WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

# EMILITANT



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# Bankers and Jobless Relief OPEN FORUM

### The Tammany Government Machine Is Whipped into Line

For many years, the large banking in-1 lief". Already, the stations have shut terests, reported to be led by J. P. Mor- down, leaving the almost 1,000,000 ungan, have been attempting to force employed here, with no aid whatsoever. through a higher fare on the New York City subway systems (I. R. T. and B. M. T.). All the methods so typical of mind; they were quite frank about itmodern business practice have been used put all city enterprises on a paying basis, in their endeavor. For many years the raise the fare on the subways. . Now people of this city have been bombarded their time has arrived. Those who pay with statistics as to how they would the fiddler call the tune. The tune is benefit by a higher fare, with a complete to have as its only note the clink of a tabulation of the fares paid in other ten cent piece. cities, of the relationship between the standard of living and the price paid might even try to predict. The politicfor a subway ride, etc., etc. Now a final ians who have the "interests of the peoeffort is being made this time, after all ple" at heart-were forced to accept the the years of preparation, the workers increased fare by the bad bankers, who threatened to cut off the unemployment of the city can already begin to discern the smaller slot of the turnstile made to relief. Furtherfore, they will say, the accomodate a thin ten cent piece.

All the subways in the city were built nothing at the present about recapturing by the city government. After com- the lines. The probability is for a rise pletting them, they were turned over to in the fare, followed not by a taking the private companies for operation. The over by the city of the existing lines, important provisions of the contracts old companies of the new subway built. were: (1) the right of the city to recapture after due notice, and with due compensation; (2) the five cent fare; (3) the payment to the city of certain sums for its original cost—the payments to begin only after a minimum profit had been set aside for the company.

#### Increased Fare Fight

It was not many years after the original contracts had been drawn up, before the companies began to fight for an increase in the fare. It must be understood that the clause pertaining to part of the profit to the city was easily done away with. The individual capitalist never cares to share his profits with anybody else, even in his own class. Subsidiary companies were organized, enormous rentals paid for property leased -all for the purpose of keeping the rate of profit well below that minimum above which part of the profit would have to be shared with the city government. This they have succeeded in doing to a great

As regards raising the subway fare the task was a more difficult one. No political grouping dared take up the bankers' proposal. The issue might have been great enough to swamp any political machine out of office. The bankers bided their time; now they are ready to

The bankers against the Tammany machine! How paradoxical this sounds. Yet there is an element of truth in it. The thieving Tammany politician looks inary warning—by a shot in the breast. is joined decisively. upon the taxes paid into the city treasury The whole solitary prison carried out a Hitler does not merely have his heart this issue, the miners are evincing a in Staunton is now a shed. The miners sale on February 27. This gigantic work as rightfully belonging to him. During times of prosperity the actual business men, real estate owners and bankers of the city raise no violent protest against "normal graft". After all, the Tammany comrades elected a delegation of twelve machine is behaving rather well in keeping down the workers and protecting mission. The twelve elected comrades private property. However, during times such as the present, we begin to see strong protests being raised against the chne-Uralsk to an up-to-now unknown grafting politician, who continues to spot. But the investigation commission the German Communist Party are buying handle the "public funds" as he was which arrived was compelled to yield into the future by providing themselves taught to by his predecessors.

### **Cutting Down Relief**

It is the bankers and large industrialists, however, who have the final say in this squabble for the diminished booty. Curtail expenses; decrease the budget. This is their war cry. Bond flotations, their weapon. The city administrations are quickly brought into line. The first thing to be chopped off into line. The New York banks have now refused to float the necessary bond issues to tide the city over its temporary

New York City is at present feeling the lash of the whip held by the Morgans and Otto Kahns. The whole thing started with a law that forbids the comptroller (treasurer) of the city to sell any short term bonds below par, or at a rate of interest higher than six percent. Ordinarily, should New York City bonds fall a little below par, the comptroller can raise the interest rate on the issue to be floated, thus enabling him to sell them at or above par. The city government is constantly borrowing on short term loans to tide it over until the taxes fall due. Last September the city borrowed at an interest rate of less To Greet «Unser Kamf» and Three Returned Comrades than two percent. In the middle of December the rate to the city, for a flotation during that month, was five and a banquet in New York on Saturday, enthusiastic report of the growing strenone half percent, bringing it dangerously near to the 6% limit. During the past few weeks however, the New York given by the Communist League (Opposi-City bonds have been depressed heavily. They are now selling below par. One Jewish comrades and friends, for the need not look far for the guilty one. Short term government bonds usually remain in the direct control of the bank- gan of the Left Opposition in the Yiders. The city now needs \$90,000,000 to cover its current expenses. The bank- three of our leading comrades who hav ers have agreed to advance the money just returned and who will speak at the (float the bond issue) only if—the city banquet. They are comrades Albert pleted, but all friends of the Left Opagrees to curtail expenses

The first thing hit at was the "home relief agencies". Part of the \$90,000,000 for a number of weeks with comrade endar. Further details will appear in was to go for the unemployment "re- Trotsky at Kadikoy; Arne Swabeck, who the Militant—watch for them.

The Revolutionary Movement in America

Impressions of a Tour

at the Labor Temple 14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday January 22, 1932

at 8 P. M. **OUESTIONS** and **DISCUSSION** 

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Auspices: New York Branch Communist

League of America (Opposition)

# Is Stalin Preparing New 1923 in Germany?

What is the position of the Fascists? munist press. Where does the German Communist Party stand and what does it propose to

The Bankers' Idea

The bankers have a second idea in

The approach that will be made we

city as a whole will benefit, for they say

but rather by the handling over to the

This is the picture of capitalist gov-

ernvent; a sewer of vice, graft, intrigue

and counter-intrigue. Only a working

class revolution can sweep away the

whole rotten mess.

tance to the militant working class, and an answer to which it cannot even expect to find in the capitalist press, it now also fails to find where they should

# Russian Opposition Persecnted

A LETTER FROM MOSCOW

... One of our incarcerated comrades, Essaian, was wounded-without prelimhunger strike for seventeen days. Our comrades demanded an investigation commission from the government. They were promised one. The incarcerated men in order to discuss with this comwere promptly placed in solitary confinement and then transported from Verin essence to the demands of our imprisoned comrades.

. . . These last weeks have witnessed a big wave of arrests of Oppositionists in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Tiflis and elsewhere.

. . . Recently, the banned Opposition ists were dragged away from one place is anything but the most meager sort to a worse one. The material condition of unemployment relief. Detroit, where of the shipped-off comrades is extremely some in the local government "held out" difficult. In spite of the shortage of must come to a violent solution. for a little better relief, was soon brought labor, only a diminishing small part of our comrades are at work.

> . The fact is: the further sharpening of the terror against the Left Oppositionists, the recent arrests in Moscow, Leningrad and elsewhere, and likewise the latest article by Stalin, are objective proofs that our Opposition movement—which we ourselves, it is true, know very well—is being extended and is becoming more active.

> February 6, which every Left wing mili-

tion), will be a joint affair with all our

purpose of greeting the first issue of

Unser Kamf (Our Struggle), official or-

dish language, and of welcoming back

Glotzer, who has just returned from a

Moscow, December 3, 1931

What is happening in Germany? | be: in the columns of the official Com-

The Advance of the Fascists

The Fascists continue to make rapid progress which is compelling recognition These questions, of such vital impor- from all the sections of the bourgeoisie. The Hitlerites gain in arrogance with every new accretion of strength. Bruening is finally compelled to bring into his councils the Austrian adventurer and beg him to return from the Reichstag which the blackshirts left, so that a presidential election may be avoided by an arbitrary decree to hold over Hindenburg at least until the "present disturbed situation is calmed". And Hitler, grown more cocksure with his recent successes, refuses the outstretched palm, and together with Hugenburg makes clear the determination of the Fascists to press forward until the issue

moment is swiftly approaching when the die will be east. Bolshevism or Fascism for conferences in other mining centers. -there are no other ways out for Germany right now. Towards socialist emancipation or black, long-enduring reaction-no other road is open out of Germany's present impasse. And while Hitler presses forward, the leaders of with passports and visas for a quick departure when the storm breaks loose!

Bruening is giving ground to the Fasc ists. The social democrats, by their despicable cowardice, by their disarming of the workers, are leaving the doors wide open to the Hitlerites. The latter have thus far received no decisive check; on the contrary, their ranks are approaching a point in strength where no further gain can be expected by "legal" methods, where the unceasing conflict of interests

And what does the Communist party say? What is it doing? From the Daily Worker, one learns absolutely nothing on these points. Every few days an inch or two of type is thrown into its columns to inform the reader that the German party has formed a few more nuclei and gained a few more hundred members But from its columns not even the mos careful reader can glean the fact that the fate of Germany is now hanging in the balance; not only of Germany, but

gth and influence of the Left Opposition

Shachtman, who has come back from a

trip to Spain, England and France. All

these comrades will give their impres-

sions of what is going on in the various

parts they visited and the banqueteers

Definite arrangements for the hall and

the program have not yet been com-

will find it of tremendous interest.

(Continued on page 4)

Arrangements are now being made for | has just returned to New York with an

trip to Europe during which he stayed Saturday, February 6 open on their cal-

# Japs Subsidize Russian Whites Hire Semenov, Notorious Cossack Adventurer in Mongolian Drive

Lecture by

ARNE SWABECK

To-Day

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

the contrary, their sole aim of intervening in Manchuria is just precisely to preserve that "administrative integrity" of the country and to make the policy of the open door secure! Active, aggres-

on that point.

sive interest in the Japanese adventure is flagging for the moment. But the Nipponese are hardly started in their ment. Instead of adventures with peas-

ant armies, the Chinese Communists must concentrate on rallying the city proletariat without which it will not be able to crush the Kuo Min Tang and successfully drive out the imperialist invaders. At one point of the process now unfolding, the interests of the Chinese masses

sharpness. To face such a situation confidently, it is necessary to boast less and to pay more attention to the actual course of development of the struggle. Having pretty firmly established their

of China and through that, the policy

of the "open door" to all the Western

Powers. Against the contention of the

Americans that by their invasion they

are transgressing the provisions of that

treaty, the Japanese reply that quite on

ments in Manchuria, the Mikado's gen- from the Right wing liquidators of Comerals are slowly but consistently forg- munism. But we do not for one mining ahead, in the direction of the Great ute hesitate to aid in their defense when Wall on the one hand, and in that of they are under attack from the open Jehol and the other Mongolian provinces, class enemy.

The Chamberlin incident has been of- on the other. Due to the interference of Japanese-Chinese-Soviet tangle are indisfirst, the Japanese government has fin- have not been able to increase their re- tion in the immediate future. ally bowed in apology to the all-powerful enforcements in Manchuria as rapidly American imperialism. To be sure, the and as freely as they would like. Conseconflict of imperialist interests in the quently they have been suffering consi-Far East is by no means over. There is derable losses as a result of the inevit- of interests between the Soviet Union, a good deal of bickering going on around able and severe guerilla warfare car- the world proletariat and the oppressed the proposed invocation of the Nine ried on more or less successfully by the colonial peoples. The greatest watchful-Power Treaty by the United States and natives in a land unfamiliar and hard ness is required of the Soviet governthe Japanese are just as alert as before Military campaign, the Japanese govern- to maneuver for the foreign invaders. ment is clearly keeping an eye on the The Nine Power Treaty is supposed to possibilities that might offer themselves guarantee the "administrative integrity"

The immediate objective of this new alignment will no doubt be the subjugation of all of Mongolia under the Japanese yoke. The link between the present Jap expedition and their future designs is the People's Republic of Mongolia, a territory on which the Ataman is already prepared to advance.

Developments in the Orient almost always bear a slow and drawn out character broken by violent jerks, But eruptions of a political character are not subject to conditions of the soil. And these self-same slow processes in the

Manabendra Nath Roy, Right wing Communist affiliated to the Brandler group internationally has been condemned by the British imperialists in India their close interconnection with especial to 12 years of deportation to a penal methods. A dispatch to the New York colony for "waging war against the Herald Tribung on January 12 reports king". The imperialist knout is deter- that the notorious Russian White Guard mined to insure its holders against the seething revolt of the Indian masses no matter in what channels it flows.

Unbridgable differences separate ourhegemony by means of puppet governe selves, the International Left Opposition

ficially closed. Though reluctant at the other capitalist governments, the Japs putably generating just such an erup-

For the working class to meet such an event adequately it is absolutely necessary to continue to stress the community

The Daily Worker refers to these bands of guerilla fighters as "Red partisan deto anti-Soviet moves in the near future. tachments" in connection also with highsounding reports of more sweeping victories by the Chinese "Red Army" What greater proof the Stalinists have for this contention than for the contentionfor example—that Father Cox's "army" represented the American unemployed we do not know. But then again, irresponsible and lavish boasting has ever been the bane of unprincipled political groups and of the Stalinized Comintern in particular. How sincere and interested workers are to be able to distinguish between friend and foe, between progress and retreat, how judge on the basis of experience what their revolutionary tasks are, the bureaucrats of the official Communist party and their confusing press are very Condemn M.N. Roy to Exile little concerned about. As they sow, so will they reap.

#### Semenov At Work

Harassed by the difficulties on their path the Japanese are resorting to other general, Gregory Semenov is engaged in a movement to "effect the independence of the vast territory of inner Mongolia with the sanction of Japan". The dispatch says further that Ataman Semenov "is known to have received pay from the Japanese for several years". The cossack general claims he can raise an army of 50,000 former czarist troups as well as 100,000 Mongolian cavalrymen.

# Stalinists Disrupt Mooney Confab

The apathy which prevails in the Illinois coal fields has been lifted to some extent by the campaign under way to demand the release of Tom Mooney. For set upon the conquest of power—the aim readiness to struggle. Conferences have have turned their backs on it. Whether written by the organizer of the insurrecof every class party-but feels that the been organized in Staunton and Belleville. Plans are being laid and pushed

> These conferences are largely the result of the efforts of local militants co- Mooney to lifelong imprisonment. The operating with the St. Louis branch of Opposition will continue to fight for a peal and the Opposition's endorsement of cluded. What will be the policy of the this appeal (Militant, 9-5-1931). It party? Will the party rank and file constresses the united front as the key to tinue to tolerate this policy of slander the problem of uniting the workers in and wreckage? a struggle to force Mooney's release and the release of all class war prisoners.

The Opposition delegates fight resolutely in these conferences for this policy. hand, our delegates, while supporting the criminal syndicalism law, are equally resolute in fighting the attempts of the Stalinists to divert the confernces along the lines of a fight against criminal syndicalism in general.

What has been the party's policy in these conferences? Caught unawares by their organization, the Stalinists limited their participation to long-winded speeches and general attacks upon all non-Communists and especially against the counter-revolutionary" Trotskyists. But this policy acted as boomerang. Their slander discredited only themselves and by contrast with the policy, sincerity and activity of our delegates, increased the prestige of the Opposition in the eyes of the miners. It goes without saying that we use the advantage which accrues to us to redeem from discreditment the ideas of Communism. After several months of their futile

policy, the Stalinists realized that more 'decisive" measures were required to tant will want to attend. The banquet, throughout the country wherever he had had already been accomplished. On Sunmeteings on his lecture tour; and Max day, December 27, they descended on the second session of the Staunton conference with delegates mobilized from Springfield, East St. Louis, and even irrelevant speeches and slander. The A. F. of L. delegates voted with their feet. Delegate after delegate left. The rehas participated in all the struggles of Freedom Anarchist group and Carlo Let no one stand aside. the Illinois miners since before the war. Tresca, editor of Il Martello, who cited

"It was either we control or we smash . . I don't believe that more than one local remained in the meeting. 1 too left in disgust." (Why this militant and thousands more are not in the ranks of the Communist movement, and more specifically in the party, is all too clear.

The plan for protest meetings which the conference's Executive Committee worked out, was killed. The conference it can be revived is a question. The Opposition must and will attempt it. There is no other road except to condemn the Communist League of America (Op- united front, with the I. L. D., the party tinues from this period up to and position). The line of these conferences and all Left wing organizations in through the October insurrection and the

—T. STAMM.

# Trotsky's 'History' to Be Out Soon

We have just been informed that the first volume of the "History of the Russian Revolution", by comrade Leon Trotsky will be off the press and ready for second of which will appear about the 1st of June of this year

Volume one begins with the February revolution and deals with the period up to June 1917. The second volume con-Bolshevik seizure of power. The books approximately 500 pages each, will contain many photographs and maps. Max Eastman translated both volumes from the Russian. They are published by Simon and Schuster Company and will sell for \$4.00 a volume or both for \$7.50.

# All attempts to exclude the I. L. D., the C. P., and the party organizations are resisted by our delegates. On the other

# party's resolutions and themselves in-troducing resolutions against the Illinois Hundreds Gather to Protest «Dynamite Plot» Frame-Up

On Thursday evening, January 7, a | similar frame-up cases in the history of mass meeting in defense of Jack Soder- the American working class. berg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, victims of the harbor bosses' "dynamite plot" frame-up was held at Webster Hall. Over 500 workers attended vent the capitalist class from taking adthe meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Marine Workers Defense Committee.

For the first time in years, New York workers belonging to various political the blows of government oppression of tendencies met together, swayed by a feeling of genuine working class solidarity in the face of the vicious class en-

Comrade James P. Cannon, of the Communist League of America, (Opposition) was the first speaker at the meeting at sence. But many rank and file party which Carter Hudson, chairman of the comrades sat in the audience. The abso-Marine Workers Defense Committee pre- lute necessity of action in cases such as sided. Comrade Cannon eloquently pre- that of the three marine workers will sented the case of three defendants, pointed out the political background and ist and non-Communist, to proletarian the purposes behind this latest attack of solidarity. We hope that rank and file wreck the campaign and to undo what the capitalist class and appealed to the pressure will lead the party and the I. workers present to support the Marine L. D. to realize the mistake of their Workers Defense Committee and its ef- passivity in this case quickly. For the forts to repel the designs of the bosses sake of the working class as a whole, ence en masse. They packed the confer- in this case as in others by a frank and as well as for that of the party. Such real united front.

Other speakers included A. J. Muste, Chicago. On one pretext after another of the Conference of Progressive Labor resistible. It is bound to overcome all they interrupted the proceedings with Action, who pledged the support of his obstacles. organization to the defense and its willingness to cooperate with the Committee; Ben Gitlow of the Lovestone group, who ter from one of the local militants who fense; Walter Starret of the Road to lease of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer.

All speakers were well received. Despite the manifold political shades and colors, all appeared to be united to prevantage of the dissensions within the working class for their own ends. The meeting represents a commendable attempt to close the ranks in warding off workers and workers' institutins. As such it will undoubtedly call forth more and bigger meetings and manifestations of the same sort in the future.

The official Communist party and the I. L. D. were conspicuous by their abnot fail to awaken the workers, Communmistakes are dearly paid for. The force of united working class defense is ir-

The first Marine Workers' Defense meeting has started the drive. It is up to every class conscious worker to conposition in New York are urged to keep sult is best expressed perhaps in a let- made an appeal for funds for the de- tribute his bit to the fight for the re-

# ROSA LUXEMBURG

On the Anniversary of Her Assassination by the German Social Democrats

football. Memorable in dialectic and emburg forcefully insisted that theory intensity, the struggle of Rosa Luxemburg against the opportunism of the most powerful party machine in preentered the life-stream of the Communist International.

Rosa Luxemburg never ceased to collaborate with the Polish movement from which she sprang, returning to her na tive Warsaw during the revolution of 1905. But as well as formative influ ence, her main sphere of activity was the German Social Democracy in whose problems she first intervened on the occasion of the revisionist offensive on Marxism.

#### Imperialism and Social Democracy

Its state unification achieved, Germany in common with Western capitalism after 1870 experienced a phase of expansion due to the opening of the world market and colonial exploitation. As a result the bourgeoisie could profitably pursue the strategy of concessions to the upper crust of the working class. The Social Democracy had never been altogether free of an element of petty-bourgeois illusion; at the union of the Eisenach and Lassalle factions in 1875 Marx's criticism of the Gotha program fell on deaf ears. Later the Erfurt Congress (1891) did adopt a program which though defective especially in its political demands, was generally speaking a recognition of scientific socialism. Once the repressive anti-Socialist law of Bismark collapsed, a Right wing, confounding the interests of the proletariat as a class with the favored position of the labor aristocracy, began to maneuver for "practical politics". The pioneer of this tendency was Vollmar, whose pamphlet "The Isolated Socialist State" (1878) unmistakably anticipated the Stalin theory of socialism-in-one-country. Vollmar combined nationalism with reformism, his agrarian proposals stirring Engels's deepest indignation. In Vollmar's wake, the Schippels and the Heines advocated the voting of military budgets, protective tariffs and the like.

#### Bernstein's Revisionism

The classic exponent of revisionism was Edward Bernstein, whose "Social ist Fundamentals" (1899) was a com plete rupture with Marxism and a confession of the faith of the Fabians Within the Marxian breast dwelt two souls, he contended, the one evolutinaryreformist, the other revolutionary-utop ian. Bernstein undertok to purge Marx of the unscientic entanglements of Hegel and the political romanticism of Blanqui. For dialectical materialism he substitutes the categorical imperative of Kant; the labor theory of value he supplements with the marginal utility of Boehm-Bawerk. The contradictions of capitalism do not lead to economic catastrophe and social revolution. The growing middle class, the democratization of capital and diffusion of ownership by the joint stock corporation are tendered to disprove the prognosis that the concentration of industry is accompanied by the inate the cyclical crisis. In a word, here an uneuding road of reforms, under the dustrial democracy". spell of a social-democratic majority in the Reichstag. The dictatorship of the proletariat is an apocalyptic vision. The

out fateful consequences and that revisionism would replace class struggle movement is utopian, movement without goal is surrender to bourgeois liberalism. The every-day demands have significance only as they are linked up with the conquest of political power. Reforms are by-products of class strugle; they cannot basicaly change the character of the relations of production. So far from being the political lever of socialism, parliamentarism is the historical form of the class rule of the bourgeoisie in its decadent. The workers must rely on omic lore of Bernstein is the generalized ism, and to depend on the elemental mass

A generation of Communists standing actionary hash of Louis Blanc, Proud- vent of imperialism. Parliamentary on the shoulders of Lenin needs little hon, Lassalle and the miserable "Kath- cretinism and the inevitability of graduoriginality to detect the theoretical short- eder-sozialisten". While Kautsky, the alness have been dealt shattering blows comings of Luxemburgism". But his- official guardian of orthodoxy still main- by the epoch of wars of revolutions. Betory is something more than a factional tained an ambiguous silence, Rosa Lux- tween economics and politics there is no automatic reflex action. Ideology is and practise could not be divorced with- only one of the elements of the superstructure. When she wrote "Opportunism has been knocked on the head". Rosa war Social Democracy has indisputably by class collaboration. If goal without Luxemburg was unduly sanguine. The revolution to the struggle over the Prushuge bureaucracy of the party, trade unions, cooperatives proved decisive. At was now for the old tested tactic of parevery important turn, the Centrists reigned but the Right ruled. At successive Congresses, the Right wing receded formally but in fact retained their positions. Marx and Engels had predicted that a split between the middle class and proletarian elements was inevitable but it was in Russia under Lenin, and not at the Dresden Congress that this operastruggle with feudalism, and is already tion was executed. Waging her battles class struggle. She refused to recognize against such an apparatus, Rosa tended the legitimacy of any water-tight comtheir own mass action. The whole econ- to identify centralization with opportun-

### The Precious Heritage of Rosa

German proletariat, one of which brought about her premature death. But she had already left more than enough behind her to insure an everstill has much to learn, however the Marxian today may challenge some of

The years that pass by since the the views she stood for. But this cruel assassination which deprived us challenge will always be made soberly, of her active aid do not serve to dim objectively, and with the greatest rethe luster of the great revolutionist gard for time and place. The genuine that was Rosa Luxemburg. Her un- Marxian will be repelled by the disflagging devotion to the historical picable slanders of Rose which are interests of the proletariat sprang not passed off as "criticism" by those who, only from the depths of her character while arrogating unearned authority but also from her exceptional under- to themselves, have not, in reality, standing of the teachings of Marx and the least right to reproach the one who Engels. No mere closet ideologist, she at all times stood so far above them. flung herself into every battle of the We mean Stalin, who just recently sought to besmirch Rosa in the interests of his factional position, and Kaganovich and more recently the repulsive turncoat, Radek. T'eir calumgreen memory for the future. From nies make an objective estimation of what she taught so brilliantly by word Rosa's role more timely than ever. and deed, the revolutionary movement | Maurice Spector's contribution in this issue has been conceived in this sense.

The new developments in capitalismintensify the basic contradictions of anarchic capitalist production.

In pitiless judgment on revisionism, theory has been reinfored by Time, the greatest revolutionary of all. On' the very heels of Bernstein's smug evangel by another in 1907 and still another in 1914. As we write, the world is staggering under one of the gravest industrial and commercial crises in capitalist history, with the United States, the model country of trusts and efficiency, as deeply involved up to the hilt. During the late lamented "new economic era", bourgeois economists, journalists, engineers attempted to revive Bernstein's illusions in substance, if without their philosophical garnish, on American soil, "The most fundamental stabilization", wrote Professor Commons, "has been that of credit and prices through the coopera tion of the banks organized in the Federing class would derive its salvation from increased savings, life insurance and centralization of wealth. The beautiful employee stock ownership. "The labor credit system, the efficient trusts and banks", declared the economic wizard modern communication facilities elim- Carver, "constitute the only revolution ary movement in the world". The Baltiis an idyll of an organic capitalism pain- more and Ohio Plan of union-managelessly evolving towards socialism, over ment cooperation was tantamount to "in-

> The Struggle Against Opportunism There is no doubt that theoretically revisionism was bankrupt from the out-

viewpoint of the individual capitalist. | movement spontaneously to correct the course of the party. "The only part to credit, combination, etc.,-do not cure but be played in the Social Democracy by the so-called leaders is that of the explanation to the masses of their function in history". Lenin too emphasized that the masses must gain their own political experience, that for victory the vanguard must muster millions but the role of the burst the crisis of 1900, to be followed revolutionary social-democrat was that of a modern Jacobin bound up with the organized proletariat. Rosa relied too much on process, and tended to underrate the importance of organization. It cannot be doubted that the conditions of the development of the Russian Revolution necessarily contributed to give Lenin his unparalleled insight into the problems of Marxism, itself the product of a revolutionary period. It must be accounted a defect, for example, of Rosa Luxemburg's polemics with the revisionists that she did not, in reply to Bern stein, take up the problem of state-power Plechanov raised the question of the dic tatorship of the proletariat at Brussels al Reserve System." The American work- and again at the Amsterdam Congress (1904) but the Second International as a whole and Kantaky its principal theor etician, completely failed to realize the party was no longer the revisionists but significance of the problem. The reconstruction of the doctrine of Marx, based treme Left". (To be concluded). on the experiences of the Paris Commune,

as to the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, was the work of Lenin. The Russian Revolution

The Russian revolution of 1905, for the first time since the Commune, shocked the West out of its parliamentary routine. The Russian proletariat marshalled every form of mass action, from the economic strike to armed insurrection. The mass political strike became a central subject of discussion. At first Kautsky welcomed the methods of the Russian revolution and took up a seemingly radical position towards the strike as a weapon in the immediate struggle for power. But when it became a question of applying the lessons of the Russian sian franchise he changed his tune. He liamentarism. "The elemental mass movement would produce unpleasant as well as pleasant surprises and development would again assume the catastrophic character of 1789 to 1871". The correct strategy was "attrition", to exhaust the bourgeoisie by trench-warfare.

in these debates was the totality of the partments between the party and the trade unions. She strenuously resisted the demands of the trade union bureaucracy for the "independence" of the trade unions from the party and their "neutrality" in the political struggle. At the Jena Congress of the Social Democracy it was decided to resort to the general strike if the government sabot aged the issue of the franchise. The re ply of the Cologne trade union congress was to prohibit the "propagation and discussion of the general strike"t A year later at Mannheim, the Cologne re solution was substantially ratified by the party Congress and the bureaucracy had gained a signal victory.

Rosa Luxemburg 's point of departure

In the view of Rosa Luxemburg, the centre of gravity of the proletarian struggle lay in mass action, not in parliamentarism. She did not share the reformist conception of Bernstein and Hilferding who approved of the Belgian general strike of 1903 merely because it was an auxiliary action to a parliamentary objective. But once again she could not define the whole problem of the organization of the revolution at the time, and would likely have been regarded as mad or hounded out as anarchist and Blanquist if she had. In the words of Trotsky "a revolutionary general strike that inundates all the banks of bourgeois soc iety became for Rosa Luxemburg a svn onym for the proletarian revolution . . A general strike does not yet decide the question of power but only raises it For the seizure of power it is necessary to organize the armed uprising on the basis of the general strike". The danger of revolutionary fatalism, of the "temporizing attitude towards the fundamental tasks of the revolution" was exemplified by the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin attiude in the Russian October and the to the line of least resistance in the German crisis of 1923. It should be mentioned that Trotsky adds that Rosa left the stage without having said her

last word. It was these discussions of the role of mass action that brought about the definite cleavage between the "Left Radi-"the rebellious impatience of the ex-

# The Obsolete Craft System in the Railroad Brotherhoods

The extraordinary importance assumed at the present moment by the situation in the railroad industry makes a survey of the state of the trade union movement in this field of more than usual interest. Conferences continue to be held between the workers' "representatives" and the railroad magnates, and a cleverly organized newspaper agitation is being carried on, with the sole aim of reducing the wages and worsening the conditions of the workers. The problem of resisting this monstrous offensive is unbreakably bound up with the question of how things stand in the railroad brotherhoods. In this latter field especially, our comrade A. E., an old militant of the Left wing, is a competent observer. The present article is one of a series which our comrade has promised to contribute.

One of the things which the railroad workers in this country need most is a new trade union structure. The present structural formation of the railroad unions belongs to the stone age of trade the most antiquated form of labor organi zation known.

The railroad workers are at presen organized, or rather disorganized, into twenty-one different craft unions, as follows: 1. Enginers; 2. Conductors; 3 Firemen; 4. Brakemen; 5. Switchmen 6. Telegraphers; 7. Signalmen; 8. Clerks: 9. Bollermakers; 10. Sheet Metal Workers; 11. Machinists; 12. Carmen; 13. Sectionmen: 14. Stationery Firemen: 15 17. Train Dispatchers: 18. Sleeping Car Conductors; 19. Longshoremen; 20. Marine Engineers; 21. Masters, Mates and Pilots. The last three belong to the inland and coastwise water transportation in connection with the railroads.

At the head of each one of these 21 useless craft organizations we find literally swarms of overpaid bureaucrats whose combined annual salaries runs into the millions. All Brotherhood journals and magazines, including the Washington weekly, Labor, are under a salaried officials The pages of the revery effective in preventing needed ordetrimental to the personal of officers' Stalin-Brandler-Thalheimer capitulation Headquarters for enjoyment by the offi-

### Bureaucratism and Class Collaboration

cals" under the leadership of Rosa and Brotherhood officials know full well that Congress in 1909. Kautsky openly pro- railroad workers' interests against the policies by most of the audiences. workers divided into twenty-one separ--MAURICE SPECTOR. | selves salaries which run from \$6,000 to

\$15,000 a year, plus a most liberal expense account, and their work is easy. Their main tasks are: keep the "Reds" out of the unions; maintain complete control of all mediums of information inside of the Brotherhoods; keep enough gag-laws in the constitutions to forbid all other means of expression by the membership; keep on friendly terms with the railroad officials at the expense of the workers for the privilege of collecting dues from these helpless crafts.

The Brotherhood officials realize that they would not be able to maintain these weak and aenemic unions without the consent of the railroad management. Hence the importance of maintaining friendly relations with them. This condition necessarily eliminates all possibility of a well organized struggle for better wages and working conditions, shortening of hours, etc. Strikes are only permitted on small individual roads as a smoke screen of false display of militancy, are called and then forgotten. The M. & N. A.; the Virginian Ry., and the Western Maryland strikes are typical examples of this farcical strike policy. The Watson-Parker Law is a deliberate unionism. It is the most out-of-date, attempt to abolish strikes altogether and is the fruit of joint action between the Brotherhood officials headed by Robertson and the railroad officials headed by W. W. Atterbury.

In the present move on the part of the railroads to cut wages in order to increase profits, as in 1921, the railroad workers will receive another concrete lesson on the price they have to pay for permitting a lot of overpaid official drones to chain them to an obsolete craft system of organization. (To be con-

## SWABECK TOUR

SWABECK IN PHILLY PHILADELPHIA.--

Comrade Arne Swabeck spoke here on Jan. 10th. His lecture, "The Economic Crisis and the Left Opposition was folcomplete stranglehold of these high lowed with the liveliest interest by the 40 workers comprising the audience. spective constitutions are littered with The presence of several C. P. members gag-laws of every description to protect and sympathizers, as well as a few the officials from organized criticism by Lovestoneites, afforded our comrade an the rank and file. These gag-laws are opportunity to broaden his subject matter to include all the most essential points ganizational changes which would prove of the plaform of the Left Opposition. He dealt with the perspectives of the salaries, freedom of expression, etc. crisis; the effect of U.S. capitalism's The main function of the local lodges is home and foreign policy; the necessity to collect dues and forward them of a worker's united front against Fascpromptly to their respective Grand Lodge ism in Germany; and reviewed the criticism by the Opposition of the policy pursued by the C. I.

The question period developed some As might be expected from the above lively discussion. Some of the party afrangement these craft officials advocate members left at this point, probably in mutual admiration and cooperation be- fear of being inveigled into a free distween the representatives of organized cussion. The questions covered topics capital and themselves as spokesmen for upon which we have differences with the the railroad workers. The present Stalinites and the Lovestoneites. Particular interest and sympathy was shown the Kautskian Centre at the Madgeburg they cannot protest and promote the in our trade union and united front

claimed that the main danger in the well organized employers by keeping the This meeting was the first this year of a series of lectures under the auspices ate organizations on the railroads. But of the Philadeluphia Branch on problems these officials have allocated to them- of the Communist movement, by our leading comrades of the Communist League

in the East. The previous night, a banquet was held as a reception to comrade Swabeck. A good time was had by our comrades and friends, who came despite the bad weather. At both the banquet and the lecture a collection was taken to help

our work along. The study class in "Marxism" is proceeding very successfully. A new class "History of the Three Internationals" is being formed and will be conducted

by comrade Morgenstern.

SUCCESSFUL PITTSBURGH MEETING

Efforts made by some of the petty bureaucrats of the Pittsburgh party orthat "we serve notice to the ruling class ganization to break up the meeting scheduled for comrade Swabeck in this city on January 7 came to naught. The meeting was held at a Greek coffee house on Wyle Ave., the time set for 7:30. A ing class", become the slogan for every good audience appeared among them about a dozen party members led by the Greek fraction who had previously served notice that they would come to break up the meeting.

A few minutes before the appointed hour the Greek fraction organizer took upon himself to open the meeting and ST. LOUIS-An Open Forum is being to give a lecture. He endeavored to tread very softly on questions of dis-Louis Branch of the Communist League pute with the Left Opposition, however, struggling hard to emphasize that anyone who did not carry a card in the official Communist party could not speak in the name of Communism. In this ing away from the Left Opposition but gardless. of the Stalin organizers, a joint discussion affair.

As soon as the Greek party fraction organizer had concluded his speech, comrade Sifakis of the Left Opposition arose introudcing the next speaker, comrade Swabeck, asking the hearers of devote the same attention to latter. Swabeck spoke without the slightest interference. Those who had come with the intention of interfering evidently found it better to listen. After this lecture those party members present asked a number of questions which gave comrade Swabeck the opportunity to clarify further the

#### movement is everything—the goal is set. It completely failed to estimate the Kentucky miners now on trial was held movement can and will solve the prob-I real qualitative changes that were taking on January 6 at the Labor Temple. It lems of the working masses. At the Bernstein's sources are obvious, a re-place in capitalist society with the adwas called by the General Defense Com- same time I believe we can and should meeting the night after the above con-

.50

the I. W. W.

The report of the credentials committee followed the speeches of the above Workmen's Circle branches predominall, were represented. The other delegates represented either educational or- much longer." ganizations or political groups like the that has a big influence among the is not represented here at all". In anshe named the International Workers' Order, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the I. L. D., the Communist party and its factions, the Communist League (Opposition) and the Lovstone group.

### A Working Class Reply to Splitetrs

"We did not invite any organization that will introduce friction into the conference," was the reply. Another delegate, also of a W. C. branch, took the floor and stated that "while I represent a fraternal organization and therefore non-political, I believe I speak the mind of the majority of my organization when I sav we do not believe any more in the speeches of these 'gentlemen' that have addressed this gathering tonight.

in Germany, MacDonald in England, that is, to consolidate all their defense Street, New York, N. Y.

A conference for the defense of the only the international revolutionary movements. A very good beginning has mittee of the I. W. W. and called to unite for the defense of the Kentucky order by a representative of this com- miners, as of all other political prisoners mittee who appointed a chairman. The in the U.S. It took quite some effort latter in turn called for the election of on the part of myself and my co-delegate credentials and resolutions committees. to induce the membership, because of While these committees were in session, the objection that there are too many the conference was addressed by James defense organizations, to send delegates Oneal of the Socialist party, Muste of to this conference. They finally agreed the C. P. L. A. and a representative of to send us as observers and to bring back a report. Unless a sincere and honest effort should be made on the part of the leadership of these different degentlemen. Strange as it may seem, the fense organizations to consolidate all the forces for the defense of political ated. Very few unions, about 6 or 7 in suffer and the rank and file of the labor movement will not stand for that

This speech was greeted with some S. P., the I. W. W., Industrial Union applause, which was unexpected by most League, the Road to Freedom, etc. One of those present. Next on the order of of the delegates, representing a Work- business was the arranging of a mass men's Circle branch, wanted to know meeting, The delegate that asked the 'why a section of the labor movement question about the absence of the Left wing, was not satisfied with the reply working masses, especially in New York, made by the organizers of this conference. He made a motion that all other wer to a question as to whom he meant labor organizations, regardless of their political opinion, be invited to join this movement. The first and only one to speak against it was Carlo Tresca, of. the anarchists. A feeling of fear has embraced some of the leaders of the conference. A motion to stop discussion followed. Before taking it to a vote Mr. Bert Miller, ex-crony of Lovestone, expert in executing Stalin's orders to expel and beat up Left Oppositionists, enlightened the delegates that what the motion really means is "to smuggle into this conference the Communist party" Despite the "enlightenment" of the renegade, the motion did get about 20 votes on the Aye and Nay vote.

### The Need of the Movement

Now, it is high time for all in the We have seen their comrades in action, labor movement, regardless of their pol- are unable to get a copy at these places, party fraction organizer, the leader of

How to Make the Kentucky Miners' Defense Really Effective recently been made by the Marine Workers Defense Committe. At its mass ference the speakers on the platform represented almost every tendency in the labor movement. And as I am informed, an effort was and is still being made to get all those not yet represented to join. There is nothing to fear from this. Let the slogan promulgated at this mass meeting by comrade Cannon of America that from now on any attack against a worker, regardless of political beliefs, will meet with a united opposition on the part of the workworker in the U. S.

-A DELEGATE.

# ST. LOUIS

conducted each Friday evening by the St. of America (Opposition) at the Crunden Branch Library, 14th & Cass Aves. The first of the open forums at which comrade George Roberts spoke, was on "Unemployment and the Unity of the work- manner it was expected to take the meeting class". All meetings, unless otherwise indicated, begin at 7:30 P. M. The it did not succeed. Rather it become, relist of Open Forum meetings is as fol-

Friday, January 22, 1932: Speaker-George Roberts on "Is Socialism In One Country Possible?"

Friday, January 29, 1932: Speaker-John Scott on "Fascism or Communism in Germany."

The Admission is free. All workers are cordially invited.

Young Spartacus can be purchased at all newsstands, bookstores, meetings, etc. where The Militant is now sold. If you issues of dispute. Meanwhile the Greek like Scheidemann, Noske and Zoergiebel itical beliefs, to act in this direction, write to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th the "breaking party" slunk out of the

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# N THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

# Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

# Revolt Brewing in India

### Ghandi Holds Masses in Check by Reformist Maneuvers the near future. The lathi, after all,

a protest, the cotton, the bullion, the to more than 175,000. They are apparpiece goods, the seed and the stock ex- ently expecting serious trouble. changes in Bombay and other cities have

India. Strikes of workers are, as yet, not on the order of the day. The Hindu hartal or patriotic strike, still dominates the political scene. For the time being, the nationalist bourgeoisie still holds the reins firmly. The revolutionary masses are still spell-bound by the shrewd and soothing voice of the "Maan enormous factor in the political life along the Ganges.

#### A Shrewd Mahatma

newspapermen, Ghandi expressed the an"; they do not officially run on a party block put out Simpson as the man to sentiment in the working class. opinion that in the event of "sudden" emancipation, a free India would not major issues existed; that whoever was present period. very well be able to dispense with a elected to sit at the City Hall would be regular standing army. Yes, the Mah- on a program of better sidewalks, more as dull and dirty as capitalism itself. atma said this. The newspapermen show sidewalks, and the insistence on string A continual rain kept back many people ered questions on the saintly man and ent economy (naturally at the expense from the polls, and especially destitute he answered nearly all with saintly pa- of working class relief measures). That workers who could not clothe themselves tience and serenity. There was one quest there were 50,000 unemployed in the city, properly. tion, however, which he evaded with the well, so long as they were keeping quiet sleekness of an eel. That question was in at the soup kitchens and not demanding list. Although the total number of votes regard to his attitude toward the Rus- unemployment relief, they were not an polled was lower than last year, the sian revolution. "I am too humble", the issue. If 6,000 bailiff's notices of evic- vote of Buck doubled; the reactionary Mahatma replied to this question, "to tions were issued, that was a sign that press lamented that "Tim Buck Compretend to omniscience. Consequently I prosperity was around the corner. Wages munist, was the only one of nine candithink of the Russian revolution". The down, throwing workers and their famtween the Indian revolution and the Rus- As long as the working class and the polled 5,974 votes, 2941 over his last

Would it be too rash to assume on the basis of all this that the great principle ment of their conditions, the bourgeoisie of Oriental ethics-non-violence-is in were quite content with the status quo, the last analysis, only a cloak for the and intended to further confuse the year. fear the Hindu bourgeoisie has of the masses with the spirit of civic duty. armed masses? Hardly. The Russian bourgeoisie (and the Spanish bourgeoisie in its turn today) shouted at the top of its lungs that its revolution was "bloodwith less effective, to be sure, but nevertheless just as guarded ideological ceremoniousness. The Russian bourgeoisie was faced with war times that accelerated the march of events and with a resolute and firmly established working class party. Its end came rather swiftly. The course of the Indian bourgeoisie, which kowtows no less to the foreign imperalists, will probably, considering the times and more than that—the geographical situation of

its revolution dependent to a large exit by the British working class. In the course of events, the attachment between paign and vote. which is historically inevitable, will no doubt develop into the determining influence in that country's future. For the present, however, both the British as well as the Indian workers are still to be found in the background of the scene. The further progress of the German revolutionary movement in Europe and of the Chinese in the Far East will, sooner or later, serve to set the former two into

### Signs of Militancy

In the meantime, a few signs of rising militancy are already visible on the periphery of the new movement. At Srinigar, a crowd estimated at 12,000 persons attacked the police station and liberated three prisoners. Despite the manifold assurances by the nationalist leaders that the masses would abstain from violent action, the British police forces have taken all possible precautions. The viceroy of India, Lord Willingdon, has un-

Ghandi, V. Patel, J. Nehru have been British soldiery have recently been in-

Just how soon the activity of the masswithout any influence at all. The Garni to come.

Kamgar textile workers and the railroad workers of the G. I. P., who have already made Indian history in the past, have not yet been heard from. But they are sure to figure more prominently in does not distinguish between the masses, it strikes and hurts them all. But it as a result of the Menshevik policies of cellent opportunity to approach the moods in the party that it is frequently line correctly. On the surface, the above incidents Stalin-Bucharin in the Far East up to masses, to build up their cadres and to considered absolutely necessary at the give a fairly comprehensive character- 1927 and due to the entire loss of rev- consolidate their influence and their fol- top to undertake a "turn" This is thereization of the present situation in British olutionary perspective since, is almost lowing for the more decisive struggles upon motivated "theoretically" by the

# Thaelmann's Belated Self-Criticism

### The Leader of the German Communist Party «Examines» Some of Its Mistakes

-8. G. | highest instances, and naturally a good

The Party Program

assemblage for the working class, which

is centered around the movement for

repeal of Section 98, and it is upon this

ployment insurance should have been

The party mobilized its forces for an

workers, and the election should not be

considered as the climax; it is but the

beginning anew of the struggle for ele-

mentary working class rights, in which

we shall be found with the party in the

-S. GREEN.

and fight for its demands.

arrested by the Indian authorities. As creased to fully 68,000 men, the native is not likely that the workers of India mittee of the Communist Party of Ger- vik self-criticism" with which it is done. pelled to come out openly against these will long be fascinated by whatever many has been considering itself as in- The result which the "theoreticians" of ideas only shows the extent to which it is that "Mahatma" Ghandi is spinning fallible in its political decisions. But the Central Committee then attain is such defeatist moods were already wide -in his cell or out of it. The workers, since a mistake remains a mistake whe- usually this: The policy of the party spread in the party. been closed. The boycott against Bri- es will rise above the heads of their once they are started, will act, and act ther it is recognized or not, the effects leadership is entirely right, but subortish goods is in full swing. Civil dis- nationalist leaders, it is hard to tell. forcefully. For the Communists, the pre- of the false line of the party leader- dinate party instances have not under- is concerned with the too well known obedience is the slogan of the nationalist The Communist party, young and weak sent situation in India represents an ex- ship frequently lead to such dangerous stood how to carry out the errorless

#### Thaelmann's Self-Criticism

Entirely of this type is the "selfcriticism" with which Ernst Thaelmann occupies himself in the November-December double number of the Internationale, where he writes to "establish tical weakness, aye, even political mistakes in our revolutionary mass work". pearance of wanting to criticize the line of the C. C. itself, he immediately adds tion" is not only worthless but directly that the mistakes were of course not ed by a powerful press, and every means ity a powerful contact could have been committed by the whole party but were phasize the class standpoint. of agitation he was sure of election. To made with the working class, but the based upon an "insufficient political education of individual comrades and functionaries" or upon an "inadequate comprehension of the decisions adopted at international and German party congress-The election programme of the party es". These remarks of Thaelmann was not centralized in its demands, but alone already adequately characterize the diffused over a host of "municipal" istype of this "Bolshevik self-criticism". sues. The fight to-day is for the elemen-But let us now examine more closely

tary rights of free speech, press and what the "leader of the C. P. G." says concretely in his article of 30 pages. Thaelmann discovers here that the

struggle against the Prussian government issue that all efforts should have been has up to now not been conducted sharpconcentrated. The struggle for unem- ly enough:

"We must go further beyond this to linked up in the fight against Section the declaration that even in the ranks of 98, explaining how this section was for the revolutionary proletariat, not without the purpose of gagging the vanguard of our being to blame, there were present the working class. We demand its reat least sub-conscious moods to the efpeal not merely for the sake of repeal, feet that Braun-Severing were neverthe- solution of January 1931, established but as the removal of a band of oppres- less perhaps a 'lesser evil' than a Hitler-Goebbels government in Prussia. Such an influencing of the revolutionary workers by the deceitful social democratic energetic election campaign, one in which ideology, such remnants of social demthe comrades of the Left Opposition took ocratic thought in our ranks, are, howan active part in the canvassing, scrut- ever, as we must declare in complete inizing and general propaganda work agreement with the decisions of the XI to which we were assigned. This cam- Plenum, the worst danger for the Compaign was a means of rallying the party munist party."

Obviously, therefore, certain C. P. G. comrades arrived at the idea that a Hitler government in Prussia would act in an even more reactionary and antiworking class manner than the then Braun-Severing government. The party comrades in question surely did not mean line of the conceptions of the "people's by this that the S. P. policy of the lesser revolution" then advocated by the C. C. evil in parliament was correct. But and established officially as late as they were of the opinion that the more dangerous enemy today is Hitler and a whole year for this acknowledgment. that the party must therefore lead the it is suddenly established that the main attack against him. For Thaelmann, quoted conception of A. E. "has nothing however, such an opinion is "the worst more in common with Marxism and danger for the Communist party"!

Further in the course of his "selfto admit that in the attitude of the to do with Leninism. party towards Fascism, great shortcomings came to light. He writes:

"We yielded at least in part to the false theory of the 'inevitability' of the ished as an Oppositionist in Russia. In Fascist dictatorship under monopoly capialism, or at all events, we did not always develop a sufficiently sharp struggle against this false theory, a theory which leads us off the road."

As an example of this, Thaelmann quotes from the September 1931 number one whom the Great Thaelmann has

"A social democratic coalition governmovement in New York. Our movement ment, which confronted an incapacitated, his article on the question of individual split-up, confused proletariat, would be a thousandfold greater evil than an open Fasist dictatorship, which came forward liely from individual terror, but it is against a class conscious proletariat, determined to struggle and united in its Thaelmann writes:

By this is completely confirmed what Trotsky have criticized most sharply for months: namely, that there are forces at work in the C. P. G. which not only consider the seizure of power by the dom, from the fundamentals of Marxism-Fascists as inevitable, but as downright Leninism"

EXPIRATION OF SUBSCRIPTION If the number of your wrapper is 99 or under, your subscription has expired. by terror and it is just the "leader of To ensure that you do not miss a single issue of The Militant, send in your renewal immediately to The Militant, 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

### the sermon on the mount.

# Minneapolis

All meetings, unless otherwise men

Sunday, January 24, 1932: DEBATE: "Socialism versus Communism". Speak-Socialist Party against Carl Cowl representing Communist League of Am-

Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Pro-

All these lectures and debates will be held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. The Admission is free.

For years the Stalinist Central Com-| deal of noise is made about the "Bolshe-| That the party leadership is now com-

A whole section of Thaelmann's article "theory" of the people's revolution, as invented by the party leadership in connection with the teachings on the "na tional and social emancipation". These slogans were raised in their day in order to win the petty bourgeois strata for Communism, in connection with which to mention nothing else, it was completely overlooked that the most immeseries of ideological deviations and polidiate task of the C. P. G. must be not the winning of the middle classes but the winning of the majority of the pro-But in order to avoid even the ap- eltariat. And it is precisely here that a slogan like that of the "people's revoluharmful, since it does not sufficiently em-

> Thaelmann himself is slowly beginning to perceive this when he writes in his

> "Only when we win the proletarian majority for Communism can we realize the further tasks of drawing the allies of the proletariat from the middle classes into the anti-capitalist united front and thereby create the premises for the people's revolution of Marx and Lenin. Every smearing up of these fundamentals, every abandonment of the preliminary need of the struggle for our own class is a break with Marxism, a break with Leninism!

> But who raised this "break with Leninism" to the point of a "theory"? Nobody but the Central Committee of the C. P. strategical slogan of the party". Is it then to be wondered at if subordinate functionaries of the party thereupon apply this slogan as it should be understood according to this C. C. conception? Such a thoroughly good-believer of a functionary was A. E. who wrote, as far back as December 1930, in the paper Der Propagandist that

> "for the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution it is primarily a matter of winning the petty bourgeois strata for the proletarian revolution or at least of neutralizing them."

This was entirely in harmony with the Leninism". Which is of course correct to the extent that the corresponding line criticism", Thaelman himself is obliged of the C. C. really had not much more

> (In passing: For A. E. to b as a scapegoat is especially harsh. Alexander Emel was at one time punthe German party, after a probation period of a year, he sought to earn his spurs by expressly separating himself from Trotsky's views at every opportunity, most recently in the question of the Spanish revolution. And he is just the

> Finally, we cannot let pass unchallenged what Thaelmann has to say in terror. It would undoubtedly be correct for the C. C. to disassociate itself pubto fall into the other extreme when

"Those workers who let themselves be misguided by the planned Nazi-provocathe Left Opposition and particularly tions by defending themselves with the same methods of individual terror, are moving away, with regard to the methods of the proletarian struggle for free-

Taken literally, this means that henceforth the C. P. G. members are to be prohibited even from forcible defense from Fascist assaults. This is going much too far. Terror can only be broken the C. P. G." who should understand that under the conditions created by the Fascist acts of violence, one cannot act in accordance with the principles of

In conclusion, let us point to still another observation Thaelmann made at the end of his lengthy article and which we can join with heartily:

"It appears that in spite of the great successes of our party, its theoretical level, the ideolgical-political level of our party work, is inadequate, and absolutely requires a fundamental improvement." But the very next sentence, which qualifies the decisions of the leadership as "unobjectionable and correct", indicates that Thaelmann is not at all the man to undertake a genuine, serious selfcriticism. Bureaucratic superficiality and fakers' autocratism are the essence of Thaelmann's article. There can be no talk whatsoever of a turn for the better. Such a one can, in general, not proceed from above; it must result from the pressure of the members themselves. The Left Opposition will support with all its strength every step of the party members in this lirection.

Berlin, January 1932 -W. M.

# The Results of the Toronto Elections

Election day, January 1st, was a day

Simpson, the labor faker, headed the

year. Despite his recent conviction on

sociation and seditious conspiracy, he

per cent." The two other Communist

alderman candidates polled 505 and 758

votes each, both being higher than last

The qualifications for voting demanded

that one be a tenant or householder;

those whose taxes were in arrear were

deprived of the privilege of democracy;

thus the dispossessed workers were not

able to vote. The votes for Tim Buck

were votes of protest against capitalist

reaction and for immediate unemploy-

ment relief. The thousands of people

who applauded him, did not all vote for struggles.

him; it was a spontaneous enthusiasm, Toronto

The recent municipal elections held in choice. After working his way on the partly aroused by the recent trial, and hatma". And it cannot be doubted that Toronto have, in the shade of events of backs of the working class, he was no not yet crystallized into a working class the personality of Ghandi still represents the past few months, gained a signific longer interested in its problems. Back- expression. With a campaign of publicance historic in the annals of Canadian

The bourgeois candidates (in civic offset the influence of the Communist vote was, insofar as elections are a In a recent interview with Parisian elections all candidates are "non-partis- program the bourgeois concentration criterion, a consciousness of a Leftward ticket) all agreed upon the fact that no look after their interests during the must declare that I do not know what to being slashed, and factories closing dates who increased his vote over last "Mahatma" did not appear pleased at liles upon the mercy of charity, that charges of membership in an illegal asall by the suggestion of a comparison be- was not an issue for the civic fathers. dispossessed elements of the petty bourgeoisie did not organize for the better-

The Communist Ticket

But the Dominion and Provincial authorities were more considerate of the interests of the hard working capitalists, less" and covered its fear of the people and had taken measures a few months before by the arrest of the eight Communist leaders, and their trial and conviction to 5 years in the penitentiary. After overcoming the legal red tape they were released on bail until their appeal. and to the dismay of the authorities Tim Buck was nominated for the Board of Control, and John Boychuck (another of the defendants, with another comrade, were nominated for alderman. The Communist party now being an outlawed organization in Ontario, they ran as canthe country—be a much lengthier one. didates of the Toronto Workers' United The colonial character of India makes Front Conference. The main campaign was centered around Buck, the control tent, upon the attitude, the aid rendered lership necessitating a city-wide cam-

the seasoned proletariat of Great Britain naturally was the only candidate to the son of Spanish parents born at Henri Lacroix is really a Spaniard and the vouthful proletariat of India naturally was the only candidate to the son of Spanish parents born at the results of India naturally was the only candidate to the son of Spanish parents born at the results of India naturally was the only candidate to the son of Spanish parents born at the results of India naturally was the only candidate. and the youthful proletariat of India, bring out the working class issues; the Buenos Aires, but a naturalized Spanish

leashed a savage system of repression the field, and a very popular one. The all over the country. Police and soldiery social democracy may be proud of its have been armed to the teeth. An ordi-sons; the Toronto branch, known as James nance has been issued outlawing all Simpson, and the backing of all the meetings of groups of more than five newspapers and he received plaudits persons, The gentlemanly Willingdon, from all sections of the capitalist class quite a hand with a cricket bat himself for his wisdom, and especially his "safe (the papers say) seems of late to have and sane" labor policies. For him but become an enthusiast of the native one issue existed—to be re-elected to the "lathi", applied by his troops with utter Board of Control and taste further of abandon to the skulls and bodies of de- the fruits of office. On the slate of the monstrants in the public squares. The reactionary Orange Order he was first

A Safe and Sane Candidate But there was a "labor" candidate in

NATURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PRO

# PERST TERMS

צוויי־וועכנמלעכער ארגאן פון דער קאַמוניםמישער ליג פון אַמעריקע (אָפּאָויציע) 84 EAST 10th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

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NAME ..... CITY ..... parable to libel against Largo Caballero

# Government Repression in Republican Spain

year's figure of 3,033—an increase of 97 sion so the working class can propagate

Republican leaders takes on forms that

Buck, as the Communist candidate, Jose Ramos Lopez is, to be sure, Spanish ed chief of police of Valencia know that need for relief and insurance at the ex- citizen. The Argentine police expelled pense of the state, and the fight against him from that country as a revolutionist Section 98 of the Criminal Code, which and as a Spaniard. Ramos came to the Republic also "governs". suppressed the rights of free speech and Spain, to Sujo to live with his family. assemblage. At every election meeting He is a Communist and one who stands Buck was received with tremendous en- up for his ideas. First he is arrested thusiasm; a Communist candidate was at Sujo, then at Cadiz, where he is held receiving sympathetic hearings and ova- a government prisoner for three months. tions such as the bourgeois candidates The governor of Cadiz promises him his did not receive. The press religiously release on the condition that he return kept a strict silence on the Communist to Sujo. A few days later, several campaign, not a word of publicity did "Civic Guards" and gendarmes come to they give it. A contract was entered the prison at six o'clock in the morning into with the Daily Star, a Liberal (!) and seize our comrade. His protests are paper, to let Buck speak over its radio of no avail. The governor had promised station, but after the Star realized they him his release on that very day. But were acting as liberals in allowing this, instead, he is thrown on board the the contract was immediately broken, the steamer "Uruguay", leaving a few min money returned, and an excuse offered utes later for the Argentina. No one that "under the circumstances, etc., etc." was informed of anything until our Cadiz comrades came to the prison on their

daily visit to comrade Ramos. The bourgeois, reactionary Republic has committed another abominable crime. What sort of fate will Uriburu have in

store for our comrade? The bourgeois press has refused publication to our protests. The cynicism of the reactionaries is becoming more detestable and more criminal under the Republic than it ever was under the monarchy.

Liberty and Equality Under the Republic met at Valenica and held a mass meeting you can later reproduce in the pages of and demonstrations against the Republic. The workers who wanted to demonstrate against Catholic and monarchist reaction found the "Republican" authorities on the side of the latter. The Catholics ber, when I was in New York, I didn't and monarchists can speak and act

December 14, which had been announced that only a proletarian party can lead in advance. The governor refused per- the revolution. mission to announce the meeting as one tional affair. The workers attended en masse. We had excellent success.

denied the right to propagate our ideas.

Other lectures were organized by the comrades in the various provinces. But in Spain) and with the solidarity of the when I had completed my lecture in international sections, we can arrive Valencia, I was called before the chief swiftly at the unity of the Spanish Comof police who informed me that he would munists on a revolutionary line with not authorize any more of my lectures the goal of the proletarian dictatorship. and that I had committed an offense com- Yours for the victory of Bolshevism,

The repression being carried on by the (the minister) and against the Republic Since my lecture had been announced even Primo de Rivera and Berenger under the name Henri Lacroix, they benever dared to resort to. Spaniards are lieved that I was a Frenchman and had being expelled from Spain. We of the no doubt taken preparations to deport Left Opposition are the favored victims. me from the country when the Police A very striking example: Our comrade Department of Madrid let the misinformdemanded my immediate return from Valencia. I was forced to take the first train out and to escape to Galicia, where

-HENRI LACROIX. Before leaving the United States for Republic, comrade Ramos was an active of the C. P. G. paper, Der Propagandist, now sought out as the whipping boy!) militant among the Spanish-speaking the following passage: attracted him to the extent of engaging for quite a time in friendly discussions between him and some of our comrades. Upon his arrival in Spain he joined the Communist party and became an adherent in it of the views of the Opposition. His revolutionary activity in Cadiz brought about his imprisonment and the recent decision—entirely arbitrary—to deport him to the Argentine. While in Spain recently, comrade Shachtman established contact with comrade Ramos in prison, from whom he subsequently received the letter which we reprint desirable under certain circumstances.

Cadiz Prison, 11-17-1931 Dear comrade Shachtman:

I received your letter and was glad to hear from you. How are you getting along. I was surprised to hear of your arrival in Madrid. I believe you can gather some notes about the Spanish revolution and the forces of the work-A short time ago, the Spanish Catholics ers throughout the country, notes which the Militant.

You can see how my old friends, the anarcho-syndicalists, are playing the game of the bourgeoisie. If you rememagainst the Spanish people, only we are cooperated in the establishment of the In Valencia also, I gave a lecture on bourgeois forces, I woke up and learned

The official party does not want to bearing a political Communist character carry on a serious work and give a poland it had to be announced as an educa- itical education to the proletariat. It rather wants to fight against the "Trotskyists", but now I think that under the flag of the O. C. E. (Left Opposition

RAMOS.

believe thes, but when I saw how they Republic and fought together with the

# Open Forum

Among the lecture arranged for forthcoming weeks at the Minneapolis Forum are the following:

tioned are at 3 P. M.:

ers: O. P. Victorian, representing the erica (Opposition).

posed Railroad Wage Reductions" Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

# EDITORIAL NOTES

#### DARROW AND THE SCOTTSBORO CASE

The withdrawal of Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays from all participation in the legal side of the Scotts boro case has called forth a chorus of of the International Labor Defense. "You can't mix politics with a law case" he said. He would take part in the legal defense only on the condition that the I. L. D. keep out. The withdrawal of the famous lawyer on these grounds affords the brass check newspapers-whose attention was drawn to the Scottsboro case by the stormy agitation of the I. L. D.—another occasion to point a moral about the harmful effects of "Communist interference" in behalf of any victim of bourgeois justice. Liberal snivellers and muddle-headed workers, whose thinking is done or them by the ruling class, are echoing this judgment.

Such arguments are not worthy of a moment's consideration. The I. L. D. was absolutely right in rejecting the presumptuous demands of Darrow and Hays, and the Scottsboro prisoners showed wisdom in supporting the stand of their defense organization. Any other course would have signified an end to the fight to organize the protest of the masse against the legal lynching; and with that would have ended any real hope to save the boys and restore their freedom.

view. But they are the credulous ones who have faith in the justice and fairness of the class courts. We rejoice at the blow that has been dealt to this serficance and merits for it a warm ap-

"You can't mix politics with a law case"—that is a reactionary lie. It is father to the poisonous doctrine that a labor case is a purely legal relation between lawyer and client and the court. It was under that sign-with the same Darrow in the leading role—that the McNamaras and Schmidt and Kaplar were sacrificed, and the labor movement was dealt a blow from which it has not yet recovered. It was the influence of this idea over the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee which paralyzed the protest mass movement at every step and thereby contributed to the final tragic outcome. Not to the courts alone, and not primarily there, but to the masses must the appeal of the persecuted of class and race be taken. There is the power and there is the justice. The affair of Darrow, the Scottsboro prisoners and the I. L. D. will help to inculcate this lesson.

### W

### UNITED FRONT PROSPECTS

The most noticeable single trend to be observed in the ranks of the more or less radical workers is the sentiment for und the sentiment for the united front in the ity of action. This sentiment permeates ranks of all the organizations which took all the organizations to a considerable part in it. In addition to that it had a extent, and it corresponds to the needs of the day. As a consequence of this there these sentiments in the rank and file of is a great deal of unity talk to be heard. the official party. This was probably its bership, meeting attendance, sale of Laing more than half of that quota for the over the power, we in Russia had such duty. He who has the youth has the Some of it is a sincere expression of greatest significance.

the workers' feelings and moods, some effect of all the talk so far, has been neg ligable. The labor movement, including and disrupted without profound causes. Talk alone will never bring about the praise from the bourgeois press. Dar- desired unity in struggle. It may, and row didn't like the agitational methods to a certain extent does, exert a retarding influence on the process. Every hypocri tical argument, every dishonest maneuver in the name of unity works against its actual realization.

> On the other hand, the increasing pressure upon the workers strengthens their impulses for a common front of struggle, and raises the issue ever more inistently. Concrete manifestations here and there of solidarity in action are to by which to judge the prospects for the ferences between the various organizations and groups, for the radical workers to get together for a united fight against the class enemy.

This mass meeting, like the defense committee which sponsored it, was an experiment in co-operation on a single There are people, of course- and tool issue of the class struggle-the defense many of them-who hold a contrary of persecuted workers. No one can deny that it made a good showing. The hall was packed to the doors and the sentiment for unity resounded in the applause which greeted speaker after speaker who vile and treacherous philosophy. It is dwelt on this theme. Militant unionists, true that the lawyers in question are communists, anarchists, syndicalists and celebrated in their trade. But from our socialists were represented on the platpoint of view that fact only invests the form as well as in the audience. The calling of their bluff with a greater signi- chief feature of the whole affair, and the one that determined its enthusiastic spirit, was the formal appearance of a united fight. There is every reason for the partisans of the united front-among whom we belong, to regard the demonstration as a significant step forward.

It is no less necessary however, to see the short-comings and the weak sides of this first experiment. There were not a few members of the official Communist Party in the audience, but it was not represented on the platform. Despite invitations of the defense committee, the party and the I. L. D. withheld participation in this public demonstration of support for workers under prosecution. There are people who put this fact down to the credit side of the meeting. They want a united front-without the Communist Party. But that is absurd as well as reactionary. The workers supconstitute the strongest and most dynamic force in the radical labor movement. The progress towards a genuine united front, with power behind it, has to be measured first of all by the pressure developing within the party ranks in favor of such a policy.

The mass meeting for the marine workers in prison belped to consolidate

of it a bait to catch their attention. The its fadical sections, has not been divided

Every time it is mentioned, it is falsely for the rest of the Stalinist press, the 'social-Fascists" are trying-no less! ing and his regime are already Fascist. But never yet has the Worker sought to arouse the party members or the militant workers in general to the acute danger. Never has it presented to its readers a clear statement as to what the the Hitlerite march to power.

And in truth it cannot do so because upon Hitler's capture of power as inthat a Fascist dictatorship—our readers ceptional interest. No single event in thing that happens is preferable to adoptrecent years has done so much to raise ing the only policy suitable for the sitthe hopes of the radical workers that uation: the organization of the milia way can be found, despite all the dif- tant united front of the Communist and the social democratic workers-what the Left Opposition proposes.

Boastful Claims and Sorry Realities Month after month now, the German Stalinists have been substituting bureaucratic boasting and self-content for a policy of vigilance and united action. 'We are growing. The Fascists are at the end of their rope". After every vote east since the last Reichstag elec tions, the German Stalinists have an nounced that Hitler has reached the apex of his strength. But the Hitlerites have continued to grow in spite of these prooutstripped those of the C. P.: in Mecklen | burg-Schwerin, in Brunswick, in Olden-C. P. G. mover from one member to and second, the issue of ower will not in one of the shrewdest organs of the letarian mass. American bourgeoisie, the New York There lies the crux of the difficulty

casually refered to from time to time. Hitler's recent electoral gains explained: For the Daily Worker, like months of the same pace to produce a drawing his votes is about exhausted. by now these have been pretty well absorbed by the Hitler following. . . . "

about which Hitler is not at all unaware from it. Hitler knows, as the Communbe seen. And these are the best gauge evitable. Some of them write coolly ist know (or should know) that the by the thoroughly false cry of "socialformation of the united front of mili- will find the exact quotation elsewhere moods of the classes. Hitler knows too factories (and the "little Zoergiebels" maximum" under the given conditions and that a violent attempt must be made to seize power before the crucial moment has passed. Hitler knows, finally, that "the strength of the National Socialists lies at the present moment not so much in their own army as in the dispersal of the army of their mortal foe." And it is principally upon the continuation of the latter condition that Hitler is staking his cards.

(German) writer finds that against Hit ler stands a 'proletarian bloc' .consist ing of the socialists and Communists, in which he has made virtually no dent and acts of the Thaelmanns. And a capsince his impressive debut of September itulation now would be a repetition of 1930." This is too "sanguine". It is the Brandlerist surrender of 1923 with gnositications. Their increases have far true that the Communist and socialist masses hate Fascism. But they do not yet constitute a bloc for the simple burg, in Hesse, in Hamburg, in Bremen, reason that not only have the socialist and only last Sunday in the elections to Idaders no heart for a fight against the Lippe Diet, where the Fascists jump- Fascism which might lead to a proletared from nothing to 9 seats, while the ian revolution—rather than lead up to much of evil that has been inflicted upon that eventually, they will lay down before the movement in the past. From whom two. These electoral gains by themselves Fascism—but the official Communist are far from fatal to the proletarian leaders are determined to form no bloc, Thaelmann and Co.- Hardly. Then cause because, first, there is a "political no united front with the social demlimit" to such gains by the Fascists, ocratic masses, a united front which, if realized, would crush the Fascists under be decided by these votes. An editorial the terrific weight of the combined pro-

In a previous article on the dangers, erature, is now showing definite signs confronting the I. L. D. because of the of disintegration and demoralization as mechanization of the organization by a result of having been put through the Communists to do under almost identical porting the official Communist Party way of the "group system", it was said process of the group plan. iasm for activities so much needed in dance ranging from 50 to 75 members im- minutes of the 1926 Plenum of the Cenmediately prior to its being reorganzied into an underground form of organizawas predicted and already there can be tion, dropped to but 13 members attend-

ing the first meeting and 17 members the Fortunately, not all of the branches of second meting after its reorganization, the I. L. D. have as yet been reorgan and with a corresponding effect upon its ized on the group plan, but branches that general line of activities. To illustrate, sion. For example, the model branch of month prior to the "operation", now is have they matured to this point—therein ocratic anti-militarism. It must, and \_J. P. C. | Dor Defenders and other propaganda lit- current issue. The mechanical grip upon the branch is so choking the life out of it that even the organizer of the branch ing is the publication of the official or- (a good machine man) realized the dangan, Permanente Revolution as a semi- ger and stated at the last meeting: "I monthly beginning with January. In- had my doubts about the group system adequate as, even a semi-monthly is, it from the very beginning and now we can

A more glaring example is not needed (Bolshevik-Leninists) met with repre- in contending that in a very short time our paper will facilitate our approach to show the actual demoralizing effects to the revolutionary workers and thereby the mechanical group system holds for the English comrades, since in this manthe rest of the I. L. D., now in the pro-With the deepest conviction of the cess of reorganization. Judging by these correctness and fruitfulness of the road first signs of results, we will soon be travelled, and with the recognition of justified to use the very popular expresthe need of exerting all the forces of sion "the operation was successful but

R. ULCHIN.

# Stifling the Labor Defense

that this new plan of organization would deprive the membership of the enthusorder to carry on mass defense work. Only six weeks have elapsed since this! seen the correctness of this estimation. have already undergone this "successful" operation show definite signs of regres-

is nevertheless a comparative step for see that it will not work."

the Opposition and of multiplying actional Committee came to an end.

On January 6, comrade Swabeck spoke file is kept, is breaking down. We wil in Youngstown on the differences within continue this work to demolish it com-

-FRANK CHELOFF.

### THE SPANISH ARTICLES

Pressure of space in this number compels us to hold over the first of the series of articles on the situation in Spain, by comrade Max Shachtman, for the next issue of the Militant, where it will surely

Announcement that Gov. Roland H. Hartley of Washington had granted a dictatorship. It is necessary to distinparole to O. C. Bland, one of the five guish between them. Mussolini had remaining prisoners in the Centralia great difficulty in reconciling many old Armistice Day cases, was made a few military institutions with the Fascist days ago from the state capital in Olymnia. At the same time the governor extended indefinitely the leave of Eugene Barnett, who was paroled last May to care for his wife, then facing a critical operation.

Friends of the prisoners are greatly encouraged by these developments. Some three years ago the governor received a petition urging their release from 3,500 residents of Centralia, which has only 3.000 registered voters Eight of the For several hours, they asked questions trial jurors alos have made affidavit deand indicated by their opinions that here claring that if the court had permitted them to know all the facts in the case

Is Stalin Prepairing Another, 1923 in Germany? parently unnecessary in view of the gaining, and for the simple reason that ism. With Hitler advancing rapidly, the fact—according to the D. W.—that Bruen- the 'reservoir' whence he has been Thaelmanns, Remmeles and Neumanns In one sense at least the essence of nationalist prejudices of the petty bour-German party leaders plan to do to stop these observations is correct. The Hit- geoisie (the notorious "Program for Naler reservoir is being exhausted—a fact tional and Social Emancipation"). They not only repelled the social democratic the German Stalinist high-priests look The enemy is not always stupid—far workers, even those who were beginning to rebel against Wels, Stroebel and Co., elections are merely a barometer of the Fascists" who must be driven out of the week's mass meeting for the defense of pared to a social democratic coalition, not enough. Hitler knows further that finally entered into a shameless support the indicted marine workers has an ex- All of them take the attitude that any- his votes are approaching a "political of the Fascist Prussian Referendum of brought disgrace to the banner of Communism.

Now, in the face of all the boasts of the immediate past, in the face of all the braggadocio and loud-mouthed radicalism, the Stalinists not only reject the imperatively needed united front with the social democratic workers, but are The Times editor continues: "The preparing to quit the field of battle without firing anything more deadly than a manifesto . . . from exile. No other construction can be put upon the policy even more fatal consequences.

Days pregnant with great historical significance are ahead in Germany. False policies, obstinately maintained, will produce ruinous results. A change in time, resolutely applied, will eliminate can such a change be looked for? From from the Comintern, from Stalin? Again, hardly. What the "Master" thinks of the present situation in Germany, nobody is permitted to know. During the most stirring days of the Spanish revolution, the "leader of the world revolution" found nothing to say about the tasks of

the Communists, or else no need of saying anything. The present German crisis once more finds the Communists without the benefit of Stalin's counsel. But its benefits would be more than dubious. For we already know-try to conceal it as he would-what Stalin advised the circumstances. In August 1923, on the The following are facts appearing on eve of the decisive events in Germany its balance sheet to date-meeting atten of more than eight years ago-as the tral Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will testify-Stalin wrote his views on Germany to Zinoviev and Bucharin. We quote this extensive

#### and illuminating passage: What Stalin Once Advised

reserves as: (a) peace, (b) the land to army."

definite views.

incorrect.

of Fascism in Italy.

from this movement.

Primo de Rivera.

Times (1-12-32), commenting upon a re-[The official leaders have followed one the peasants, (c) the support of the of the whole of Europe, not excluding the view of the situation by the Berliner false and criminal policy after the other overwhelming majority of the working Soviet Union. The danger of Fascism is Tageblatt, observes that to argue from in recent years, swinging from a sterile class, (d) the sympathy of the peasanand noisy adventurism to an equally try. The German Communists have "that it needs only another few clamorous and fruitless opportunism. In nothing of the sort at the present time. recent months, had they set themselves To be sure, they have the Soviet state as Hitler majority in the nation is errone | such an aim deliberately, they could a neighbor, which we did not have, but ous. It is contention of the article (in hardly have done more to prejudice the what can we give them at the present to put Hitler into power, which is ap- the B. T.) that Hitler cannot keep on interests of the struggle against Fasc- moment? If the power were now, so to speak, to collapse in Germany and the Communists seize it, then they will fall not only shouted from the housetops through with a crash. That in the best The Fascist gains have been made at the that the "Social Democratic Party is the case". But in the worst case—they will expense of the former Right parties, and main enemy!", but entered into a vulgar be smashed to a thousand smithereens competition with the Nazis to see who and set back. The matter does not lie could outbid the other in playing on the in the fact that Brandler wants to 'educate the masses', but in the fact that the bourgeoisie, plus the Right social democracy, would quite definitely convert the educational demonstration into the decisive battle (for the moment, they have all the chances for it) and would smash them. Surely, the Fascists are not asleep, but it would be better for us if the Fascists were to attack tant labor. From this standpoint, last on these pages—is a "lesser evil" com- that for the seizure of power votes are out of the playgrounds—literally!), but first: this would assemble the whole working class around the Communists (Germany is not Bulgaria). Besides, a few months ago-an action which from all reports, the Fascists are weak pleased and profited Hitler, on the one in Germany. In my opinion, it is neceshand, and Wels on the other, but only sary to restrain the Germans and not

to spur them on." (Our emphasis). Every child now knows the results of Brandler's capitulation in 1923, the Brandler who hardly needed to be "restrained" (by the way, is not the restrainer, Stalin, today the sworn foe of . . . Brandlerism?). Today, in a more critical world ambience, capitulation without a struggle would have ever more far-reaching effects. Once in power, Hitler would not only be in a position to exterminate the flower of the German proletariat, but would inaugurate a prolonged period of reaction throughout Europe. And yet, the persistence of the Stalinists in their breakneck course, their refusal to adopt the proposals of the Opposition for a united front with the social democratic masses against the Fascist reaction, their inescapable resonsibility for the division in the ranks of the proletariat which is confronted by the Hitlerites, is paving the road to power for the latter.

#### The Party Ranks Must Speak!

The Thaelmann course, pursued with the approval of the Comintern, is traceable to Stalin, traceable as far back as 1923. This course is heavy with peril. It can and must be changed. The Communist workers can compel a change The party members-not only in Germany, here too-must speak out loudly and demandingly. We have no small squabble to settle here. It is about the "key to the international situation" that the Left Opposition, with comrade Trotsky at its head, is speaking now, the key which the Stalinists are allowing to slip from their hands. The party members must speak because silence now is

-MAX SHACH'IMAN.

"Anti-militarist propaganda must be cast over the whole nation like a wide net.. The proletarian youth must be systematically imbued with class-consciousness and with a hatred of militarism. This kind of agitation would warm the "Should the Communists strive for hearts and arouse the youthful enthusthe branch, which holds the record of the seizure of power (at the given mo- ians of the young proletarians. The prohaving sold 800 Labor Defenders the ment) without the social democrats, letarian youth belongs to social demfaced with the prospect of hardly reach- lies the question, in my opinion. Taking will be won over if everyone does this -KARL LIEBKNECHT.

# GERMAN OPPOSITION

On Sunday, December 13, the Enlarg-| out; we are confronted by the need of ed National Committee of the Left Op- issuing new editions. Our influence has position of the German Communist Party risen enormously and we are not wrong ward. The more frequent appearance of sentatives from Saxony and Wasser | we shall gain-strongly organizationally. kante (Hamburg) present. A more extensive representation from the provinces was not possible because of financial activity as measured by the present-day difficulties.

### Organization Growing

organization it could be seen that the observed that in spite of it the organi tivities, the session of the Enlarged Na-Left Opposition, freed from sectarianism | zation has managed its publications out has experienced a gratifying development in the course of the past six months In Wasserkante, the formerly small group has become a relatively strong faction of the party, consisting of party functionaries to the extent of two-thirds. This local group is developing a stirring political activity. Likewise, the Saxon organization can account for further! progress in the party and especially in the Youth. The Southwestern district has developed a certain political activity in recent times. Especially in Bruchsal have our comrades understood how to realize the united front in practise. A unity committee of all the proletarian organizations has been formed which places the entire working class of Bruchsal in struggle against Fascism. Other localities of this district have been similarly worked upon. At the same time we have succeeded in forming in groups in the Ruhr district, in gaining new connections in Schleswig, Upper-Schleswig, the Rhineland, Magdeburg and in many other cities, and the possibility exists of ofrming new groups in these localities in the near future.

In Berlin, the Opposition has made very good progress. This is expressed primarily in the formation of faction Martin Abern The work in the party will undoubtedly soon be crowned with greater success.

The growth of the Left Opposition may best be measured by the constantly increasing distribution of our literature The editions of our pamphlets have doubled in size from time to time, and the edition of the latest pamphlet has reached the number of 15,000 copies. Most of the editions have already been completely or aimost completely sold

The weakness of our organization still lies in the insufficient organizational political requirements, as well as on the field of poor and slow accounting. In From the reports on the state of the this connection, however, it should be of its own organizational forces.

### **Adopt Political Resolution**

The main point on the agenda was the discussion on the political situation A vigorously serious discussion devel oped in dealing with the draft of the resolution. Before all, it was a question of the immediate perspectives of the of the struggle against Fascism. The crete application were especially the which followed. subject of the discussions. The draft of the resolution was unanimously adopted draft is to be presented for discussion in the groups and serve as a preparation for the next conference.

One of the most important decisions of the Enlarged National Committee meet-

### THE MILITANT

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EDITORIAL BOARD

James P. Cannon groupings in a series of party wards. Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

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# The Swabeck Meeting in Youngstown

the international Communist movement. pletely and to reestablish the unity of struggle in Germany and of the question The meeting was attended by twenty-five the Communist vanguard. interested workers. Members of the S. united front as the central problem of L. P., of the C. P. and the Y. C. L. were the struggle against Fascism and its con- present and participated in the discussion

A small group of Stalinists attempted

o provoke a fight by a running fire of with supplementary additions. This interruptions, but had to desist when they received no encouragement from the workers present. In the discussion period their leader asked for the floor received it, and launched into a tirade of slander against Swabeck and the Op position in general. He concluded with an appeal to everyone to protest by leaving the meeting. A worker, indign ant at this tactic, jumped to his feet and protested against such provocation He said, "You were given the floor. Why don't you give arguments instead of slander?

> But as everybody knows, a Stalinist is not infrequently impervious to sense The Stalinist general and his army of three left the meeting. A Y. C L. member, despite all their exhortations refused to leave. He said he could see no harm in discussing the differences between the Opposition and Stalinism.

The workers were of the same opinion. in Youngstown, the wall of Roman Catholic ignorance in which the party rank and they never would have convicted.

gogy. This is necessary for the creation of the mass movement. Ine genuine basis is the petty bourgeoisie. In Italy it is a very large base -the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and cities, and the peasantry. In Germany ism. In England there is less of that whelming majority of the population:

I am writing you today regarding the the peasant or farming stratum only an question of Fascism. It would be well if insignificant section. you were to discuss three questions with

It may be said, and this is true to a certain extent, that the new middle ner we can arrive at conclusions and class, the functionaries of the state, the private administrators, etc., etc., can con-What is Fascism? The name originstitute such a base. But this is a new ited in Italy. Were all the forms of question that must be analyzed. This is counter-revolutionary dictatorship Fasca supposition. It is necessary to analyze ist or not? That is, prior to the advent just what it will be. It is necessary to foresee the Fascist movement growing

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO A COMRADE

with new leaders from the rank and file. far-fetched possibility.

It is a plebeian movement in origin

Primo de Rivera was an aristocrat.

He occupied a high military and bur-

eaucratic post, and was chief governor of

Catalonia. He accomplished his over-

throwal with the state and military

forces. The dictatorships of Spain and

Italy are two totally different forms of

militia. This problem did not exist for

The movement in Germany is analog-

ous mostly to the Italian movement. It

ploying a great deal of socialist dema-

The former dictatorship in Spain, of from this or that element. But this is Primo de Rivera, is called a Fascist only a perspective which is controlled by dictatorship by the Comintern. Is this events. I am not affirming that it is corect ror not? We believe that it is impossible for a Fascist movement to develop in England or for a Mosley or The Fascist movement in Italy was a someone else to become a dictator. This spontaneous movement of large masses, is a question for the future. It is a

To speak of it now as an imminent dandirected and financed by big capitalist ger is not a prognosis but a mere propowers. It issued forth from the petty phecy. In order to be capable of forebourgeoisie, the slum proletariat and seeing anything in the direction of Fasceven to a certain extent, from the pro- ism, it is necessary to have a definition letarian masses, Mussolini, a former of that idea. What is Fascism? What socialist, is a "self-made" man arising is its base, its form and its characteristics? How will its development take place?

> The aim of this is to show the English comrades that the question is not a simple one. It is necessary to proceed in a scientific and Marxian manner.

Now another question. Naturally, it is important that you occupy yourself with the isolated elements of the Left Opposition, but it is no less important to pay close attention to what is taking place in the Communist Party, the Independent Labor Party and the Labour Party. The first tremors or the earthquake must have produced very great cracks in the wall of the house, and the, is a mass movement, with its leaders em- Bolshevik-Leninists can gain an influence among a large section of the labor movement. It is necessary to direct your attention not only to our little section but to everything that is happening in this great organism.

This letter is in very rough form. I have not even checked its contents but I likewise, there is a large base for Fasc- trust that you will get the general sense of the ideas expressed. . .

base because the proletariat is the over- Kadikoy, November 15, 1931. -L. TROTSKY.