

Perspectives for American Class Struggles

(Continued from last issue) It is a fundamental teaching of Marxism that capitalism, once out of its swaddling clothes, extends the scale of production at the same time as it restricts the available market.

to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in contradistinction to the present more or less concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. A section of the working class known as "the vanguard" must have sufficient strength, both numerically and ideologically, to lead the revolutionary proletariat onto the broad highway outlined by Marx and Lenin.

A Half Year Sub to the Militant is \$1. On a Club Plan with three others it is only 50 cents.

N.Y. Doll Workers Win Demands in Strike

The Doll and Toy Workers (Lafayette St.) won their strike at the Rosenberg Doll Shop, 48 West 25th St. one of the biggest shops in the industry. Recognition of the union, and the shop committee; hiring and firing in control of the union; and increases in wage scales even for the girls who scabbed and tried to call the police, were gained by the militant doll workers after two weeks of picketing.

Lessons of the Leninist United Front Tactic

(Continued from last issue) AGAINST UNITED FRONT FROM ABOVE An opportunist deviation which is sure to land the revolution in the swamp is the united front from above. When the leadership of an organization comes together and decides over the heads of their membership or without the participation of the membership, except by bureaucratic decree, what to unite on and how to unite you can be assured that wrong start will not bring the desired results.

AGAINST THE UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW

The Stalinist "Third Period" united front from below is the most harmful caricature and denial of the united front possible. If an organization desires a united front on some concrete issues and proceeds to send the call to all organizations it is sure it can control, mechanically or ideologically, but refuses to send the call to other organizations of the working class, because the leaders, because of fear of losing control—and instead invite the rank and file alone to unite, over the heads of their own leadership, the results will be a lasting service rendered to the misleaders and the fakery and a set-back for those who carry on the united front from below.

BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS.

where the leadership and the policies of the organizations can be put to a test, to enable the rank and file to see leaders and programs in action—that is the way to educate and win the rank and file. Workers belonging to organizations have faith in their organizations and often, their leaders. They are placed in a position where they must function THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION if they desire to continue as members because of faith, convictions, (no matter how false), or job control. By asking these workers to unite with us over the heads of the leaders and the organization through the united front from below, we are telling these workers to break with their organization on the one hand, and giving the misleaders an excuse for sabotaging united action, on the other hand. The united front from below strengthens rather than

weakens the misleaders of the other organizations. When we invite the whole organization and the Left wing responds and the Right wing leaders decline, it is far more difficult for the Right wing leaders to fight the united front than it is when they have a chance to fight united action through the excuse of the "united front from below."

Letter from Party Member Exposes Bureaucracy

It is time that Communists should openly state their views and aims. The tactics of the official Communist party contradict the fundamental aspects of Marxism which are so essential for the strengthening of the party.

The tactics and strategy of Stalinism flow not from contemporary requirements but from complex system of bureaucracy which bases itself on an erroneous foundation. The bureaucracy has adventuristically anticipated the successful building of an isolated socialist society in the U. S. S. R. This in turn has created a dogma of a "Trotskyst" which stands in fundamental contradistinction to Lenin's teachings. I have recently been admitted into the C. P. where I have come upon such situations that have dumfounded me and proved the impotence of my party which is allegedly the leader of the working class in its struggle for emancipation.

"GUARANTEE" LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED FRONT

"Join the united front against the capitalist class under the leadership of the Communists" (the Stalinist formula)—is the best way to formulate what is not a united front. We Communists hope to win ideological control and leadership through our superior program, but no one, not even those who have the prestige of the October revolution, can mechanically obtain leadership of the movement in advance. United fronts are not called under our leadership, or any other leadership. It is wrong for one organization or political current to set up the provisional committee and adopt a draft program and call the other organizations to the united front. There are certain exceptions where emergency demands speed, but those who take the initiative must see to it that the program and leadership is left open to be decided at the conference, where all working class organizations have delegates, even though the conditions force the initiative upon one political current. In fact, one political current will always take the initiative, but this has nothing in common with the Stalinists, who interpret this to mean, "under our leadership."

THE RELATION OF THE UNITED FRONT FROM ABOVE AND BELOW

The united front with leaders and the united front from below are both wrong. A united front must be BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS of the working class (of the working class or between political tendencies, groups and factions, etc.). You do not appeal ORGANIZATIONALLY "from below". You bring PRESSURE on the organization from below. You win the rank and file from below to force the ORGANIZATION into the united front. Have the other organizations elect delegates through their organizational channels to the united front regardless of who are selected as the delegates. You try to obtain Left wing delegates but you take what you get—what they elect. If the organizations, send misleaders and betrayers they must be seated in the united front representing their respective organization.

UNITED FRONTS AND INDIVIDUALS

The united front is not a tactic to corral a group of prominent individuals, liberals, and artists, who do not represent organizations or political tendencies.

A united front must have its foundation in WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS. Such a united front can use as an auxiliary a few prominent individuals and friends of labor. They must play a subordinate role and in no case should they be given the leadership of the movement.

I firmly believe that the theories and practices of the Left Opposition will make their way into the party because they are endowed with the power of Marxism. Although I am unemployed at the present time, just as soon as I lay my hands on a dollar bill I will become a regular subscriber of the Militant which is the only revolutionary organ that gives its readers a realistic version of history and a corresponding revolutionary diagnosis. —E. R.

The Bulletin of the Russian L.O. Needs Your Aid

BULLETIN OF THE OPPOSITION (BOLSHEVIKS-LENINISTS) To Readers Who Are Adherents and to readers who are sympathizers!

The profound crisis through which the Soviet Union has been passing for the last few years has reached the decisive stage. The Soviet Union is in danger. Stalinism is leading it to ruin with seven leagued boots. Under these conditions the struggle of the Russian Left Opposition assumes tremendous historical significance. The Bulletin serves as one of the most important weapons of this struggle for the evening of the October Revolution. Even though it penetrates into the U. S. S. R. in an insignificant quantity of copies, it nevertheless plays a big role in its life, in the formation of genuine revolutionary cadres. The ideas of the Bulletin pass from mouth to mouth. Our task lies in strengthening this role; in achieving a larger circulation of the Bulletin in U. S. S. R.; in succeeding in publishing it each month regularly.

Spartacus Youth Club in Over-Night Hike

The Spartacus Youth Club invites all friends, sympathizers and young workers to meet at 120 East 16th St., on Saturday, July 15th, 12 noon. We leave promptly on our overnight hike.

Be prepared for a slice of genuine outdoor life, and bring flashlights, blankets, cooking utensils, etc. We return Sunday evening to the headquarters for a social. Music, Songs, Dancing. All very informal all very free.

MINNEAPOLIS PICNIC Sunday, July 23 Starting 11 A. M. Riverside Park on South Side

EVERYBODY WELCOME Nationally Known Speakers Auspices: Minneapolis Free Mooney Conference

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3 1879. Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Vol. 6, No. 40 (Whole No. 182) SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1933 Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year Foreign \$2.50 5 cents per copy Editors of the Bulletin of the Opposition—Paris.

It is forbidden not only by Stalin but also by Hitler and Mussolini; it is factually forbidden in Roumania, Jugoslavia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and a few other countries. The entry and circulation of the Bulletin into these countries is tied up with great difficulties and expense. Stalin, on his part, resorts to most ferocious measures to close up the roads for the Bulletin into U. S. S. R. The Bulletin is forced to seek for new ways. We are issuing a special edition of the Bulletin for 1933, the small size and bulk of which facilitates its entry into the Soviet Union. (Upon request, we will forward copies of this edition to our friends and readers.) This edition as well as the circulars we issue require new resources. These we lack. Generally there obtains among a few readers of the Bulletin an incorrect conception regarding the financial security of our publication. At no time was this even in prospect. This issue of every number is tied up with immense efforts and difficulties. But never before has the Bulletin been in so onerous a material condition as it is at the present time. The publication of the Bulletin itself is being threatened. And in the meantime, the situation dictates the transition of the Bulletin to a monthly schedule, to appear regularly on specified dates. The editors of the Bulletin have set themselves the pressing task of achieving this. This task as well as the guaranteeing of the existence of the Bulletin in general, cannot be performed without the decisive and systematic help of friends and readers. In the past this help was far from sufficient. Without this help it will be impossible to speed matters ahead. We appeal for decisive help and we are firmly banking upon it. We are in need of financial help; of immediate and regular contributions. We are in need of new subscribers. All our friends and readers can and must find new subscribers. We are ready to forward free of charge "sample" copies of the Bulletin to addresses sent us by our readers. We must succeed in having all subscribers pay for their subscriptions regularly and promptly. We must have addresses of book stores, selling Russian literature and papers and which would agree to stock Bulletins on commission basis (for sale). We need assistance in the matter of popularizing the Bulletin; there should not be a single city in which our adherents live and in which the existence of the Bulletin is not widely known, and in which it is not on sale. Every reader who is an adherent must take stock of all his resources and connections in order to help the Bulletin. We await financial assistance! Address all letters and money remittances to "The Bulletin Fund", J. Meichler, 2 bis rue Etienne Marey, Paris (XX). An account of the sums received will be published regularly in the Bulletin. Editors of the Bulletin of the Opposition—Paris.

What Stalinism Said about Democracy and Fascism

However, as the United States expands it will do so at the expense of other exporting powers, primarily England, thereby heightening their internal contradiction and driving their workers ever closer to revolutionary action. At the same time, the prerequisites for such expansion include a lowering of the standard of living of American workers by all the means at the capitalists' disposal as well as a tightening of the noose of centralization around the necks of weaker capitalist enterprises to the point where ever larger numbers of them are driven out of existence, thereby hastening the already rapid and extensive monopolization of American industry. By the very process of attempting to escape the effects of its contradictions America will weld its workers into a class-conscious mass. As wages continue to fall and unemployment to rise, the pretty fable of American class collaboration will disappear in favor of a growth of labor militancy. In this connection it is well to remember that the use of militant action is not alien to American shores. America is not devoid of revolutionary traditions. It has had many a stormy outburst in the past and the political lag of the American workers behind their European brothers can best be explained not by reference to something inherently conservative in their nature but rather by the absence of material conditions necessary to give their philosophy its proper social direction. In conclusion, however, it might be well to point out that capitalism will never collapse of its own accord. As Lenin once said "there is no situation from which there is absolutely no way out for the bourgeoisie." While the shocks of economic crises open wide cracks in the structure of capitalism, to bring about its collapse more than an economic crisis is needed. The workers' will to revolution must rise to the point where it is strong enough

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count the position and inter-relation of all classes, from the angle of the proletariat, then the difference appears to be quite enormous. (Page 34.) In order to try to find a way out, the bourgeoisie must absolutely rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations, these must needs be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed. At this juncture the historic role of Fascism begins. It sets on its feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and who are over in dread of being forced down into ranks; it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government, and it directs them to the extirpation of proletarian organizations, from the most revolutionary to the most conservative. Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular governmental system based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society. The task of Fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist advance guard but in holding the entire class in a state of enforced disunity. To this end, the physical annihilation of the most revolutionary section of the workers does not suffice. It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat, and to uproot whatever has been achieved during three quarters of a century by the social democracy and the trade unions. For, in the last analysis, the Communist party also bases itself on these achievements. —(What Next?, Page 12). EDITOR'S NOTE—The compilation of quotations published herewith is taken from the German pamphlet Leninism Against Stalinism prepared by comrade Oskar Fischer and published by the German Left Opposition. Other parts of this pamphlet will be reprinted in subsequent issues.

Leninism versus Stalinism

FOREWORD The victory of German Fascism closes a distinct epoch of political history and opens a new one. In the course of the past year the Stalinist bureaucracy did all that was possible without it, to render the Fascist victory easier. Addressing itself to the proletariat of the world, the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) criticized implicitly the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy and gave its answers to all problems as they were posed by events. At present no proletarian revolutionary can close his eyes to the conflict between the two factions raging within the camp of Communism. Comrade Oskar Fischer has performed an important and instructive task by collecting and classifying according to subject the clearest and most inclusive statements that were given in answer to theoretic and practical questions, on the one hand by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and on the other by the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists). I hope that this rare collection of citations will soon find its way to every thinking worker. There will be no advance unless we learn by the tragic mistakes and defeats of the past. —L. TROTSKY. Also in the event that the Nazis are taken into the government, there can be no question that the bourgeoisie will refuse the cooperation of the social democracy in the carrying out of the Fascist dictatorship. Die Internationale, January 1932, page 4.) The XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. has swept aside the artificially constructed counter-distinction between bourgeois democracy and Fascist dictatorship. By this it has rendered an invaluable service to the Communist parties in their fight against social Fascism. The XII Plenum has demonstrated that so-called "classical" Fascism does not exist and cannot exist, and that all confusing theories, basing themselves on the history of Italian Fascism, about the Fascist need of first striking down the working class, are bloodless abstractions. (Schwab, "The Nature of the Fascist-Dictatorship", Kommunistische Internationale, No. 10, January 1933, page 19.)

WHAT STAND DID THE LEFT OPPOSITION TAKE?

Fascism makes its appearance as the second representative agent of the bourgeoisie. Like the social democracy, but to a greater degree, Fascism possesses its special army, its particular interests and its own logic as a movement. We know that in order to save and stabilize

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the order of the day the question of the open participation of the Nazis in the government. Through this, the role of the socialist party of Germany will in no wise be weakened. (Thaelmann, "Some Mistakes in Our Theoretic and Practical Work", Die Internationale, November-December, 1931, page 485.) C. P. G. on the decisions of the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I., May 1931.) The Leipzig party convention confirmed fully the correctness of the resolution of the IX (?) Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which declared that in our parties the counterposing of Fascism and bourgeois democracy is a liberal interpretation. (Martynov, Komm. Internat. May 1931, No. 2, page 895.) But even worse is the fact that in spite of the conclusions of the XI Plenum, in spite of the masterly clarification of the problem as presented in the final words of comrade Manuilsky, there have appeared in our ranks tendencies towards a liberal counter-distinction of Fascism and bourgeois democracy, of the Hitler party and social Fascism. (Thaelmann, "Some Mistakes in Our Theoretic and Practical Work", Die Internationale, November-December, 1931, page 487.) Germany demonstrates.... that the transition of democracy to Fascism is an organic process, which does not have to take on the form of unusual and explosive occurrences but can be accomplished gradually and in a "bloodless" way. (Werner Hirsch, "Fascism and the Hitler Party", Die Internationale, January 1932, page 28.) The objective situation in Germany is a striking and incontrovertibly practical argument against the liberal counter-distinction between Fascism and democracy, Social Fascism and Hitler Fascism.—By no means at all, therefore, is it the task of Communists to search with extra-strong spectacles for any possible differences between democracy and Fascism. (Werner Hirsch, Die Internationale, January 1932, page 31.) On the other hand, as the National Socialist movement swells out the Hitler party, too, offers stronger support for the bourgeoisie. This process will soon—at the latest in connection with the Prussian elections—place again on