was that no unity was achieved on any point. Like its deceased progenitor, this Congress gave up its ghost as soon as the last session was adjourned. The silence of the Stalinist press on the "achievements" of this Congress, is more eloquent than any words in proving their disappointment in the whole affair. From our standpoint, quick death is the best thing that could happen to an unnatural monstrosity of this sort.

The Aldermanic Elections

Having stumbled over the anti-war fiasco on the Right, does not seem to have dampened their spirits. On the contrary Stalinism in Chicago continues to career madly further to the Right, plunging into the swamp of opportunism up to the neck. Bourgeoisie tradition would have it, that in Chicago, Aldermanic candidates do not run on party tickets. In actual practise this is of course not followed and all candidates are supported by one party or the other. But suddenly the Communist party has voluntarily become the dupe of this parliamentary subterfuge.

Instead of running candidates on its own ticket in the various wards, the party has resorted to other measures. United front conference were called in some wards by some mysterious "united front of workingmen's organization" and anonymously in other wards to nominate a "workers' candidate". At these conferences, any worker regardless of his organizational affiliation who agrees to the proposed platform and received the majority of the votes of the delegates present, would stand as the candidate that the party would support. Unfortunately the platform consists entirely of minimum immediate demands on which a Socialist or any bourgeois demagogue could run just as well as a Communist.

In one ward on the South Side this almost came to pass. It happened that a bank clerk of a decidedly bourgeois turn of mind almost received the nomination. Had that happened, the Communist party would either have had to keep its promise and support a bourgeois candidate or break its "pledge" and place a Communist rival in the field. One may well shudder at the consequences of a consistent policy flowing from the party's premise.

Moreover, the policy seems to be to hide the face of the party as much as possible in the present campaign. In this connection, the following anecdote, related to the writer by a party sympathizer is of interest. This sympathizer was one night visited by a committee which requested him to sign a petition for a "workers' candidate" for alderman. Upon inquiry as to the party affiliation of the candidate, the committee replied that he was not connected

with any political party. Asked specifically whether this candidate was a Communist, the committee emphatically denied it. Whereupon this sympathizer refused to give his signature. The following night another committee came to see him about signing for the same candidate. They behaved in exactly the same manner as the first committee, and again did not receive the man's signature. Only after inquiry among party members of his acquaintance, was the secret finally divulged to this man that the candidate is a Communist.

To such depths of parliamentary opportunism has the Stalinist leadership dragged the party—to a united Labor ticket forsooth. In vain it seems, did the Second Congress of the C. I. elaborate a thesis on Communist parliamentary tactics. In vain all the writings of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht against the parliamentary opportunism of the Second International. It is all lost on the Stalinists.

But after all the present tactics in Chicago differ from the tactics in the presidential election campaign only in degree. Whereas in the presidential elections the revolutionary aim of the party were carefully avoided and all emphasis laid on six badly chosen reformist demands; the Chicago campaign has gone to the extent of avoiding the open and clear mention of the party. And having gone to the Right to this extent, who knows where they will stop?

All the greater is the responsibility of the Left Opposition at this moment. All the greater must be our efforts to swing back the party to the correct path. A gigantic task no doubt. The coarse mocking voice of Stalin at the 15th Congress is heard across the years: "Just imagine a small boat which can hardly float on the surface of the sea... and imagine a splendid steamer which majestically cuts through the waves and advances with full confidence. What would you say if this small boat should come to save this huge steamer?" Laughter greeted this asinine humor. Laughter of officials who had ignorantly and bureaucratically sent away the trained helmsmen and navigators in a small boat together with the charts and compass. And this in the name of the passengers' interests. The "advance with full confidence" has now become a blind drift towards dangerous shoals. Only the intervention of the "small boat" can prevent political disaster on the reefs of opportunism.

Chicago, Ill. —N. SATIR.

THE MILITANT

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Confusion Marks Stalinist Policy on Fight Against War

(Continued from last issue)

We pointed out that it was impossible for the students to play any independent role, but that it must lend its support to the revolutionary workers. This statement made a good impression upon the Communist delegates and threw the leaders of the congress into a state of horror. The corridor remarks on the "activity of the god-damn Trotskyites" began. The Stalinists considered giving the Opposition delegates the bum's rush out of the congress. We have no doubt as to the discomfort of the Stalinists. Our presence was unquestionably a thorn in their side and they would have preferred to refuse us admission. But in attempting to make the congress extremely broad (it could hardly have been broader) they could not very well raise the question of the admission of Oppositionists without at once causing a struggle on the floor. The Opposition was represented by thirteen regular delegates, (three sympathizers who were regular delegates) and four alternate delegates. This small group was the clearest political section of the congress.

The first act of the Opposition caucus was a proposal made to the NSL and the YCL for a joint caucus of the Left wing delegates to agree upon policy and present a united action against pacifism and socialism in the congress. Our aim was to fight for the acceptance of a Communist position on the part of the NSL delegates first and then to propose such a policy for adoption by the congress. Our proposal for a joint Left wing caucus was rejected by the Stalinists on the excuse that "it was decided not to hold any caucus. This caucus will not be run by any caucuses"! Actually of course, the refusal was because they would have nothing to do with the Opposition.

The congress divided into groupings at once (as if this was unavoidable). The outstanding tendencies were represented by Communism, socialism and pacifism. At times the struggle between these tendencies were extremely sharp, toward the close of the congress threatening on split. The important day of the congress was the second and final day, since at this session actual resolutions, program and organization would take place. The Opposition caucus in session the night before prepared a general resolution (See Militant No. 2, Vol. 6) on the struggle against war and appended to it one on the defense of the Soviet Union. We reiterated our position as embodied in the statements and added to it the practical proposals also. This resolution was presented to the resolutions committee.

The most important session of the congress was the report of the resolutions committee. Here the congress was presented with a number of minor resolutions that carried without any difficulties. Because no resolutions were prepared in advance, no program was worked up prior to the congress; all of that was done on the congress floor in the midst of the session. At this session the resolutions were run off the mimeograph and discussed simultaneously. With such organization no serious discussion could be held. A resolution supporting the pledge of Amsterdam carried. The Opposition delegates did not vote on this in line with the general position of the Opposition at Amsterdam. Similarly with the resolution on practical activity, we were prepared at a genuine conference to propose a minimum program of activity. For this congress our chief aim was to get the congress to adopt a correct resolution and to recognize that by itself it could do nothing; that it must follow the working class and adopt a program in accordance with revolutionary principles. There is no other way out on the question of war. That is why our resolution stress-

ed fundamentals above all. The surprise of the congress came with the presentation of the main resolution. This resolution, coming upon the pre-congress preparations, the attitude of the leaders of the congress, the early sessions of the congress, was a complete surprise because it marked a decisive change in the right direction. It must be said that in general (we are not concerned at the moment with the practical points contained at the end of the resolution upon which the opposition did not vote) this resolution was correct. It was correct in analyzing the question of war as the product of capitalism, the solution of which will come with the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society. It was correct in establishing (for the first time) that the students could not play an independent role but must join hands with the working class; it stressed the need of the defense of the Soviet Union; it came out against a permanent organization. The question immediately arises: how is it that the resolution was written in this manner, one which marked a complete right about face? I believe that the NSL was dominated by two factors: had the delegation of the pacifists and socialist been larger or equal to the Communist delegation the resolution would have conformed with the pre-congress preparations. But in view of the overwhelming delegation of Communists and Communist sympathizers, the organizers of the congress felt at ease in the presentation of a revolutionary position. In addition, the Left Opposition, which had its material in the hands of all the delegates and put pressure upon the Communists, was a strong factor.

The efforts of the leaders of the NSL to laugh off the influence of the Opposition falls miserably when it is recalled how insistent they were in making clear that no resolutions were prepared beforehand, and in defending the whole pre-congress period. One must read the main resolution of the congress alongside a copy of the Opposition resolution to see how on the political questions, the similarity is marked. We insist that the resolutions committee which had no resolution of its own, plagiarized the resolution of the Opposition which was not read to the congress. The resolution did not contain every point of the Opposition resolution, but the main ones were present in it. Because of the manner in which the congress was proceeding the Opposition delegates felt that it was well-nigh impossible to read our resolution from the floor, and because of similarity of the main political views expressed in the congress resolution it was decided to withhold the struggle from the floor. However, several amendments were made by us. Our amendment to include unconditional defense of the Soviet Union in the main resolution was defeated primarily through the active intervention of the YCL delegates who feared that this would create unnecessary schisms in the congress. But a lengthy amendment presented by one of the Canadian delegates (Canadian Students League) taken from the resolution of the Opposition (See Militant, No. 2, Vol. 6, "The present world crisis... who alone can overthrow capitalism") was accepted by the congress. On the resolution calling for the recognition of the Soviet Union, an amendment introduced by an Opposition delegate for the issuance of the slogan of "economic collaboration with and the extension of long term credits to the Soviet Union" was rejected, once again, by the interference of the YCL delegates (the YCL delegates referred to, represented the National Students League).

(To be continued)
—ALBERT GLOTZER.

JAPAN

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

By Jack Weber

(Continued from last issue)

It is a far cry from the peaceful, agitational phase of the Japanese labor movement at the time of the Russo-Japanese War to the necessarily stern and virile movement of the present time. At that time the Japanese Social Democrats wrote their famous greetings to the Russian comrades despite the reality of the imperialist war into which both governments had plunged the two nations. The Japanese workers, struggling against nationalist jingoism and capitalist imperialism, understood clearly the international aspect of their movement. Yet they had not advanced beyond the stage where they could say: "We are neither nihilists nor terrorists, but we are Social Democrats. We object absolutely to using military force in our fighting. We have to fight by peaceful means, by reason and speech." Lenin replied to these historic greetings in Iskra and his words stand out today, the day of open violence and organized terror against the Japanese workers, in startling boldness and with striking applicability: "Amid the jingoistic chorus of both countries, their voice sounds as a herald from that better world, which, though it exists today only in the mind of the class-conscious proletariat, will become a reality tomorrow. We do not know when that 'tomorrow' will come. But we, the Social Democrats the world over, are all working to bring it nearer and nearer. We are digging a grave for the miserable today—the present social order. We are organizing the forces which will finally bury it. Force against force, violence against violence! And in saying this we speak neither as nihilists nor as terrorists... What is important for us is the feeling of solidarity, which the Japanese comrades have expressed in their message to us. We send them a hearty greeting. Down with militarism! Hail to the international social democracy!"

THE EPOCH OF WARS AND REVOLUTIONS

Ours is a stormy epoch, an epoch of profound upheavals. Capitalist civilization, its contradictions laid bare before the entire world, its component parts warring against each other, is bankrupt and threatens chaos unless the vanguard of the workers leads the proletariat along the only road out. But leadership is not a mechanical process, it is dynamic and creative and, after clear-

sighted analysis of each situation, it must carefully choose the proper weapons for the struggle.

THE GREAT OBSTACLE

The vanguard must know above all how to unite and rally the workers for the march to power. This road remains blocked and impassable so long as the majority of the working class remain under the deadening influence of the reformists and opportunists. Mere denouncing of these misleaders as social fascists, not only does not accomplish anything, but tends to alienate the masses still under the yoke of the reformists. Surely the Japanese Communists, the vanguard of a movement that has from the first shown itself sensitive to the bitter lessons of the international proletariat, have learned from the experience in China with Chiang Kai-Shek, the need for a separate, unified Communist party. But surely also they have learned from a study of the German situation for the past several years, the danger of alienating themselves from the masses, the aid given to the reformist leaders by the Stalinist blunders in united front tactics. In Japan the acuteness of the crisis, the crushing of workers and peasants under the heels of the imperialists, offers an unexampled opportunity to unite the workers in struggle. As in every country, the immediate demands must be for relief for the unemployed and the starving, then the workers must be rallied together to demand unemployment insurance. But particularly in Japan, the struggle for bread can be linked directly with the struggle for peace, against militarism. The workers and peasants starve while the government wastes huge sums to maintain an army of conquest. Remember the rice riots!

SPECIAL TASKS OF THE JAPANESE PARTY

The Japanese face the task, as in no other country, of liberating women through organization, first in unions, then in the Party. Young girls and women form the majority of factory workers, the overwhelming majority of textile workers, Japanese women, like all women of the East, have been kept in virtual slavery in the home as well as in the shops and factories. There has been the duty of unquestioning obedience. It is of utmost significance that divorces in Japan are three times as great in number as in America, the

classic land of divorce. The reason for this is the wretched position of the woman in the home. Signs are not lacking that the working women of Japan are learning to throw in their lot with that of the organized workers. But organization of women kept in dormitories is necessarily difficult. All unions can surely be united in the fight against this vicious system which has actually been utilized on occasion to starve women into submission where they have had the courage to strike.

THE ETA

The second special task of the Communists is to secure the cooperation of the outcaste Etas of Japan. The three million or so Etas have an organization of their own, the Suiseisha or Equality Society. This society with its 200,000 members played an important role in organizing the first labor party. The Etas, rough toilers, not afraid of violence, took a most active part in the rice riots of 1918. They live in separate villages generally shunned by the forces of law and order. The Communists must see to it that these sturdy outcasts are not misled into dissipating their energy entirely in a fight for social equality, important as such a fight is. The Etas are inevitably part of the working class and must be taught the importance of struggling for the interests of the entire working class. At the same time the other workers must prove their willingness to accept the Etas into their organizations on an equal footing.

THE ARMY

Conscription makes of the Japanese army essentially a peasant army with a peasant psychology. The army is at the same time the strength and the weakness of Japanese imperialism. The peasants are not suddenly metamorphosed in the army; they remain the potential rebellion. They cannot help but wonder at the contrast between the misery and starvation in the homes they have just left, and the care taken of their health and "welfare" in the army. As cannon-fodder they are evidently worth far more than as toilers on the land.

The army is the armed peasantry and workers. It is in this sense that Communists must propagandize the army, bringing home the meaning of the contrasts between civilian and military life, showing that the starvation at home is the direct result of the use of the army abroad. The Chinese comrades have in this respect a duty whose fulfillment may prove decisive. They must aid their Japanese comrades to spread Communist propaganda among the troops. It may well be that if the next phase of the Chinese revolution, resulting from the Japanese aggression, once more brings the Chinese proletariat in the arena of struggle. The red heat of the Chinese revolution will communicate its intensity to the Japanese army.

The soldier workers and peasants must be fore-warned particularly against their use as tools to set up a Bonapart to stave off the revolution. The military clan in Japan, the dictators to both the Emperor and the Shadow government ever since the Restoration, is ready to proclaim army rule at a moment's notice. The generals are not lacking in Bonapartist aspirations. The Machiavellian role of the military clique in keeping workers and peasants under the heavy yoke of exploitation by using a special (armed) part of the working class and peasantry, must be emphasized in soldier propaganda. Not Fascism is the danger in Japan but Bonapartism (military "mediation" between the classes) due to the special historic status of the generals. Bourgeois democracy has never been established in reality and hence need not be swept aside.

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION.

It is unthinkable that the present crisis in Japan can pass without profound changes. It is the extreme instability of Japanese economy that forces the army into Manchuria in search of desperate remedies. The war of conquest threatens to precipitate world war at any moment, on the one hand with the U. S., on the other with the USSR. To the revolutionist, it is utterly out of the question to think of helping to precipitate an imperialist war (between the U. S. and Japan) in order to avoid an attack on the Soviet Union, as has been in the minds of some. Just as inconceivable is it to think of any alliance between the U. S. and the USSR against Japan. Imperialism must be fought on all fronts, more especially on the home front. And if war nevertheless results, the Japanese workers long ago set an example of solidarity for all the world (of workers) to follow.

The revolutionary way out is only through the proletarian revolution. In Japan the situation is a rapidly-changing one. Under mass pressure, the capitalists, to save their own skins, may attempt to lead the workers and peasants against the militarists. The Communist must know in advance how to act in such an eventuality. If the capitalists are permitted to place themselves undisturbedly at the head of the peasants, the revolution is doomed to failure. The Communists at the head of the proletariat must teach the peasants to carry out in actuality their real demands—to seize the land, to refuse to pay rents, to repudiate debts—and thus assure the "democratic" phase of the revolution. But the proletariat must not stop there. It must, with the aid of the poor, overburdened petty bourgeoisie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The international proletariat, beginning with the Russians, must help in this tremendous task.

THE END.

Pioneer Publishing Fund

This is a period of abrupt turns, says comrade Trotsky in the "Strategy". That is true in our publishing plans too. We were driving along the road of getting Soviet Economy out next. Now comes the German developments. The line of march must be changed. First on the agenda stands "The Only Road". All efforts now must be bent to get it out without delay. Already we have waited too long. That is not because of choice. Money was lacking. But in view of the burning urgency of the German situation the money must be raised. And it must be raised at once.

\$50 is the sum necessary. And it must be raised in the shortest possible time. Not next month, or at some vague future time but now! It is our duty to influence the course of the party in this desperate situation. We must act with decision and speed. That is why we ask that all our comrades and sympathizers make the necessary sacrifice to get the book out quickly.

Let the donations pour in. Let them take whatever size and form our comrades can manage. But let them come quickly. Speed is vital. Act quickly. Send funds to Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Militant Builders

THE COPENHAGEN SPEECH

Do you know that the issue containing comrade Trotsky's speech to the social democratic students at Copenhagen was a political sensation? Requests for additional copies are coming in. We want to inform our comrades here that we under-

stand well the burning desire on the part of everyone who reads it to have every one else read it too. That will have to wait now until we get it out in pamphlet form. There are no more of the issue left.

But what is important at the moment now is: what have you done using the opportunity this speech created to get subs on the club plan? Not enough, according to the results that have come to hand. Lack of space forbids us from sermonizing on this theme. Let the records below speak for themselves. Cities and comrades who have improved their records are noted in bold type.

THE RECORD BY CITIES:

NEW YORK	65
Chicago	36
Minneapolis	22
PITTSBURGH	20
Philadelphia	15
Montreal	15
Toronto	10
Boston	10
New Castle, Pa.	8
Youngstown	8
Lynn, Mass.	5
So. Bend, Ind.	5
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Militant will contain a report by comrade Cannon of the Gillespie conference of trade unions. Comrade Cannon was the principal speaker at the conference and a mass meeting which followed it.