

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Imperialist Objectives...

The Hearst yellow press expresses most openly and brazenly the aims and objectives of American imperialism. Ever since Roosevelt's recognition of Soviet Russia, dictated by the Japanese seizure of larger and larger slices of China and the futile attempt of American capitalism to call a halt to this process of political pressure, Hearst has been engaged in a vicious counter-propaganda to bring about the breaking off of this recognition. The recent decision of the boss class to push Japan into a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, as manifested by the withdrawal of consuls and military aides from Russia and the serving of notice for all the imperialist world that America did not contemplate a military alliance with Russia against Japan, was hailed by the yellow press as a first step in the right direction. Such articles as those of Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts attempting to prove the "repeated breaking" of the Litzinov pledge not to aid or foster any organization having as its aim the overthrow of American capitalism or the American government, were designed to press for still further reactionary steps against the Soviets. And now to climax the black wave of chauvinism set in motion by the imperialists, there appears the article by the American imperialist admiral, formerly commander of the Hawaii Naval Base, Yates Sterling. Every worker should read carefully this epitome of the major objectives of the American capitalist class in the coming war.

The Call for War...

In essence Sterling issues a call to arms to capitalism against the menace of Bolshevism and proletarian revolution. This is the fundamental conflict of our epoch, the international outcome of the class struggle—the victory either of communism or of capitalism. In terms of this basic issue Sterling speaks to the nations of Europe—that is to the capitalist ruling class—to close the ranks, to present one united front against the Soviet Union. It would be a terrible blunder, he feels, for the capitalist nations to permit themselves to be divided into two camps by their relatively minor clashes of interests. "Soviet Russia remains an important, if not the most vital factor in any plan for the stabilization of Europe, yet the doctrines of Bolshevism ever remain a menace to all capitalist nations. Will the rest of Europe divide against itself and give Russian propaganda an opportunity to drive a Red wedge between the divisions?" The American admiral then indicates how capitalism may revive its waning strength at the

expense of Russia and China. Germany must convince the rest of Europe, in particular France, that her armings is solely for use against the Soviets.

"If Germany can make Europe believe that her rearming is against Russia, and that Russia is a great danger, might not the Little Entente fly asunder and realign itself with Germany against a common enemy—Communism? Where then will be the Franco-Russian pact? Where indeed! Stirling hopes fervently for the appearance of a leader (Hitler) with the driving power to unite capitalism under a single banner. "In the guise of such a great crusade, maybe yet inart-cule in men's thoughts, cannot one see the outlines of a daring plan, not only forever (forever, Admiral!) laying the ghost of Bolshevism but for opening up the fertile lands of Russia to a crowded and industrially hungry Europe?" The Marxist could set forth no more clearly the way in which general world crisis—by the method of war and plunder, the subjugation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Asia. This is the only method known to imperialism in its desire to maintain the system of exploitation. The imperialists look with greedy eyes on the one-sixth of the globe under the banner of the Soviets, thereby cut off from capitalist exploitation and the making of profits. Stirling shows how the war will start the wheels of industry going—for the purposes of human and material destruction. The tens of millions of lives that will be sacrificed in this "crusade" will be counted well spent by the imperialists if they are shed for the preservation of a system rapidly decaying towards barbarism.

American Preparation

The United States is preparing just as feverishly as the other capitalist nations for the next world war. These preparations are not merely of a military technical nature. Stirling shows clearly the preliminary arrangements of political objectives in the coming catastrophe. It is no accident that Sterling writes in this fashion at this time. The American ruling class is preparing internally also for the conflict that will determine its future in Asia, its life or death. The scrapping of all pretences that the government seeks the "betterment" of the masses, the casting aside of the shams of the NRA, the open and more brutal attack on the working class in this country, are all preparations also for the next war. The ruling class shows its mailed fist internally and externally to its greatest enemy, the world proletariat. And first and foremost to the American working class.

How the Stalinists Ruin The Morale of the Red Army

By ALPHA

In recent months, the Kremlin has set about—with enviable zeal!—to revise the history of the Red Army. The aim of this revision is to demonstrate, if not in form then in content, that Trotsky fought in the camp of the White Guards against the Soviets. We are not exaggerating. Trotsky, they aver, introduced "nests of white guards" into the Red Army at the Eastern Front, who would unflinchingly have ruined the cause of the revolution if Stalin had not intervened in the nick of time and cleansed the army of Trotsky's agents. At the same time Trotsky shot communists, who fought courageously in the ranks of the Red Army, and the affairs would inevitably have ended in catastrophe if once again it had not been for the salutary intervention of Stalin, who personally prefers to shoot Communists in peace time.

These exceedingly interesting and in a manner of speaking, "sensational" revelations raise several questions.

Pertinent Questions

First: Why are these revelations so belated? Is it because the young soviet savants have dug up a number of unexpected discoveries from the archives or because a new generation has grown up which knows nothing of the past?

Secondly: What relation have these recent revelations with previous ones? At the close of 1923 they accused Trotsky of underestimating the peasantry and of favoring the "permanent revolution." Now, they declare that since 1917 Trotsky was in reality an agent of the Whites in the Red Army, which was created by Stalin. Then why have they dined into the ears of all humanity over a period of years about "under-estimation of the peasantry" and other trash of the same gender, if it concerned not a revisionist but a counter-revolutionist?

Thirdly: Why did the Bolshevik Party for seven years (1918-1925) keep at the head of the Red Army a man who might have destroyed it and not nominate Stalin who created it? It is impossible to explain

that only by the well-known modesty of Stalin, for what was involved here was the life and death of the revolution. It is also impossible to speak of the sparsity of information in the party: Stalin knew what he was doing when he cleansed the Red Army of the counter-revolutionary nests introduced in it by Trotsky and when he stopped the execution of communists, which right he reserves exclusively for himself. And since Stalin could not have acted without the authority of the Political Bureau, this also means that the Political Bureau was informed of the affair.

What About Lenin? Certainly the Political Bureau of that time was composed in its majority of counter-revolutionists or of candidates for the counter-revolution (Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev). But Lenin? Let us grant that he was a bad judge of things and people (his "testament" allows us to come to such a conclusion). But Stalin himself? Why did he not pose before the Central Committee and before the Party the question of the insidious work of Trotsky in the Red Army at the time of civil war?

The Red Soldier who knows how to read and to reflect, in remarking the old pamphlets or magazines, must say to himself:

"For seven years Trotsky was at the head of the Red Army and the Red Fleet. They named him the leader of the armed forces of the Soviet Republic. Trotsky received the oath of the Red Soldiers. He has shown himself to be a traitor. His criminal acts caused hundreds of thousands of superfluous victims. Who has deceived us? The Political Bureau with Lenin at its head. That is to say, there sat in the Political Bureau traitors and men who shielded traitors. But perhaps they will deceive me again? They speak to me of the treachery of Trotsky only ten years after his retirement. And when will they speak to me of the treachery of Stalin and Voroshilov? Who can one believe? That is what the young reflective Red Soldier would say. The old

Behind The Rearmament Of Germany

(By ICL Press Service)

The re-establishment of compulsory military service in Germany, on March 16, 1935, marks an important stage on the road to the second imperialist world war. But of still greater importance is the fact that the other European and international powers have accepted this fact, almost without any resistance whatsoever on their part. This reaction characterizes perfectly the entire present situation: the contradictions of imperialism have already attained to so great a tension that every imperialist action can lead only to the outburst of a new war. War, however, bears with it dangers to the bourgeoisie itself: the German bourgeoisie, wracked by the fever of colossal crises, and with its imperialist wings considerably clipped by the defeat in the Great War, suffered particularly under the blows of the world economic crisis.

The internal tension in Germany continued to become aggravated up to the breaking point, and it posed the alternative: either the abolition of the capitalist system, or the installation of the fascist dictatorship. And the latter implied that the German imperialism would actively, consistently and purposefully resume the struggle for its "place in the sun," that is to say, the tenacious political and military preparation for war.

"Drang Nach Osten"

This preparation had to occur in stages, of which the initial and most important stage is the destruction of the working class movement, and the enslavement of the entire German proletariat. A disarmed proletariat is not only the necessary pre-requisite for intense exploitation, but it is also, at the same time, the necessary guarantee for the possibility of preparing war without being fettered internally, so that the outbreak of the war does not meet with any organized resistance on the part of the proletarian masses. After having hurdled this first stage, with more than adequate success, fascism is actually proceeding to concentrate its attention upon the military and ideological preparation for war. Compulsory military service is the symbol of it.

Let us briefly review once again the European and international scene. We have already sketched in the background the instability and the force of the imperialist contradictions which do not allow any check to be exercised upon the aggressiveness of German imperialism. While the fascist dictatorship in no way hides its "Drang Nach Osten" (the Drive Eastward), while it flaunts the obstacles on this road, such as the "Eastern Pact"—so many times discussed and so frequently modified—and while it openly refuses to conclude a "non-aggression pact" with Lithuania, the avenue for the invasion of the U.S.S.R., but poses instead as the "bulwark against the world danger of Bolshevism"—all the efforts of other imperialist powers (with the exception of Japan and Poland, the allies of Germany) are aimed towards maintaining the international and European status quo. This is not a solution, but merely the protraction of the solution. The only solution possible for the imperialist contradiction is, as always, war.

No Solution at All

All the efforts to maintain the European status quo, and all the results achieved on this path are only of a provisional and temporary character. The situation of the revolutionary working class movement, the party's participation in the conferences of the independent revolutionary socialist parties, its united front activities with the C.P.G.B., its estimation of the international situation were expected to provide lively and interesting debate.

No decision however of a definite character regarding future policy was made, unless we are to consider an endorsement of the policy of the present leadership as such. But this was more an endorsement of a lack of policy than otherwise.

Compared with past conferences the debate brought out the fundamental tendencies reflected in the international movement more sharply and clearly than ever before, and indicated that despite the expressed desire of the National Committee, "to preserve an even keel among all the stormy currents" (Maxton) the I.L.P. membership is being forced by the pressure of international events to make up its mind in which direction it must travel.

Stalinists Balked

One thing stands out from the proceedings—that the hope of the Stalinists to "capture" the I.L.P. or win it for affiliation to the Comintern is now a dead issue. This was clearly evidenced in the debates and in the waning support given to the spokesmen of this tendency. The decision on the Guild of Youth (I.L.P.) means the affiliation of the Guild to the Young Communist International is now definitely broken and although a small minority of the youth will probably go home to the youth, the main body are earnestly seeking a revolutionary orientation particularly internationally, which will lead them away from Stalinism onto the path of a New Youth International. In this respect they can render a great service to the I.L.P. in exposing and undermining the centrism role and influence of the N.A.C.

Consequences of Hitler's Program for The International Working Class

ary nature; they are based solely upon an agreement to do nothing except maintain the condition of stability. This situation recently, at the Stresa Conference.

What is the important aspect in this situation as regards fascist Germany? From the diplomatic standpoint, the leading role claimed by Germany in its campaign against the U.S.S.R. is not yet an accomplished fact—but with regard to political power, Germany is able to gain the time, the occasion and the possibility to deploy and strengthen its positions, and to prepare carefully for its invasion of the East, and at the same time to increase its importance as a leading or an allied factor.

Such is the situation as it actually shapes itself on the political horizon. The question of war is posed, and it stands; the question of "when, how and where?" does not bear a decisive importance. It may well be that the Archduke who will this time go travelling to Sarajevo has not packed his trunk yet.

But there is indeed another, and a very burning question: It is the necessity for preparing the international working class for the coming military conflicts, and for forging all its forces into a solid front of international resistance against a new world slaughter.

In Germany Proper But how does this question pose itself in Germany, the pivot point of the drive towards the imperialist war?

The German working class still finds itself in an atomized and disoriented condition. The fascist dictatorship has accomplished in thoroughgoing manner the job of destroying the workingclass organizations, and even bourgeois and reactionary organizations which could become the centers of opposition. Only recently the "German Labor Front," a concoction of the debris of reformist trade unions, underwent another transmutation, being "incorporated" with the capitalist exploiters and white-collar slaves. There is not a vestige left of a purely working class organization.

The militarization of daily life has proceeded still further, of recent days. The life of the entire population has been clamped within the military framework. The forms may differ, but the essence remains the same. Already the school children are compelled to receive military training, and in the train there follow military exercises, compulsory labor, extra-curricular mili-

tary sports, rounded out by forced labor for the unemployed. Work in the industrial enterprises has assumed more and more open military forms, particularly since the establishment of the so-called "Law of Labor," in accordance with which the boss is entitled "the chief" of the enterprise, and the workers the "followers." All these varieties of military forms are now crisscrossed with compulsory military service.

Labor Passive

This militarization of all the phases of national life cannot pass without consequences. The masses of the population are under the permanent press of fascism. The absence of any serious possibilities for resistance must act to extend the feeling of submission to the fascist hangmen, superimposed upon the realization of the grave defeat suffered in 1933. At present the outstanding characteristic of the masses of the population is passivity, and the widest strata are already plunged into complete apathy. To this must be added the fact that the youth, who are the prime material for militarization, lack political experience, and their manifestations of discontent are for the most part merely lost in the void. The revolutionary proletarian cadres are still too weak and few in Germany, and they are in no condition to intervene everywhere they should. Disintegrated in the past by the reformist and Stalinist schools they still lack today the possibility of finding a correct political orientation, and by this very fact, likewise the possibility of applying the necessary and corresponding tactics.

According to reports coming from Germany, there prevails among the widest strata a spirit of fatalism as regards the war danger. The outbreak of the war, its inevitability, appear to them to be a certainty. This reveals not an enthusiasm for war, but rather fatalism and apathy. The compulsory military service implies the further strengthening of the fascist dictatorship; it assuredly meets with the approval of wide strata of the population, particularly among the petty-bourgeoisie who aspire to new posts, and who hope for a boom in their affairs, and it acts to strengthen the feeling of impotence among the rest: "Hitler can do whatever he pleases."

The Double-Edged Sword

Conscription has bound the German proletariat more firmly in its chains, and it poses new and colossal tasks before the revolutionary elements. Anti-militaristic work has

become the principal task ahead. Compulsory service opens up new anti-fascist and revolutionary possibilities but it also presents new and onerous duties. The fate of the impending fascist war against the U.S.S.R. depends above all on the success of the anti-militarist work in Germany. Universal military service is a double-edged sword for the fascist dictatorship, as well. Our task must consist in seeing to it that the weapons which are now in the hands of the German proletariat be turned in the last analysis against the fascists themselves. This requires tenacious and systematic work.

It is impossible to conceive of genuine success in revolutionary and anti-militarist work in Germany except from the standpoint of the formation of a new communist party. But the starting point for the latter is not as yet very favorable. It is true that here and there revolutionary cadres obtain new possibilities to carry on work and at times even the opportunity to assume the leadership of isolated actions, above all in the enterprises, and in the forced labor camps; but these successes are very small indeed. They do not at all imply the transition of the working class to the offensive. The Stalinists continue to pursue their old methods of action at any price, without taking stock of the possible consequences. Up to now, this method, as has been amply demonstrated, does more harm than good. And it is precisely the work under new conditions that demands a complete break with these old methods. With the war drawing closer, the question of the new communist party assumes an ever increasing sharpness.

International Support Vital

But the question of raising the class conscious power of the German proletariat is, primarily, an international question. In assistance the best forces await the assistance of the international working class. An active struggle against the war danger in other countries would have a revivifying repercussion upon the German proletariat. On the other hand, the policy of "national unity" in countries outside of Germany could not fail to augment the disorganization and the disorientation of the German working class. Just as the question of the new communist party poses itself in Germany in all its sharpness, so the question of the Fourth International is posed before the international proletariat. A serious step forward taken in this direction would have important repercussions in Germany. Today, more than ever the German proletariat depends upon international solidarity and the international class struggle.

British I. L. P. Marks Time Report of Conference Shows

We reprint the following account and analysis of the conference of the British Independent Labor Party from the Vanguard, bi-weekly organ of the Workers Party of Canada—Ed.

The 43rd Annual Conference of the British I.L.P. held at Derby during Easter week-end was looked forward to with keen interest by all sections of the revolutionary working class movement. The party's participation in the conferences of the independent revolutionary socialist parties, its united front activities with the C.P.G.B., its estimation of the international situation were expected to provide lively and interesting debate.

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While the United front with the C. P. remains on the books there was much denunciation of the "uselessness" of these activities. McGovern referred to the C. I. as a "bogus international," and when Stephen said in effect that there must be something far wrong with the C. I. when it continues to characterize one of the world's foremost revolutionists and thinkers, L. D. Trotsky, as a "counter-revolutionist," there took place one of the most demonstrative ovations of the whole conference.

Three Main Lines

Fenner Brockway writes in the New Leader, that three main lines of thought or policy manifested themselves at the conference. To quote from his article:

"They may be described broadly as the 'Communist' line, the 'Trotsky' line, and the 'Revolutionary Socialist' line. The I.L.P. Conference proved that the vast majority of the I.L.P. accept the 'Revolutionary Socialist' line, and only fractions of the 'Communist' and 'Trotsky' line."

He describes these "lines" as follows:

"The 'Communist' line would join the I.L.P. and the Communist Party together in a United Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International. The 'Trotsky' line would form a New International. The 'Revolutionary Socialist' line sees that the future revolutionary movement, both in this country and internationally must be something much bigger than a union of forces between the I.L.P. and the Communist Party or the Revolutionary Parties and the Communist International."

"It (the R. S. line) recognizes that revolutionary Socialist thought and spirit is growing in all sections of the working class. It is inevitable that under the present conditions in the world it should grow everywhere."

The time must come when this common thought and spirit will leap over all organizational barriers and create the united revolutionary movement which alone will be equal to the task of winning workers' power and establishing socialism."

"To join the Communist International or to form a Fourth International under these circumstances is

to postpone the coming of revolutionary unity."

Brockway then offers his criticism which has no principled political or theoretical basis.

The Third International is "top heavy." It embraces millions of Russian workers and only thousands in other countries.

"This unbalanced condition of the Communist International," he writes, "has resulted in mistake after mistake—dual unionism, the theory of social fascism, the Communist-Nazi alliance on the German referendum, the over-riding of majorities in Communist Parties and the imposition from above of new leaderships. These mistakes have had such a disastrous effect upon other sections of the working class that there is no hope of the growing revolutionary movement outside the Communist International going into it to redress the balance."

"The United Revolutionary International of the future," he continues, "will not grow out of the present Communist International, will be a coming together of all the revolutionary forces within the present Internationals and outside them. This is the Revolutionary Socialist line."

So there is the "line" which Brockway is pleased to term the Revolutionary Socialist line. A typical centrism opportunist line; a line which declares that the Second International "can be of no effective service to the working class"; a line which rejects affiliation to the Third International; a line which records the growing revolutionary thought and spirit outside the Internationals, but which refuses to openly proclaim the need for a New International, but endeavors to steer an even keel in the stormy international waters.

As the I.L.P. leadership with Ramsay MacDonald at the helm, in the days when true revolutionary parties had to decide their attitude towards the New (third) International after the ignominious collapse of the Second steered and maneuvered for some harbor in between—for a two-and-a-half International, so the present leadership is looking for some three-and-a-half International. It vaguely talks about eventual unity of all revolutionary forces.

The Present Need

But the working class makes its own history. Furthermore the question here is not of merely forming, in some narrow mechanical manner, a New Fourth International, but

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

Question: Would it be best in the U.S.A. if production were so carried on that only "simple reproduction" took place?

Answer: Under capitalism "simple reproduction" could take place only if the capitalists personally consumed all the surplus value which they extract from the workers, so that no accumulation takes place. In general this is an impossibility under capitalism, and while space does not permit us here to go into a detailed analysis demonstrating this, suffice it to point to the fact that "simple reproduction" would require today the scrapping of most of heavy industry, since it is the latter which produces the means of production by which the greatest portion of capitalist accumulation takes place.

The question of reverting to "simple reproduction" is of course only a pure abstraction. Who is there to accomplish this? The capitalists? It is precisely they, whether they like it or not, who are forced by the laws of motion of capitalist society to accumulate. The government? Whose government is controlled by the capitalists and will protect the interests of the latter, who require that accumulation continues.

If the government is that of the workers, i.e., if the proletariat seizes the power, expropriates the capitalists and organizes production along socialist lines, there is no need of curbing accumulation. To do so would be reactionary, since the problems of humanity can be solved only by expanding its MATERIAL means even higher than was accomplished under capitalism. Under capitalism the misery of the masses grows with the increase in wealth of the ruling class, whereas, under the rule of the workers, and further, under socialism, the greater the increase of the social wealth, the more will society, as a whole, benefit.

H. B., NEW YORK

Question: Does not the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union constitute a ruling class?

Answer: "... THE CLASS has an exceptionally important and morever a scientifically restricted meaning to a Marxist. A class is defined not by its participation in the distribution of the national income alone, but by its independent role in the general structure of economy and by its independent roots in the economic foundation of society. Each class (the feudal nobility, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and the proletariat) works out its own special forms of property. The bureaucracy lacks all these social traits. It has no independent position in the process of production and distribution. It has no independent property roots. Its functions relate basically to the political TECHNIQUE of class rule. The existence of a bureaucracy, in all its variety of forms and differences in specific weight, characterizes EVERY class regime. Its power is of a reflected character. The bureaucracy is indissolubly bound up with the ruling economic class, feeding itself upon the social roots of the latter, maintaining itself and falling together with it. . . .

"And always in every regime, the bureaucracy devours a small portion of surplus value. It might not be uninteresting, for example, to compute what portion of the national income is devoured by the fascist locusts in Italy or Germany! But this fact, of no small importance by itself, is entirely insufficient to transform the fascist bureaucracy into an INDEPENDENT ruling class. . . . It is the hiring of the bourgeoisie. . . .

"MUTATIS MUTANDIS (changing what should be changed), what has been said above can be applied to the Stalinist bureaucracy as well. It devours, wastes, and embellishes a considerable portion of the national income. Its management costs the proletariat very dearly. In the Soviet society, it occupies an extremely privileged position not only in the sense of having political and administrative prerogatives but also in the sense of possessing enormous material advantages. Still, the biggest appetites, the juiciest steaks, and even Rolls Royces are not enough to transform the bureaucracy into an independent ruling class. . . .

"... the privileges of the bureaucracy by themselves do not change the bases of the Soviet society, because the bureaucracy derives its privileges not from any special property relations, peculiar to it as a 'class,' but from those property relations which have been created by the October Revolution, and which are fundamentally adequate for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"To put it plainly, insofar as the bureaucracy robs the people (and this is done in various ways by every bureaucracy), we have to deal not with CLASS EXPLOITATION, in the scientific sense of the word, but with SOCIAL PARASITISM, although on a very large scale. . . .

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