

WORKERS
OF THE
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UNITE

THE MILITANT



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Bankers and Jobless Relief

The Tammany Government Machine Is Whipped into Line

For many years, the large banking interests, reported to be led by J. P. Morgan, have been attempting to force through a higher fare on the New York City subway systems (I. R. T. and B. M. T.). All the methods so typical of modern business practice have been used in their endeavor. For many years the people of this city have been bombarded with statistics as to how they would benefit by a higher fare, with a complete tabulation of the fares paid in other cities, of the relationship between the standard of living and the price paid for a subway ride, etc., etc. Now a final effort is being made this time, after all the years of preparation, the workers of the city can already begin to discern the smaller slot of the turnstile made to accommodate a thin ten cent piece.

All the subways in the city were built by the city government. After completing them, they were turned over to the private companies for operation. The important provisions of the contracts 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 extent.

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 strike.

The bankers against the Tammany machine! How paradoxical this sounds. Yet there is an element of truth in it. The thieving Tammany politician looks upon the taxes paid into the city treasury 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 machine is behaving rather well in keeping down the workers and protecting private property. However, during times such as the present, we begin to see strong protests being raised against the grafting politician, who continues to handle the "public funds" as he was 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 is anything but the most meager sort of unemployment relief. Detroit, where some in the local government "held out" for a little better relief, was soon brought into line. The New York banks have now refused to float the necessary bond issues to tide the city over its temporary deficit.

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 controller (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 controller 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 than two percent. In the middle of December the rate to the city, for a flotation during that month, was five and one half percent, bringing it dangerously near to the 6% limit. During the past few weeks however, the New York City bonds have been depressed heavily. They are now selling below par. One need not look far for the guilty one. Short term government bonds usually remain in the direct control of the bankers. The city now needs \$90,000,000 to cover its current expenses. The bankers have agreed to advance the money (float the bond issue) only if—the city agrees to curtail expenses.

The first thing hit at was the "home relief agencies". Part of the \$90,000,000 was to go for the unemployed, "re-

lief". Already, the stations have shut down, leaving the almost 1,000,000 unemployed here, with no aid whatsoever.

The Bankers' Idea
The bankers have a second idea in mind; they were quite frank about it—put all city enterprises on a paying basis, raise the fare on the subways. Now their time has arrived. Those who pay the fiddler call the tune. The tune is to have as its only note the clink of a ten cent piece.

The approach that will be made we might even try to predict. The politicians who have the "interests of the people" at heart—were forced to accept the increased fare by the bad bankers, who threatened to cut off the unemployment relief. Furthermore, they will say, the city as a whole will benefit, for they say nothing at the present about recapturing the lines. The probability is for a rise in the fare, followed not by a taking over by the city of the existing lines, but rather by the handing over to the old companies of the new subway built.

This is the picture of capitalist government; a sewer of vice, graft, intrigue and counter-intrigue. Only a working class revolution can sweep away the whole rotten mess. —H. P.

Is Stalin Preparing New 1923 in Germany?

What is happening in Germany? What is the position of the Fascists? Where does the German Communist Party stand and what does it propose to do?

These questions, of such vital importance 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 Persecuted

A LETTER FROM MOSCOW

... One of our incarcerated comrades, Issaian, was wounded—without preliminary warning—by a shot in the breast. The whole solitary prison carried out a hunger strike for seventeen days. Our comrades demanded an investigation commission from the government. They were promised one. The incarcerated comrades elected a delegation of twelve men in order to discuss with this commission. The twelve elected comrades were promptly placed in solitary confinement and then transported from Verchne-Uralsk to an up-to-now unknown spot. But the investigation commission which arrived was compelled to yield in 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 Oppositionists were dragged away from one place to a worse one. The material condition of the shipped-off comrades is extremely difficult. In spite of the shortage of 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.

Moscow, December 3, 1931

New York Banquet Feb. 6

To Greet «Unser Kampf» and Three Returned Comrades

Arrangements are now being made for a banquet in New York on Saturday, February 6, which every Left wing militant will want to attend. The banquet, given by the Communist League (Opposition), will be a joint affair with all our Jewish comrades and friends, for the purpose of greeting the first issue of «Unser Kampf» (Our Struggle), official organ of the Left Opposition in the Yiddish language, and of welcoming back three of our leading comrades who have just returned and who will speak at the banquet. They are comrades Albert Glotzer, who has just returned from a trip to Europe during which he stayed for a number of weeks with comrade Trotsky at Kadikoy; Arne Swabeck, who

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by

ARNE SWABECK

The Revolutionary Movement in America To-Day Impressions of a Tour

at the Labor Temple 14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday January 22, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

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

The Chamberlin incident has been officially closed. Though reluctant at first, the Japanese government has finally bowed in apology to the all-powerful American imperialism. To be sure, the conflict of imperialist interests in the Far East is by no means over. There is a good deal of bickering going on around the proposed invocation of the Nine Power Treaty by the United States and the Japanese are just as alert as before on that point.

The Nine Power Treaty is supposed to guarantee the "administrative integrity" 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 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, aggressive interest in the Japanese adventure is flagging for the moment. But the Nipponese are hardly started in their march. Instead of adventures with peasant 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 and those of Soviet Russia will reveal their close interconnection with especial 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 hegemony by means of puppet governments in Manchuria, the Mikado's generals are slowly but consistently forging ahead, in the direction of the Great Wall on the one hand, and in that of Jehol and the other Mongolian provinces,

on the other. Due to the interference of the other capitalist governments, the Japs have not been able to increase their reinforcements in Manchuria as rapidly and as freely as they would like. Consequently they have been suffering considerable losses as a result of the inevitable and severe guerilla warfare carried on more or less successfully by the natives in a land unfamiliar and hard Military campaign, the Japanese government is clearly keeping an eye on the possibilities that might offer themselves to anti-Soviet moves in the near future.

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

Condemn M. N. Roy to Exile

Manabendra Nath Roy, Right wing Communist affiliated to the Brandler group internationally has been condemned by the British imperialists in India to 12 years of deportation to a penal colony for "waging war against the king". The imperialist knot is determined to insure its holders against the seething revolt of the Indian masses no matter in what channels it flows.

Unbridgeable differences separate ourselves, the International Left Opposition from the Right wing liquidators of Communism. But we do not for one minute hesitate to aid in their defense when they are under attack from the open class enemy.

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 this issue, the miners are evincing a readiness to struggle. Conferences have been organized in Staunton and Belleville. Plans are being laid and pushed for conferences in other mining centers.

These conferences are largely the result of the efforts of local militants cooperating with the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). The line of these conferences is based upon Mooney's August 20 appeal and the Opposition's endorsement of this appeal (Militant, 9-5-1931). It stresses the united front as the key to the problem of uniting the workers in 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. All attempts to exclude the I. L. D., the C. P., and the party organizations are resisted by our delegates. On the other hand, our delegates, while supporting the party's resolutions and themselves introducing resolutions against the Illinois criminal syndicalism law, are equally resolute in fighting the attempts of the Stalinists to divert the conferences 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 discredit the ideas of Communism.

After several months of their futile policy, the Stalinists realized that more "decisive" measures were required to wreck the campaign and to undo what had already been accomplished. On Sunday, December 27, they descended on the second session of the Staunton conference en masse. They packed the conference with delegates mobilized from Springfield, East St. Louis, and even Chicago. On one pretext after another they interrupted the proceedings with irrelevant speeches and slander. The A. F. of L. delegates voted with their feet. Delegate after delegate left. The result is best expressed perhaps in a letter from one of the local militants who has participated in all the struggles of the Illinois miners since before the war.

"It was either we control or we smash... I don't believe that more than one local remained in the meeting. I 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 in Staunton is now a shed. The miners have turned their backs on it. Whether it can be revived is a question. The Opposition must and will attempt it. There is no other road except to condemn Mooney to lifelong imprisonment. The Opposition will continue to fight for a united front, with the I. L. D., the party and all Left wing organizations included. What will be the policy of the party? Will the party rank and file continue to tolerate this policy of slander and wreckage?

—T. STAMM.

Japanese-Chinese-Soviet tangle are indisputably generating just such an eruption in the immediate future.

For the working class to meet such an event adequately it is absolutely necessary to continue to stress the community of interests between the Soviet Union, the world proletariat and the oppressed colonial peoples. The greatest watchfulness is required of the Soviet government to maneuver for the foreign invaders.

The Daily Worker refers to these bands of guerilla fighters as "Red partisan detachments" in connection also with high-sounding reports of more sweeping victories by the Chinese "Red Army" What greater proof the Stalinists have for this contention than for the contention—for 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 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 methods. A dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune on January 12 reports that the notorious Russian White Guard 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 troops as well as 100,000 Mongolian cavalrymen.

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 sale on February 27. This gigantic work written by the organizer of the insurrection will be complete in two volumes, the 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 continues from this period up to and through the October insurrection and the 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.

Marine Defense Meet

Hundreds Gather to Protest «Dynamite Plot» Frame-Up

On Thursday evening, January 7, a mass meeting in defense of Jack Soderberg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, victims of the harbor bosses' "dynamite plot" frame-up was held at Webster Hall. Over 500 workers attended the 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 tendencies met together, swayed by a feeling of genuine working class solidarity in the face of the vicious class enemy.

Comrade James P. Cannon, of the Communist League of America, (Opposition) was the first speaker at the meeting at which Carter Hudson, chairman of the Marine Workers Defense Committee presided. Comrade Cannon eloquently presented the case of three defendants, pointed out the political background and the purposes behind this latest attack of the capitalist class and appealed to the workers present to support the Marine Workers Defense Committee and its efforts to repel the designs of the bosses in this case as in others by a frank and real united front.

Other speakers included A. J. Muste, of the Conference of Progressive Labor Action, who pledged the support of his organization to the defense and its willingness to cooperate with the Committee; Ben Gitlow of the Lovestone group, who made an appeal for funds for the defense; Walter Starret of the Road to Freedom Anarchist group and Carlo Treseca, editor of Il Martello, who cited

similar frame-up cases in the history of the American working class.

All speakers were well received. Despite the manifold political shades and colors, all appeared to be united to prevent the capitalist class from taking advantage of the dissensions within the working class for their own ends. The meeting represents a commendable attempt to close the ranks in warding off the blows of government oppression of workers and workers' institutions. 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 absence. But many rank and file party comrades sat in the audience. The absolute necessity of action in cases such as that of the three marine workers will not fail to awaken the workers, Communist and non-Communist, to proletarian solidarity. We hope that rank and file pressure will lead the party and the I. L. D. to realize the mistake of their passivity in this case quickly. For the sake of the working class as a whole, as well as for that of the party. Such mistakes are dearly paid for. The force of united working class defense is irresistible. It is bound to overcome all obstacles.

The first Marine Workers' Defense meeting has started the drive. It is up to every class conscious worker to contribute his bit to the fight for the release of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer. Let no one stand aside.

—S.

ROSA LUXEMBURG

On the Anniversary of Her Assassination by the German Social Democrats

A generation of Communists standing on the shoulders of Lenin needs little originality to detect the theoretical shortcomings of Luxemburgism. But history is something more than a factual football. Memorable in dialectic and intensity, the struggle of Rosa Luxemburg against the opportunism of the most powerful party machine in pre-war Social Democracy has indisputably entered the life-stream of the Communist International.

Rosa Luxemburg never ceased to collaborate with the Polish movement from which she sprang, returning to her native Warsaw during the revolution of 1905. But as well as formative influence, 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 "Socialist Fundamentals" (1899) was a complete rupture with Marxism and a confession of the faith of the Fabians. Within the Marxian breast dwelt two souls, he contended, the one evolutionary-reformist, the other revolutionary-utopian. Bernstein undertook to purge Marx of the unscientific entanglements of Hegel and the political romanticism of Blanqui. For dialectical materialism he substituted the categorical imperative of Kant; the labor theory of value he supplements with the marginal utility of Boethius-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 centralization of wealth. The beautiful credit system, the efficient trusts and modern communication facilities eliminate the cyclical crisis. In a word, here is an idyll of an organic capitalism painlessly evolving towards socialism, over an unending road of reforms, under the spell of a social-democratic majority in the Reichstag. The dictatorship of the proletariat is an apocalyptic vision. The movement is everything—the goal is nothing.

Bernstein's sources are obvious, a re-

visionary hash of Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Lassalle and the miserable "Kathedersozialisten". While Kautsky, the official guardian of orthodoxy still maintained an ambiguous silence, Rosa Luxemburg forcefully insisted that theory and practice could not be divorced without fatal consequences and that revisionism would replace class struggle by class collaboration. If goal without 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 struggle; they cannot basically 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 struggle with feudalism, and is already decadent. The workers must rely on their own mass action. The whole economic lore of Bernstein is the generalized

view of imperialism. Parliamentary cretinism and the inevitability of gradualness have been dealt shattering blows by the epoch of wars of revolutions. Between economics and politics there is no automatic reflex action. Ideology is only one of the elements of the superstructure. When she wrote "Opportunism has been knocked on the head", Rosa Luxemburg was unduly sanguine. The huge bureaucracy of the party, trade unions, cooperatives proved decisive. At every important turn, the Centralists 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 operation was executed. Waging her battles against such an apparatus, Rosa tended to identify centralization with opportunism, and to depend on the elemental mass

The Precious Heritage of Rosa

The years that pass by since the cruel assassination which deprived us of her active aid do not serve to dim the luster of the great revolutionist that was Rosa Luxemburg. Her unfagging devotion to the historical interests of the proletariat sprang not only from the depths of her character but also from her exceptional understanding of the teachings of Marx and Engels. No mere closet ideologist, she flung herself into every battle of the German proletariat, one of which brought about her premature death. But she had already left more than enough behind her to insure an evergreen memory for the future. From what she taught so brilliantly by word and deed, the revolutionary movement still has much to learn, however the Marxian today may challenge some of

the views she stood for. But this challenge will always be made soberly, objectively, and with the greatest regard for time and place. The genuine Marxian will be repelled by the dispassionate slanders of Rosa which are passed off as "criticism" by those who, while arrogating unearned authority to themselves, have not, in reality, the least right to reproach the one who at all times stood so far above them. 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. Their calumnies make an objective estimation of Rosa's role more timely than ever. Maurice Spector's contribution in this issue has been conceived in this sense. —Ed.

viewpoint of the individual capitalist. The new developments in capitalism—credit, combination, etc.—do not cure but intensify the basic contradictions of anarchic capitalist production.

In pitiless judgment on revisionism, theory has been reinforced by Time, the greatest revolutionary of all. On the very heels of Bernstein's smug evangel burst the crisis of 1900, to be followed 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 cooperation of the banks organized in the Federal Reserve System." The American working class would derive its salvation from increased savings, life insurance and employee stock ownership. "The labor banks", declared the economic wizard Carver, "constitute the only revolutionary movement in the world". The Baltimore and Ohio Plan of union-management cooperation was tantamount to "industrial democracy".

The Struggle Against Opportunism. There is no doubt that theoretically revisionism was bankrupt from the outset. It completely failed to estimate the real qualitative changes that were taking place in capitalist society with the ad-

movement spontaneously to correct the course of the party. "The only part to 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 revolutionary social-democrat was that of a modern Jacobin bound up with the organized proletariat. Rosa relied too much on process, and tended to underestimate 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 Bernstein, take up the problem of state-power. Plechanov raised the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat at Brussels and again at the Amsterdam Congress (1904) but the Second International as a whole, and Kautsky its principal theoretician, completely failed to realize the significance of the problem. The reconstruction of the doctrine of Marx, based on the experiences of the Paris Commune,

only the international revolutionary movement can and will solve the problems of the working masses. At the same time I believe we can and should unite for the defense of the Kentucky miners, as of all other political prisoners in the U. S. It took quite some effort on the part of myself and my co-delegate to induce the membership, because of the objection that there are too many defense organizations, to send delegates to this conference. They finally agreed 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 defense organizations to consolidate all the forces for the defense of political suffer and the rank and file of the labor movement will not stand for that much longer."

How to Make the Kentucky Miners' Defense Really Effective

A conference for the defense of the Kentucky miners now on trial was held on January 6 at the Labor Temple. It was called by the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. and called to order by a representative of this committee who appointed a chairman. The latter in turn called for the election of credentials and resolutions committees. While these committees were in session, the conference was addressed by James Oneal of the Socialist party, Muste of the C. P. U. S. A. and a representative of the I. W. W.

The report of the credentials committee followed the speeches of the above gentlemen. Strange as it may seem, the Workmen's Circle branches predominated. Very few unions, about 6 or 7 in all, were represented. The other delegates represented either educational organizations or political groups like the S. P., the I. W. W., Industrial Union League, the Road to Freedom, etc. One of the delegates, representing a Workmen's Circle branch, wanted to know "why a section of the labor movement that has a big influence among the working masses, especially in New York, is not represented here at all". In answer to a question as to whom he meant he 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 Lovestone group.

A Working Class Reply to Splitlets

"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 say we do not believe any more in the speeches of these gentlemen that have addressed this gathering tonight. We have seen their comrades in action, like Scheidemann, Noske and Zoergel in Germany, MacDonald in England,

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 revolution to the struggle over the Prussian franchise he changed his tune. He was now for the old tested tactic of parliamentarism. "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.

Rosa Luxemburg's point of departure in these debates was the totality of the class struggle. She refused to recognize the legitimacy of any water-tight compartments 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 sabotaged the issue of the franchise. The reply of the Cologne trade union congress was to prohibit the "propagation and discussion of the general strike". A year later at Mannheim, the Cologne resolution was substantially ratified by the party Congress and the bureaucracy had gained a signal victory.

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 an anarchist and Blanquist if she had. In the words of Trotsky "a revolutionary general strike that inundates all the banks of bourgeois society became for Rosa Luxemburg a synonym 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 "tampering attitude towards the fundamental tasks of the revolution" was exemplified by the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin attitude in the Russian October and the Stalin-Brandler-Thalheimer capitulation 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 Radicals" under the leadership of Rosa and the Kautskian Centre at the Magdeburg Congress in 1909. Kautsky openly proclaimed that the main danger in the party was no longer the revisionists but "the rebellious impatience of the extreme Left". (To be concluded). —MAURICE SPECTOR.

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 unionism. It is the most out-of-date, the most antiquated form of labor organization known.

The railroad workers are at present organized, or rather disorganized, into twenty-one different craft unions, as follows: 1. Engineers; 2. Conductors; 3. Firemen; 4. Brakemen; 5. Switchmen; 6. Telegraphers; 7. Signalmen; 8. Clerks; 9. Boiler-makers; 10. Sheet Metal Workers; 11. Machinists; 12. Carmen; 13. Sectionmen; 14. Stationery Firemen; 15. Train Dispatchers; 16. Sleeping Car Conductors; 17. 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 complete stranglehold of these high salaried officials. The pages of the respective constitutions are littered with gag-laws of every description to protect the officials from organized criticism by the rank and file. These gag-laws are very effective in preventing needed organizational changes which would prove detrimental to the personal of officers' salaries, freedom of expression, etc. The main function of the local lodges is to collect dues and forward them promptly to their respective Grand Lodge Headquarters for enjoyment by the officials.

Bureaucratism and Class Collaboration

As might be expected from the above arrangement these craft officials advocate mutual admiration and cooperation between the representatives of organized capital and themselves as spokesmen for the railroad workers. The present Brotherhood officials know full well that they cannot protest and promote the railroad workers' interests against the well organized employers by keeping the workers divided into twenty-one separate organizations on the railroads. But these officials have allocated to themselves 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 anemic 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 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 continued). —A. E.

SWABECK TOUR

SWABECK IN PHILLY PHILADELPHIA

Comrade Arne Swabek spoke here on Jan. 10th. His lecture, "The Economic Crisis and the Left Opposition" was followed with the liveliest interest by the 40 workers comprising the audience. The presence of several C. P. members and sympathizers, as well as a few Lovestoneites, afforded our comrade an opportunity to broaden his subject matter to include all the most essential points of the platform of the Left Opposition. He dealt with the perspectives of the crisis; the effect of U. S. capitalism's home and foreign policy; the necessity of a worker's united front against Fascism in Germany; and reviewed the criticism by the Opposition of the policy pursued by the C. I.

The question period developed some lively discussion. Some of the party members left at this point, probably in fear of being inveigled into a free discussion. The questions covered topics upon which we have differences with the Stalinites and the Lovestoneites. Particular interest and sympathy was shown in our trade union and united front policies by most of the audiences.

This meeting was the first this year of a series of lectures under the auspices of the Philadelphia Branch on problems 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 Swabek. 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. —L. G.

SUCCESSFUL PITTSBURGH MEETING

Efforts made by some of the petty bureaucrats of the Pittsburgh party organization to break up the meeting scheduled for comrade Swabek 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 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 to give a lecture. He endeavored to tread very softly on questions of dispute 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 manner it was expected to take the meeting away from the Left Opposition but it did not succeed. Rather it became, regardless 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 intruding the next speaker, comrade Swabek, asking the hearers to devote the same attention to latter. Swabek 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 Swabek the opportunity to clarify further the issues of dispute. Meanwhile the Greek party fraction organizer, the leader of the "breaking party" slunk out of the place.

ST. LOUIS

ST. LOUIS—An Open Forum is being conducted each Friday evening by the St. Louis Branch of the Communist League 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 working class". All meetings, unless otherwise indicated, begin at 7:30 P. M. The list of Open Forum meetings is as follows:

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 are unable to get a copy at these places, write to Young Spartacus, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

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IN 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

Ghandi, V. Patel, J. Nehru have been arrested by the Indian authorities. As a protest, the cotton, the bullion, the piece goods, the seed and the stock exchanges in Bombay and other cities have been closed.

British soldiery have recently been increased to fully 68,000 men, the native to more than 175,000. They are apparently expecting serious trouble.

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.

Thaelmann's Belated Self-Criticism

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

For years the Stalinist Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has been considering itself as infallible in its political decisions.

That the party leadership is now compelled to come out openly against these ideas only shows the extent to which such defeatist moods were already widespread in the party.

A whole section of Thaelmann's article is concerned with the too well known "theory" of the people's revolution, as invented by the party leadership in conjunction with the teachings on the "national and social emancipation".

The Results of the Toronto Elections

The recent municipal elections held in Toronto have, in the shade of events of the past few months, gained a significance historic in the annals of Canadian elections.

choice. After working his way on the backs of the working class, he was no longer interested in its problems.

partly aroused by the recent trial, and not yet crystallized into a working class expression. With a campaign of publicity a powerful contact could have been made with the working class.

A Shrewd Mahatma

In a recent interview with Parisian newspapers, Ghandi expressed the opinion that in the event of "sudden" emancipation, a free India would not very well be able to dispense with a regular standing army.

The bourgeois candidates (in civic elections all candidates are "non-partisan"); they do not officially run on a party ticket) all agreed upon the fact that no major issues existed; that whoever was elected to sit at the City Hall would be on a program of better sidewalks, more sidewalks, and the insistence on stringent economy (naturally at the expense of working class relief measures).

The election programme of the party was not centralized in its demands, but diffused over a host of "municipal" issues.

The Party Program

The election programme of the party was not centralized in its demands, but diffused over a host of "municipal" issues. The fight to-day is for the elementary rights of free speech, press and assembly for the working class.

Would it be too rash to assume on the basis of all this that the great principle of Oriental ethics—non-violence—is in the last analysis, only a cloak for the fear the Hindu bourgeoisie has of the 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 "bloodless" and covered its fear of the people with less effective, to be sure, but nevertheless just as guarded ideological ceremonies.

The Communist Ticket

But the Dominion and Provincial authorities were more conservative of the interests of the hard working capitalists, 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.

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.

Government Repression in Republican Spain

The repression being carried on by the Republican leaders takes on forms that even Primo de Rivera and Berenger never dared to resort to.

Signs of Militancy

In the meantime, a few signs of rising militancy are already visible on the periphery of the new movement. At Srinagar, a crowd estimated at 12,000 persons attacked the police station and liberated three prisoners.

Buck, as the Communist candidate, naturally was the only candidate to bring out the working class issues; the need for relief and insurance at the expense of the state, and the fight against Section 98 of the Criminal Code.

Liberty and Equality Under the Republic

A short time ago, the Spanish Catholics met at Valencia and held a mass meeting 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.

Minneapolis Open Forum

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

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Minneapolis Open Forum

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

All meetings, unless otherwise mentioned are at 3 P. M.:
Sunday, January 24, 1932: DEBATE: "Socialism versus Communism". Speakers: O. P. Victorian, representing the Socialist Party against Carl Cowl representing Communist League of America (Opposition).

—W. M.

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 Scottsboro case has called forth a chorus of praise from the bourgeois press.

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.

"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.

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 unity of action.

the workers' feelings and moods, some of it a bait to catch their attention. The effect of all the talk so far, has been negligible.

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 insistently.

This mass meeting, like the defense committee which sponsored it, was an experiment in co-operation on a single issue of the class struggle—the defense of persecuted workers.

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.

Is Stalin Preparing Another, 1923 in Germany?

(Continued from page 1) of the whole of Europe, not excluding the Soviet Union. The danger of Fascism is casually referred to from time to time.

And in truth it cannot do so because the German Stalinist high-priests look upon Hitler's capture of power as inevitable.

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.

Times (1-12-32), commenting upon a review of the situation by the Berliner Tageblatt, observes that to argue from Hitler's recent electoral gains

In one sense at least the essence of these observations is correct. The Hitler reservoir is being exhausted—a fact about which Hitler is not at all unaware.

The Times editor continues: "The (German) writer finds that against Hitler stands a 'proletarian bloc' consisting of the socialists and Communists, in which he has made virtually no dent since his impressive debut of September 1930."

The official leaders have followed one false and criminal policy after the other in recent years, swinging from a sterile and noisy adventurism to an equally clamorous and fruitless opportunism.

Now, in the face of all the boasts of the immediate past, in the face of all the bragadocio and loud-mouthed radicalism, the Stalinists not only reject the imperatively needed united front with the social democratic workers, but are preparing to quit the field of battle without firing anything more deadly than a manifesto . . . from exile.

Days pregnant with great historical significance are ahead in Germany. False policies, obstinately maintained, will produce ruinous results.

Stifling the Labor Defense

In a previous article on the dangers, confronting the I. L. D. because of the mechanization of the organization by way of the "group system", it was said that this new plan of organization would deprive the membership of the enthusiasm for activities so much needed in order to carry on mass defense work.

ature, is now showing definite signs of disintegration and demoralization as a result of having been put through the process of the group plan.

The Party Rank 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.

GERMAN OPPOSITION

On Sunday, December 13, the Enlarged National Committee of the Left Opposition of the German Communist Party (Bolshevik-Leninists) met with representatives from Saxony and Wasserkerante (Hamburg) present.

Organization Growing From the reports on the state of the organization it could be seen that the Left Opposition, freed from sectarianism has experienced a gratifying development in the course of the past six months.

Adopt Political Resolution The main point on the agenda was the discussion on the political situation. A vigorously serious discussion developed in dealing with the draft of the resolution.

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THE SWABECK MEETING IN YOUNGSTOWN

On January 6, comrade Swabek spoke in Youngstown on the differences within the international Communist movement. The meeting was attended by twenty-five interested workers.

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 appear.

Announcement that Gov. Roland H. Hartley of Washington had granted a parole to O. C. Bland, one of the five remaining prisoners in the Centralia Armistice Day cases, was made a few days ago from the state capital in Olympia.

WHAT IS FASCISM?

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO A COMRADE

I am writing you today regarding the question of Fascism. It would be well if you were to discuss three questions with the English comrades, since in this manner we can arrive at conclusions and definite views.

What is Fascism? The name originated in Italy. Were all the forms of counter-revolutionary dictatorship Fascist or not? That is, prior to the advent of Fascism in Italy.

The former dictatorship in Spain, of Primo de Rivera, is called a Fascist dictatorship by the Comintern. Is this correct or not? We believe that it is incorrect.

The Fascist movement in Italy was a spontaneous movement of large masses, with new leaders from the rank and file. It is a plebeian movement in origin, directed and financed by big capitalist powers.

It may be said, and this is true to a certain extent, that the new middle class, the functionaries of the state, the private administrators, etc., etc., can constitute such a base.

To speak of it now as an imminent danger is not a prognosis but a mere prophecy. In order to be capable of foreseeing anything in the direction of Fascism, it is necessary to have a definition of that idea. What is Fascism? What 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.