

History in the Making

THAT the revolutionary party is to play one of the most important roles in American labor history is no longer a question of doubt.

The class conscious workers are giving concrete manifestations of their willingness and readiness to struggle.

THE URGENT NEED

The first need of the new Party, weak as yet compared to the great tasks ahead, is a fund to enable us to carry out the plans of the program of action.

First and foremost we must rush capable organizers into the field, build and maintain Party districts in the industrial concentration areas, and organize the coast to coast tours.

RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF THE FOUNDATION FUND CAMPAIGN. DON'T DELAY. EVERY SYMPATHIZER, EVERY FRIEND—AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT.

RECEIPTS TO DATE

Table with columns for Branches, Individuals, and Total. Lists names and amounts contributed to the Party Foundation Fund.

U.S. Role In Making Bosses' War Shown

WORKERS DIED FOR MORGAN LOANS

Six years before the outbreak of the World War—wherein millions of workers dressed in uniforms were torn to bits—the Colt Patent Firearms Company, the duPont Nemours & Company and the "Government" of the United States knew that it was going to happen.

Nothing could give one a better insight into the nature of the American capitalist government—government by the capitalists—than this: The illusion that the "Government belongs to everybody" is swept away.

Why America Entered War The facts unearthed by the Senate Committee investigating the munitions industry show up clearly the interlocking alliance between the financial and political "rulers" of the United States, between the capitalists and the Government.

On March 5, 1917, Woodrow Wilson, who had just been returned to the White House by an overwhelming majority "because he kept us out of war", received a cable from Walter Hines Page, then U. S. Ambassador in London.

THE "JAPS" ARE DISCOVERED When the war was over, a new enemy had to be found, and if not found, then made.

By JOSEPH ZACK (Ed. Note: This is the first of a series of articles by Joseph Zack, a former leader of the Communist Party who recently resigned and joined the Workers Party.)

There is a crisis developing in the C. P. Only here and there are there external manifestations of it but its burrowings are deep.

This crisis manifests itself: 1) In the decline of the party's influence particularly in the trade union field, both in independent unions and in the A. F. of L., and in the decline of the unions controlled by the party itself; 2) The increased turnover of party membership.

Outwardly, the crisis thus far manifests itself in the withdrawal of groups of independent unions (Building Trades) and A. F. of L. minority groups (Local 3 Electrical Workers) from the party's control, as well as the going over of groups of active party members who are joining the W. P.

Were such a thing as inner democracy in existence in the C. P. this crisis would of course take other forms than disintegration. The background to the present crisis is far more complex, however, than the average party member suspects.

However, in order not to anticipate too much and in order to relate things against the background of American events I will tell my own story, for this is the story of many others still in the party.

Back Stage Methods

Even while Stalin was combined with the Right wing in Russia itself (Bucharin, Rykov and Co.) in order to fight the Left (Trotsky, Zinoviev, etc.) he at the same time was intriguing against his Russian allies (Bucharin was then in charge of the Comintern) in the foreign parties by encouraging the development of "Left" factions against Bucharin.

for "national defense" in the next war.

Add at that moment in 1923 when the "Jap" scare was being whipped up in earnest, and loudly drummed into the people through the newspapers and into the children through school text-books, the U. S. War Department began helping the duPont Company of Wilmington, Delaware, sell munitions to Japan.

The American government agreed to turn over to the duPonts a part of the U. S. reserve supply of cartridges to be shipped to Japan.

None of this is new, of course. Since the industrialists constitute the real government of the nation, nothing less could be expected.

The "Government" is like the infamous Bruce Barton. Mr. Barton wrote a book about Jesus and a book about the Bible, then he wrote a terrific article in the American Magazine against war, entitled "Let's Advertise this Hell", and he then donated several full-page ads against war in the popular magazines for World Peaceways.

In the same way, this capitalistic "Government" dupes the masses and serves the interests of the financiers and industrialists.

Saar Basin Is Pawn Of Imperialist Rivals

PLEBISCITE MASKS REAL AIMS

In the Saar today, there is involved much more than the fate of the Saar or even all Europe.

The tiny Saar district, packed with almost 900,000 people, the majority miners, has become a pawn in the hands of practically every great imperialist rival in the struggle for hegemony in Europe.

Is it possible for Germany and French imperialism, bound sooner or later to come to grips over the question of continental hegemony, to reach a temporary understanding which would break up the present alliance between France and Soviet Russia, thereby allowing British imperialism to weld all Europe for a short time into a powerful bloc directed against the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.?

At the moment of achieving such an agreement, a new world war would become an imminent danger in a far more immediate sense than hitherto.

For England the plan of an "Eastern Locarno" was, in the final analysis, but a threat whereby to pound Germany into line.

Thus far this stage has not been reached, but this has been the trend of developments. On all sides re-groupings and preparations for the new situation are taking place.

Then one nice day, like thunder from a clear sky, came the news—circulated by rumors—that Chiang-Kai-Chek, head of the Kuomintang and commander of the Nationalist armies, had ordered a pogrom on the Communists only a few days after Stalin had made a speech praising Chiang-Kai-Chek as a "loyal ally".

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THE METHODS OF STALINISM

This he did by diverting the fight away from Stalin, using Bucharin as the punching bag and bugaboo and thus annexing the Left element to himself, diverting it away from Trotsky.

Against the background of the then declining revolutionary wave in Europe and the tiredness of the Russian masses themselves this strategy worked wonderfully both outside and even to a large extent inside of Russia.

Stalin, initiator or partner in all the policies he blamed Bucharin for, took for his main guiding line the question of possessing himself of the party apparatus in and outside of the Soviet Union.

It took me a long time to find out the inside track of Stalin's politics in those days. His game of make-believe, of pretending to do one thing in order to do the exact opposite—a method used between enemies and developed into a fine art in the class struggle of the Orient—was now introduced into the Communist movement by Stalin.

I cannot pride myself on having understood it then. But I did smell a rat in 1929 when Stalin in the American Commission to judge the Lovestonettes spoke about principles, about the Tammany Hall methods of the Lovestonettes. This speech was reprinted in pamphlet form in this country.

Trotsky's position, according to these "quotations" and commentaries which purported to "explain" the opposition's point of view, was as follows: 1) A split with the peasantry. 2) Preparation of a war against capitalist nations. 3) Loosening of the foreign trade monopoly. 4) Building up a war industry but neglect of the rest of economy. 5) Socialism cannot be built in a peasant country, hence the proletariat has to exploit the peasantry to prepare for the International Revolution, war, etc.

Such was the peppery dish prepared against the opposition. Needless to say we foreigners were thus finally convinced that Trotsky's position was all wrong, condemned it as "left" phrase-mongering, "objectively" leading to a counter-revolutionary position.

Just about the time that we were pretty well convinced of the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism, occurred the Chinese debacle. Those who follow events in the movement will remember that, contrary to the fundamental teachings of Lenin, Stalin caused

few more such things and I could see Stalinism as it is. I never could admire Stalin or boost him with "quotations" and I was feeling less and less sure of myself when talking about Trotsky.

While in Moscow in 1927 many rumors kept on percolating through to us foreigners about the internal situation in the Russian party. One of them was about Lenin's testament. It was said that this testament was very bad for Stalin and good for Trotsky, but the informers would add: "Lenin in his last days was losing his senses, hence the Central Committee decided to disregard his testament".

When Trotsky was being exiled to Alma Ata it was said that he took along with him a dozen peddler hunting dogs, hunting rifles, servants, lots of furniture, fine clothes and a whole library, all the comforts of a big bourgeois intellectual. The vilification of the opposition in the official Russian press must have been colossal, but we foreigners could not read it.

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the affiliation of the Chinese C. P. to the Kuomintang, the Chinese bourgeois party of Chiang-Kai-Chek. The C. P. submitted to the discipline of the Kuomintang and did not even have its own press.

In order to keep up this reactionary stew all kinds of fancy but completely deceitful and anti-Leninist theories were invented by Stalin and his clique. The peasant masses of China, who were already then in a rising mood, were not only not encouraged but restrained from revolutionary action by the C. P. in order, as the thesis read, to maintain the alliance with the Chinese national bourgeoisie against imperialism.

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lest that ruin American plans for a bloody re-division of the world on its own terms, is designed to prevent it. Naturally, American diplomacy makes its constant moves against England under cover of a desire "to ensure European peace".

Today England seems closer to its goal than ever before. The "understanding" between German and French imperialism as to the future of the Saar mines is, in the main, England's work. Powerful capitalist groups in Germany and France which fear a premature showdown between the two, and which therefore favor an alliance under British overlordship against the Soviet Union (and the U.S.), seem to be gaining the upper hand.

The German and French press have toned down mutual attacks, a fact gratifying to the petty-bourgeois "pacifist" who sees here a victory for the "cause of peace", but very alarming to the Marxist who understands that this agreement really smooths the way towards the outbreak of another world war.

The Saar has become the key to the war question, in the sense that the negotiations around the plebiscite are being utilized for the purpose of breaking up the present alliance between French imperialism and the Soviet Union.

For England the plan of an "Eastern Locarno" was, in the final analysis, but a threat whereby to pound Germany into line. The real settlement of the question of "European peace" under Britain's wing is to come out of the negotiations around the Saar. Once the ascendancy of groupings favoring a German-French understanding has been assured in England, France and Germany (and that day seems not far off), no more mention will be made of the "Eastern Locarno".

Soviet Russia's isolation will be greater than it has been for a long time past. The French-Russian alliance will be, at most, a scrap of paper. All the concessions made to French imperialism by the Soviet bureaucracy will have been in vain.

Thus far this stage has not been reached, but this has been the trend of developments. On all sides re-groupings and preparations for the new situation are taking place. Both in the German Reichswehr and in the Red Army, those groups advocating a renewal of the former Russo-German alliance as an alternative to both the present Franco-Russian alliance and the proposed Franco-German alliance, again raise their heads. It is conceivable that American imperialism, to counteract England's plans (which a Franco-German understanding is the cornerstone), will use its still great influence in Germany and its growing influence in Soviet Russia in favor of a new Russo-German "understanding" as a temporary expedient.

Actual events in the Soviet Union, aiming at eliminating certain groupings actually or supposedly involved in the Kirov assassination, may be related to this struggle between orientations on foreign policy and accompanying differences as to the inner Soviet regime. The new "purging" in Hitler Germany is undoubtedly aimed at preventing opposition Nazi groups from staging any provocative anti-French demonstrations which might interfere with plans of the Hitler clique to come to an understanding with France against Russia.

To the contending imperialist robbers the plebiscite itself is one of the least important aspects of the Saar question. What matters to them is the use of this issue to further larger ends, all leading up to a single one: the best possible line-up for the coming war.

But to the unfortunate people of the Saar the plebiscite has enormous importance. True, if the majority votes for the continuation of the status quo (under the League of Nations), the question will simply be laid over for a while, giving the workers of the world a chance to make of the Saar, instead of a step towards war, a stepping stone towards the proletarian reconquest of Germany and an ally of the fighting French proletariat.

But if as a result of the Nazi terror, the bargain between French and German imperialists, and the lack of the active solidarity of workers of other countries, the Saar majority votes for return to Germany, then the plebiscite will hand over to the torture chambers and firing squads of the Nazis the flower of a proletariat whose militant traditions rank with those of our fighting miners of West Virginia, Illinois and Pennsylvania.

The workers of the Saar see to the east a country in which their brethren, having suffered a cruel defeat, are incapable of lending them any help. To the west they see a proletariat hardly able to hold its own in a deadly struggle with reaction and fascism. The workers of the Saar seem to have been left almost completely in the lurch, facing the most cruel and powerful enemies the working class has ever known.

HAVE YOU SUBSCRIBED TO YOUR PARTY FOUNDATION CERTIFICATE ONE DOLLAR FIVE DOLLARS TEN DOLLARS We can supply collection lists for those who cannot afford any one of these sums by themselves. A certificate will be issued for the total collected.