WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

HEMILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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he Railroad Wage

a new railway wage agreement, the milliquaire magnates have emerged victor- machineries or proceedings. The workious. But that they accomplished only ers can obtain only what they can acby the cunning servility of those with tually take; what their position of orwhom they negotiated—the union lead- ganized strength will force the employers ers. These rogues accepted the 10 per cent wage-cut while the 1,500,000 railroad workers were not consulted.

It would be difficult to expect any other outcome in view of what happened since the negotiations assembled several hundred local union chairmen in the Chicago conferences. According to one chairman who was present, only speakers designated by the official union hierarchy could obtain the floor. The standing refrain repeated by these worthies early and late was the one: "You will have to accept a wage cut." That spelled defeat in advance.

The New York Times says, in comwhich is to accrue not to the workers -but to business in general, to the life insurance companies and to the banks which have more than \$4,500,000,000 invested in railway issues: "Union leadership has sacrificed an immediate advantage in order to obtain a larger objective." No, the leaders sacrificed nothnever had as long as they occupied their the roads. official positions. The sacrifice is all on the part of the workers. To them it will mean a lower standard below the \$2.88 per day which is now reported to be the average earning of all railroad workers, counting both employed and unemployed. The railroad owners on the other hand will receive an additional plum of \$215,000,000 to further line their pockets during the coming year, during which this reduction is ot remain in effect. These servile, cringing union officals served them well indeed.

The railroad magnates could easily give glib promises of 'reciprocity" to the demand for the socalled employment stabilization advanced by the union officials. This promise is just as meaningless as the manner in which the demand was proposed was futile. The promise offers only to endeavor to increase employment whenever practicable. And, of course, with the magnates now pleading inability to meet the payroll because of diminishing returns, this will never be practicable. But after all, as far as the intended their proposed "stabilization" the six hour day. A serious fight for arity and support. his proposal would at least have served saving machine technic.

wage cuts, to gradually undermine the the class enemy. position of the unions in preparation for Through no fault of design of the their final destruction—if possible. This committee the whole public discussion of additions to the Left Opposition Press. present wage cut was imposed even with the case has not been maintained on this The beginning was made with the Youth out the employers having to stop to util- level. Attempts have been made to disize the rigamaroles of the arbitration rupt the defense movement on the eve machinery provided by the railway labor of the trial by the International Labor tion organ in the Greek language, act. If it had been the case of a wage Defense. These attempts at disruption Kommunistes and the Jewish language increase the workers would surely have been furthered by an article in the been at least compellede first to run the Daily Worker of January 25th, which whole gamut of this complicated mach- falsifies facts and jeopardizes the inter- important addition to our coming theor- translated into reality. The first step They are the ones that hold the meager inery. But that is what it is for. To ests of the defendants at the time of function as a brake upon the workers; their greatest need to be at the service of the employers and It becomes imperative, therefore, "o and equip us we ha powerful instrument etical organ on the date set upon the that act as the support of the industrialto be entirely set aside or ignored when reply to these attacks and bring out the for the regeneration and rebuilding of support to ge given by our comrades and list from the moment of the purchase of the employers feel themselves sufficiently strong to do so.

From the protracted negotiations for of the matter. There should never again to give into.

What were the heavy compelling argu ments which the railroad magnates marshalled to convince all and sundry? It was primarily their plea of inability to maintain earnings in face of the heavy competition from bus passenger thansportation and from freight haulage by territory and so forth. The truck haultalist agents. ing, not even their honor for such they ing is also rapidly being gobbled up by

> The railroad owners thus clip the cupons and pocket the profits from practically all of these means of transportation. But for the railroad workers the situation is an entirely different one. They have been hit, in addition to the wage cut, with heavy unemployment. and lay-offs to the extent of about 700,-000 being eliminated during the last decade. Many more are on a part time working basis. Their exclusive craft position in the higher brackets is entire-

ly gone. They face an entirely new perspective for the future.

A Class Approach Necessary ed from their exclusive craft position. They are now in a more direct sense on of their class. Only an approach, no longer from the exclusive craft position, but from a class position can hope to begin to approximate a solution. In this

It means new and enormous tasks for future prospects in the fact that in these recent negotiations representatives of all start of the Manchurian adventure. of the unions were brought together trucking. It is very true that new mod- and acted together despite the fact of ern, and in many respects more com- the sell-out by the officials. These latter petitive means of transportation) is to a are, of course, not only still wrapped up large extent superceeding railroad ser- in the exclusive craft position of the vice. But this does not in the least past, but as much as ever functioning superceede the dividends collected by the purely and simply as agents of capitalinvestors in railroad securities because ism within the ranks of labor. Hence menting editorially upon the great good it is the same bondholders in each case. in any consideration by the railroad As a mutter of fact the existing bus workers of future problems one thing lines are practically all owned by the at least remains axiomatic. A struggle railroad companes, as for example the for conditions, a struggle to maintain or Greyhound owned by the Pennsylvana to improve their standard of living, can Railroad, the Union Pacific system and be carried on only hand in hand with the Chicago and Northwestern having the most determined struggle against their net of bus lines in the Western all traces of domination by these capi-

along the line. It calls for the most determined resistance. Meak submission attacks. The railroad workers have an eraft lines, repeatedly betrayed by their leaders, but nevertheless a powerful organization if brought into action. It is certainly incumbent upon the railroad wrokers to endeavor to lead in this resistance. But this requires a fighting

New Developments in Far East The railroad workers are being reduc-

ever more becoming bound up with that of their class. Only an approach, no Western Imperialists Register Protests as Japs Hold on to Booty

sense there is a gigantic change in per- ing to bombard Shanghai, at the same against the imperialism of the Eas. just ing in Moscow. There was a time when their unions and to this we will again fortresses at the mouth of the Whangpool one of the instigators of the Japanese return in a future issue. One may say River, the imperialist government at adventure, Great Britain, the raditional than the fact that it possess there is some slight ray of hope for Tokio is tenaciously clinging to every ally of Japan, are hardly to be counted power. That was in the Leninist period.

Eastern rialy during the last few months. course, leading-four powers drafted a interests of pacifism at heart, but whose sole aim was to create a check to the ponese competitor.

Was it a all strange that Tokio reoutstanding controversies between the two nations"? 🏗 was, as a matter of The capitalist offensive against the working class is still in full blast all the "outstanding controversy" in Man- to understand.

Opposition under he Leadership of Leon to understand.

Trotsky is preparing itself. churia settled. And Tokio said as much, slyly offering a "satisfactory" apology will only bring new and more ferocious for the Chamberlin incident, replacing attacks. The railroad workers have an organization, divided and split up along the more acceptable Admiral Nomura and deftly withdrawing her troops from the U. S. "Marine Zone". Interference with her already well established conquests she will not, however, tolera'e.

With the exception of a few ultrajingoist papers, notably the Hearst press. American "public opinion" is hard-

While Japanese warships are continu- ly inclined to kindle the war spirit ist Party of the Soviet Union is meettime hanging martial law over Nanking yet. The present line-up of the powers he Communist Party of the Soviet Unand laying waste the Chinese Woosung is hardly a stable one. France, of late ion justified its leading position in the inch of ground it has seized since the on. Their interests are not at one with when it was the veritable leader of the those of Wall Street. But England world proletariat. The brigand powers of the West have does need the aid of American finance quite naturally become alarmed over the for the time being. That explains her enormous advantages gained by their role as mediator in the present tension. A flare-up in the current Far Eastern

Under the sanctimonious mask of the tangle is not excluded. But the relation-Pact of Paris-the United States, of ship of forces we are witnessing now, will have to go through a rather sharp trans-"beace formula" pretending to have the formation, before matters come to a head. shall ye come back)! The oppressed and

class conflict in Germany remains, as be- and restless proletariat of Germany, are successful robber activities of the Nip- fore, of decisive importance to all turns waiting for a word from the Soviets. of world poldics. And it is interesting from the land of light. Stalin has nothbut sad to note that this determining ing to say to them. fused to accept the now famous "Point factor is left altogether out of sight by The coilers of the world will not for-5" in the peace formula-"to settle all the official Communist press, which in get this. The workers will begin to destead, indulges in all sor's of tortuous mand an accounting. It is to take care acrobatics around those poor "growing of this task that the International Left

The 17th Conference of the Commun-

Communist International by far more

Today, when the flames of social confiagration are spreading from West to East and from East to-West, the S alinized C. P. S. U. has nothing more to offer the international working class at a Conference—than the latest figures on the Fixe Year Plan. (To which we In the meantime, the outcome of the plundered masses of China, the starved

-SAM GORDON.

- STATEMENT OF THE MARINE WORKERS DEFENSE

Trajer, the marine workers indicted in point of view, a chronological statement brought the case to the attention of the the New York "dynamite plot", is on of the facts of the case is herewith subthe calendar for trial and the whole conmitted. This bare statement of the case licity work, distribution of leaflets. spiracy will soon be unfolded before the as it really stands will suffice to enable speakers before organizations and a pubcourt' At this moment of deepest peril the honest workers of all camps to judge lic mass meeting. It succeeded in unfor the indicted workers, when the quest the disrupters and call them to order. tion of their liberty or imprisonment is THE WORK OF THE union leaders are concerned they never about to be decided for many years to come, the defense committee, which was schemes to be taken seriously. For formed at their request and which has conducted the struggle from the begin- to the accusations against the Marine ning in their behalf, turns again to the Workers Defense Committee is the re-

All the work of the committee has as a warning upon the railroad magnates been carried on under the slogan of unare deeply concerned ity and solidarity, for we have been conabout finding some means of aleviating vinced that the united support of the the ravages of unemployment and heavy workers is the best defense of the men lay-offs due to the advance of labor on trial and the strongest safeguard The railroad companies won this the same reason the committee, which is the Left Opposition press in America will Trotsky in common with their Bolsheskirmish; but their real objective is a comprised of delegates representing varfar greater one. They have now begun lous organizations and many diverse the publication of the first issue of our Never before in the history of the shooting up. Beginning with the conviews, has refrained from all controversy theoretical organ, THE INTERNATIONroad unions and they will be certain to and has endeavored to concentrate attenlose no opportunity to continue in pursuit of their objective to impose more of persecuted workers in the court of genuine enthusiasm by our sympathizers

documents. An exposure of these disrup- conceived and founded by Marx and En- build the Left Opposition Press! To the workers one important lesson tive attempts, as a form of assistance should remain in respect to this phase to the prosecution is at present a nec-

The case of Soderberg' Bunker and essary means of defense. From this the legal interests of the defendants; it

DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The first and most important answer of fighting workers—namely to secure working class with an appeal for solid. the defense of persected workers, who ciple of the united front of labor against were deserted and without any other means of defense, the committee succeeded in securing able counsel to look after

labor movement through systematic pubiting in a common fight, organizations and groups of conflicting tendenies and views on a broader basis than has been seen for many years.

invited every important labor organiza-

(Continued on page 4)

BUILD OPPOSITION

and supporters everywhere.

We have already made some valuable organ, the Young Spartacus, next follow ed in rapid succession the Left Opposi-

Undoubtedly this will be greeted with such fateful and deep-going problems capitalist decline and world revolution. constantly mounting list of casualties. The part the Left Opposition must play is extremely importan).

serious duty upon us. Before us yet re- similar to those of banks) They are mains the job of building he Left Op- (1) Mutual Savings Banks-Bowery Savpositon press into the powerful and ef- ings (2) Commercial Bank-National paper, Unser Kamf. These are here to fective instrument it should be. Our City (3) Private Banks-J. P. Morgan stay. We can now announce the most platform is unassailable, but it must be etical organ' With that, our press will is to further build our press. However, savings of the "well-to-do" worker and receive its necessary rounded character we condition the appearance of our theortruth of the situation with facts and the Communist movement as originally sympathizers' We expect you to help his raw maerials until the time he sec-

«Reconstruction Finance Commission» Ruse

capitalist society is being applied. They key wrench into the wheels of all the are now announcing the birth of the business that was transac ed by the con-"Reconstruction Finance Corporation" cern having deposits there, increased Not so many months ago the bankers unemployment and misery. The failure of the president, created the National the direct effect upon business in general Credit Corporation for the purpose of as that of a commercial bank, brings aiding the weak banks. Admittedly, 1. has been of little aid. Now, a bigger and the depositors, who particularly during broader plan is being put in effect, the times of crisis look upon the few dol, R. F. C. The bill providing for the lars saved during the seven fat years creation of this "pa ch" specifies a two to tide them over the present lean years. billion dollar fund to be raised through More so than the bankruptcles of ordinthe sale of bonds (\$500,000,000 to be ary industrial and commercial houses subscribed to by the government) which money will be used to loan money .o hanks' advance money to the railroads to cover maturing bonds' aid to over-mortaged farmers' and similar transactions, the essed al nature of which is the In harmony with the wishes of the de- "thawing out", for the present holder, fendants, the committee dedicated it- of "frozen" and perhaps even worthless paper' The success or failure of the entire scheme can be established only after a survey of the entire banking sit-

been detected by the trained ear-from the ever lessening pounding of the tap By April 1, an important addition to gels and again restored by Lenin and hammer, as fewer and fewer rivets as even the bankers admit, they have were driven home to secure the girders not been of much help. Of the present in the many buildings that had been say with emphasis, have there been sion rolled ever onward, from industry to industry, until now even the mighty facing it as just now. We are entering banking system of this country has bea truly decisive phase of the epoch of gun to wobble and grow dizzy with the There are in general three types of

banks (aside from Investment Houses, But this effort to more fully equip Inurance Companies' Personal Loan Socourselves for the task imposes a very leties, etc.-that have many functions The first two concern us primarily. small business man, they are the banks ures the returns on the finished product. These banks are the ones, that failing' will add a heavy blow to the attempts of the capitalists to rise from their present prof ration. These are the banks that the Reconstruction Finance Corp. is

THE IMPORTANCE OF BANK STABILITY

whelming bulk, of the liabilities (money the bank owes to other people) are cto 'he depositors' Thus the recent statement of the National City Bank shows sets of \$1,858,000,000—the largest single total of ten million dollars outstanding, item recorded. A failure of a commer-

The latest patch to our threadbare, cial bank means the throwing of a monhemselves, at the pronounced initiative of a saving bank, although not having within its train the pauperizing of all bank failures-because of the wide spread tentacles of modern financial capital-although also an effect of industrial crisis, add new fuel of a most highly inflammable nature to the economic ca astrophe.

The importance to Capitalism of a sound financial system cannot be underestimated. It is for that reason that they have been so quick to apply any remedies that they hope may relieve this growing infection. The R. F' C' is but one of many the most grandiose one blings of the present crisis could have of all. There are the Mutual Aid Plan there is the National Credit Corp -- but scheme, all that can be said is, that al though it may succeed in helping ' hrough the coming few months the smallest and weakest of the banks, no too great bank Ability can be secured with it.

THE TRENDS TO BE COUNTER-BALANCED

The present bank crisis hinges on many important trends. The Federal Reserve System though its rediscounting power of short term loans helps the banks to overcome the failure of the industrialist to make good on his loans The R. F. C. was created for the purpose of counterbalancing those features of the bank crisis—those of a long time rend. (1) the collapse of the real estate market (2) he sharp drop in railroad bonds. (3) the defaulting of the European and the South American countries. (Aside from the increase in stock holdings, accompanied by "heir subsequent decline in value). The act has as its avowed intention the alleviation of any weaknesses displayed by the banks as a result of the first tiwo of the tendencies enumerated above. Of course' this will at the same time lessen the effect of the defauled foreign bonds.

The importance of these trends upon the bank situation can be easily observed by a glance at the asset she s of the large banks of the country. Thus the For savings banks the almost to al. Bowery Savings Bank, the largest savand for commercial banks the over- ings bank in the country, lists out of the total asses of \$535,000,000.

Mortgages\$294,000,000 Railroad bonds 94,000,000

The books of commercial banks would out of a total liability of \$1,800,000,000, also list large bond holdings. The comthe sum of \$1'400,000,000 under the i em plete collapse of the real estate boom of deposits' This grand sum came from of the prosperity era brought with is a industrial and commercial concerns who consequent depreciation of the value of a are constantly depositing and withdraw- goodly percentage of all mortgages. The ing money to transac; their business. On totall y and depth of this shrinking away the side of the assets we find a similar of values can be gathered, to a slight item: "short term loans" (for circulating extent' from a recent survey of mortgage capital) of \$012,000,000 out of a total as- bonds throughout the country. Of a

(Continued on page 4)

The «Uprising» of Nov.7 -- by L. Trotsky

with increased vigor against the Left incarcerated and choked off; when Stalin Opposition, a considerable place is de has Butov choked to death and Blumkin voted to the question of the uprising of November 7, 1927' In his "historic" ardicle' Stalin places this "uprising" in the not by the fact that the Left Opposition foremost position as the main evidence has not recognized the theory of socialin favor of the policy of reprisals against ism in one country' that it did not agree revolutionaries are subjected to the most that it rejects today the capitulation befrightful injuries and to acts of violence fore Hitler! No! The bloody reprisals in the solidarity of Verhchne-Uralsk: are explained by the fact that the Left when they are forced to resort to hun- Oppost ton is supposed to have made an ger a rikes in order to defend their most attempt at an armed uprising four years being fired upon without warning: when reminded their unfor unate, systematical-Rakovsky and hundreds of others crowd ly deceived readers of it. the places of deportation; when the ver-

In the campaign now being conducted i able flower of the party is destroyed, the Bolshevik-Leninists. When the best to the bloc with Chiang Kai-Shek and ago. All the organs of the various secelementary human rights: when they are tions of the Comintern have once more

(Continued on page 3)

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Organization Notes

entirely too few. If there were more, League coming in for a good share. No, it would soon tell in a serious way on the enlivening part was attained rather our subscription list. As 1. is, only the in the opportunity this gave to he speakefforts of the few keeps it growing, but growing very slowly. Yet we have no many of the disputed issues within the doubt that there will soon be more comrades joining the ranks of the Militant builders.

For a couple of months there has been no account in these columns of this phase of our activities. That as not due to a stand ill but merely to the absence of the Secretary on a national tour. Henceforth, we shall again render a regular account. We include among the builders none of these readers who merely send in the subscriptions or renewals for chemselves but only such who make sufficient efforts to secure subscriptions besides their own. Such are those listed below with the number of subscriptions turned in since January 15, 1932'

V' R. Dunne, Minneapolis A. Konikow, Boston C. Shechet, Boston C. R. Hedlund, Minneapolis Leon Goodman, Philadelphia

BUFFALO P. P. OPPOSITION INDORSES LEFT

By invitation of the Buffalo Proletarian Party Opposition' comrade Swabeck spoke at a Lenin memorial meeting arranged by is members on Jan' 24th. The meeting was held under the auspices attentively to the speaker's elucidation of the historial role of the great world revolutionary leader. Quite a few members of the official Communist party were among the audience.

As could be expected, this latter fact very muh helped to enliven the discussion which followed the lec ure. Not so time slanders and condemnation of the the Left Opposition.

Active Militant builders we have but Left Oppostion with the Workers' er to further clarify for the audience Communist movement,

On the following evening comarde Swa beek spoke before the branch membership. Due to its recent expulsion from the Prolo arian Party, it naturally faces a number of problems in common with comrades. On these problems, the whole of the discussion centeredd until lake in the night' The members present asked numerous questions from comrade Swabeck which together with the answers given helped considerably in making the Left Opposition views clear to them' From the inception of their opposition to the Prold arian Party regime these Buffalo comrades have recognized that they cannot remain isolated or independent of the main currents of the Communist movement today. Their sympathies very early and pronouncedly turned toward serious effort to get away from the stale dering negligence and arrogant bureausectarian ad itude which prevailed in the cracy have alienated and antagonized Proletarian Party, but they have no il lusions that the mere orientation toward mass work can substitute for the real task of building of the revolutionary cadres. While they have taken active part, of the Workers League of Buffalo' It in common with the efforts of their ophad a fairly good attendance, listening position center to help in he creation of PHILADELPHIA, PA. an unemployment movement it is their intention to press on for a definite orientation of revolutionary views. They fully recognize the validity of the question: "Whose views-Left, Center or tion), on his visit to Trotsky, and the Right-will the Proletarian Party Op- present international situation. position accept and to which of these curreds will it adhere? They agree listened to an account of Trotsky's inthat this question must be put first on

KANSAS CITY, MO

the first. More than seventy people were present. The majority of them were party members and sympathizers. Comrade Clarke spoke for an hour and a half in an exposition on the causes of war; the conflict between the imperialists in the Far East; the danger of a war against the Soviet Union; and the problems of the Chinese revolution. Not one person left the hall before the lecture was concluded and there was very little uneasiness noticeable. The Stalinists were evidently impressed with our program-not once in the whole course of he presentation and summary did they heckle or interrupt. Although they dissipated themselves in slander, calling Clarke a "skurk" and other very highthe rest of their expelled Opposition minded commendations, and one worker proclaimed in a hysterical voice that made the windows tremble, that he was with the C. I. right or wrong, first, last and always, our program seems to have sunk in. After the meeting they eagerly took the Militant and there is no doubt but that they will be present next Monday.

Our second forum was even bet.er than

Last Thursday comrade Clarke also spoke' on invitation, before one of the unemployment councils. He was very favorably received-in fact he has been invited to another council. It appears that the local Stalinites, :hrough blunthese councils in which there are several party members, who feel the same way about the abuse of the bureaucrats. There seem to be excellent opportunities for us' but nothing can be said definitely about the outcome.

On Sunday' January 31, comrade Albert Glotzer spoke at an open meeting held by the Philadelphia branch of the Communist League of America (Oppos

There were fifty workers present who famous and illegal deportation, and his ed by the party members who took the the agenda and their answer was already exile in Turkey. Comrade Glotzer spoke floor, as they presented only the old- given unequivocally in this meeting— to at some length on the present international political situation. He dealt par

For A Fighting Unity of the New York. Food Workers

there any results in organizing the unorganized? All the same time the membership of the union must ask themselves why the third year of the crisis the union finds itself totally incapable of defending the interests of the starving unemployed of the industry. Why he union is unable to give any advice as to what to do with those hundreds who are coming there for it? Why it is equally

icularly with the Fascist danger in Germany and the position of the C. P' G .pointing out the present capitulationary character of the party policy and the implications of a fascist seizure of power in Germany which would result in a setback for the international revolutionary movement' Comrade Glotzer pointed out the need of exercising pressure upon the Party in order to force a change in their present policies.

I.L.D. In Boston

BOSTON, MASS.

Three months after the Mooney Conference in Boston, what are the achievements of the committee organized at the conference? What has been done to the adoption of a correct policy as to rouse the broad masses to tear open the how to reach the unorganized, how to gates of San Quentin and liberate Tom

Withou, a doubt, the significance of the case together with its recent developments presented the Left wing with golden oppor unities. Has the Left wing availed itself of these opportunities? So far as Boston is concerned we can say emphatically, no.

The October 25th conference called by the I. L. D. blew up like a bubble in the air. At tha conference our delegates correctly pointed out the necessity of proadened activity and warned against the dangers of being sa isfied with merely calling conferences. The assembled delegates received our remarks well while the apparatus-men tried to distort those remarks and prepared to fall into heir usual state of lethargy.

Despite the fact that a number of the delegates pledged their utmost activity which, if carried on with the sincere cooperation, from the leaders, could have developed a strong movement, the "leaders" found no time to call meetings for several weeks after the conference. In all the three most he of its existence only three meetings were called and those were very poorly attended. A: each them, of visiting organizations on behalf now been engaged for eight yearswere visited by our delegate. But what of our committee one had no organiza-Cion to bring a report to.

Weeks have passed since the last meeting of the Mooney Committee. The executive committee does not function ail ther upon the foundation of the force of know of its activity. Not a single mass the working class was demonstrated by the war danger and the U. S. S. R.) And leaflet was printed to bring Mooney before the eyes of the masses. And all this 1930. in the face of the greatest opportunities A FATAL INTERVIEW present!

> With the significance of the case, with the latest developments in the case, with the Walkers and Rolphs once again unmasking the face of the master class, the Left wing should be able to rally the workers to its banner. Yet when an official of the I. L. D. is asked why no meetings are being called, she tries to get out of a difficulty by answering that no one can be gotten to come to meetings. Such an answer, however, calls for another question. Why?—The anszation, has isolated itself from the mass-

scribed above Tom Mooney to suffer the consequences ist press". We base our judgment of of Stalinist stupidity practiced by the the speech or writing not upon the place the increase of the number of political I. L. D. or are its leaders going to wake of its appearance but upon its content. up to the sense of genuine united action From this point of view Amter's speech moves and particularly the railroad for his release? Can the leaders of the spelled confusion. I. L. D. who called the conference be THE CAPITALIST SOLUTION for the living standard of the whole satisfied that they have now fulfilled class. The capitalists of America are their duty to Mooney as representatives Association's program of "systematic tightening up on the home base in or- of the revolutionary movement? If there enlightenment of be ter citizenship" proder to prepare for greater onslaughts on is a red spark in their hearts and minds posed, among other things, as a solution he world market against rival imperial- these leaders will say with determina- for the misery of the working class, a flict is in the making. No, all signs we have fulfilled our revolutionary duty prohibition! Solomon gave a polite, in-

-C. SHECHET.

ST. LOUIS OPEN FORUM Friday, FEBRUARY 12, 1932 "The Geneva Disarmament Conference and Soviet Russia" Speaker. GEOGE ROBERTS Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communis League of America (Opposition)

What is the situation in the Food incapable of defending even those in is the only way that one can preven the Workers' Industrial Union? Was it in significant few who accept its leadership reformists and above all their Left wing the interest of the Left wing movement and go on strike, as in the Crusader Cafeto split away from the A. F. W. U.? Are teria? At the last convention of the task of the class struggle, the formal union, Obermeyer, its national secretary, slogan of unity. And precisely if the said: "We must recognize the fact that | policy of the genuine united front is one we should not have been so much in a of the means of liberating the workers hurn to split away from A. F. W. U." | from reformist influence by confronting

nizing the mistake, so to say, organiza-| struggle if initiated by the Communists refuse to recognize its suicidal stupid- serve at the same time as a basis for ity for the movement in the industry as the slogan of unity, for amalgamation, a whole. The half-truth becomes still for creating one union in the industry. more criminal because it keeps the aw- As comrade Trotsky in the same ar icle akening workers from a correct estimation of the real situation and thereby take to oppose the policy of the united from a possibility to exert their pressure front to that of the unity of the trade on their adventurist leadershap.

THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST

Once for all' 1: must be stated, not in a half way confession, but in a real eaucrats of the F. W. I' U. of organizing Communist manner, that the split was a the hundreds of thousands of slaves in mistake, that without full recognition of the packing industry, in the food factorthe fact and all thee devastation it has ies' restaurants, bakeries, the grocery brought, no correct policy can be adopt- clerks-will remain futile talk. And the ed, and do way out of an unbearable active members of the union must begin si nation can be found. The truth al- to understand that all the good work lowed on the organizational facts only that they are trying to do: making the eaves a rat hole for sneaking back into union function according to the departthe "company unions" (A. F. W. U.!) so that those who are there shall na! be called "social Fascists" any more, but it is certainly not a starting poind for fight for the unemployed. At the same time that policy certainly cannot point out the way how to reach such a unity of action for the workers in the food in dustry, which would give prestige to the Communist party and Left wing movement. And if the bureaucratis high pressure of the "third period" brought kind of stupid talk as that of the rewith it the split of the food workers' or. presentative of the Central Executive ganization; if that split together in the Committee at the convention about us-"united front from below" played havoc ing two fists, one of the united front of with the Left wing movement and at the same time crippled those unions who re- below", a distortion denying the genuine mained entirely at the mercy of reform- united front), and the other fist, of orist misleaders: then it is all the more the ganizing the unorganized. Objectively. duty of the C. P. and F. W' I. U. to issue | (1 means a continuous playing into the the slogan of trade union unity. Comrade Trotsky, in his article on the

question of trade union unity, writes in kind of policy brings with it. relation to the united front' that his

agents from opposing to the practical What he meant is hat the Left wing the reformist leadership with concrete should organize itself better before it task of struggle for immediate demands, undertook the split. Therefore recog- then the revolutionary signifiance of that cionally The officials of the union still and Left wing under their influence can points out "it would be a thorough misunion organizations".

> Without such a revolutionary, Communial policy, all the talk of the burmental sysem, improving the function of the grievance committee leading small but militaa strikes' etc.: cannot be anything in itself. That alone will not extricate the union from the position 4.3 was forced to by the "third period" bureaucrats and by the policy of "uni ed front from below". These acityities can only be a necessary improvement of the or anization in preparation for the policy advanced by the Left Opposition in the trade union movement as a whole.

> There must be put an end to all that the rank and file, (.he "united front from hands of all kinds and species of reformists together with the harm that

-A FOODWORKER'

The Struggle of the Railroad Workers

This is the third of a series of articles on the conditions of the Railroad workers. The other two have appeared in previous issues of the Militant. More are to follow in subsequeat issues. -Ed.

Already in the early part of 1931, it was becoming clear to even the casual to hold union meetings at every railroad observer of the developments on the rail- center, on a united and concerted scale roads that wage cuts were looming up on for the purpose of organizing and amal the indudstrial horizon for the railroad gamating the railroad workers. The

Wage cuts always follow in the wake of industrial depressions, which result plained and advocated at every meet from the inherent defects in the profit system of production. Even in 1930, produd ion was slowing up and many roads were reducing their working forces. But at any rate, with the beginning of 1931, it should have been clear to any one calling himself a labor leader that unless certain energe ic organizational steps would soon be knocking at their doors.

strengthen the labor unions is under socalled capitalist "prosperity" or when workers are not losing their jobs by the general organizers and general chairmen millions through lack of work. The to see to it that nothing took place at Bra herhod leaders had a splendid opportunity to do this from 1923 to 1929, against the intered's of the bureaucrats During this period there were nearly one million men and women employed on railroads, who did not belong to the Brd herhoods. And, in spite of the enormous resources which these leaders 30 help keep the "Reds" out of the had at their command, practically noth- unions. Both men in the locomotive cab ing was done to get these workers into are now engineers. The man on the the unions. There were millions of dollars avilable in the Brotherhood treasury for the printing of handbills, leastets and in the Enginemen and general organizers circulars, to put periodically into the are kept on the job by both unions to hands of every railroad worker in the pull members from one union into the United States and Canada, telling him other. As a matter of fact, the only or her of the importance and necessity of interest that these \$15'000 a year labor joining the unions. In addition, the lead- skates have in working men is to collect ers had the Brotherhood journals and dues from them and to keep them satisthe weekly paper, "Labor", for their fied with things as they are. use and control. These publications reach many railroad workers in every January 28, an extra is appearing in the railroad terminal in the country' Brotherhood Officials Too Busy' Enjoying Accest: Slash for One Year", as a head-

their Big Salaries to Organize the Workers

In addition to the printed page with which to reach the workers, the Brothersuch as assistant presidents, vice presito the payroll most of the time. Then for accepting the last wage cut in 1921. we have B. M. Jewell at the head of the railway department of the A' F. of L., a department which does not exist ex-

With all this money and personnel at their disposal, the Brotherhood leaders could have put on a real organizing cam- 10% cut and once more the folly of the paign in every railroad terminal within bosses is paid for by the workers. Althe jurisdiction of the Brotherhoods ready the effect upon other industries They could have coupled up the organiz- has been felt; wage cuts are the order ing campaign with a concen rated wage of the day in all parts of the country. movement to shorten the day without a The railroads through their committee cut in wages and to raise the minimum informed the workers that the only way ware level in the railroad industry to our of the impasse was a wage cut, and the Five Dollar a Day mark. This pro- properly so-from their standpoint, if it gram would have attracted thousands of is the path of least resistance. And up lowly paid workers and also many of to the present, with the labor flunkies of Corposition

cept on paper.

the higher paid workers who were begin-| capitalism, their contentions have proven ning to lose their jobs on account of labor-saving machinery installed by the railroads.

The Brotherhood officialdom have had and have now at their disposal enough money and men on permanent salaries. necessily of One Union of railroad workers, instead of twenty one should be exing. And if the leaders would do this, instead of fighting and obstructing amalgamation at every turn, it would become possible to hold an Amalgamation Convention within one year and there to launch an Industrial Union of Railroad Workers.

But instead of using the Brotherhoods' were taken to strengthen and solidify money and press to pa on an organizaand further loss of working conditions Brotherhood bureaucracy has been busy "selling" the useless and expensive Craft However, the best time to build and System, with its useless and overpaid leadership to the railroad workers. The "Grand" Chiefs have been assisted by local or union meetings which would be "Lame ducks" have been appointed as special organizers at \$16 per day (the usual rate) to serve mostly as administration henchmen and stool-pigeons and Left side has been an engineer for years' Still, two organizations are maintained

While this article is being written, streets announcing that "Rail Workers line. Although it may require one or more special articles to properly discuss and explain this gross betrayal of the leaderhip' we wish to point out right hood officials had literally thousands of here and now, the the railroad workers individuals on the Brotherhood payrolls, were never given an opportunity to either accept or reject the wage cut. The dents, general and special organizers. Brotherhood officials decided this for general chairmen, (several thousands of them. The excuse the bureaucrats adthem) business agents and legislative re- vance for accepting this wage cut is as presentatives who managed to hang on foolish and silly as the one they gave

The Recent Wage Cut

The railroad workers have taken

correct and will be proven wrong only when the railroad workers take things in their own hands; when the policy of class struggle replaces the policy of class collaboration.

The lack of planned railroad construction, the increased competition from o her means of transportation and the turbulence of the present crisis has driven the railroads in a tight corner. This cannot be denied. However, its admittance merely proves our general contention: that the anarchy of capitalist production must be replaced by soc ialist planned economy which is only possible by establishing a workers' dictatorship in the United States. On the other hand, even if we confined ourselves to the figures presented by the railroad magnates we can show that they do not stand upon economic foundation but rathe capitalist did atorship and its liars and fakers.

Mr' Willard, in the Chicago conference, said that despite the reduction of operating expenses many roads face bankruptcy because they cannot meet the fixed charges of 1931. He says the fixed charges for 1931 are 695 million dollars, but only 784 million dollars is available, which only leaves 89 million total net income. Because of this, the interest on the founded debt alone was 495 million. This is just some more statistical fakery To whom does the in erest go if it does not go to the capitalist class, no matter what section it is. Is not this 49 million, to say nothing of the 784 million, obtained, part of the capitalist surplus robbed from the railroad workers? And further' how do they figure this? In relation to the variable capital? No, of course not, they figure their profits in relation to the total watered stock. It is squeezed out but this is only partially the case with he big roads.

So long as the workers are not organized properly, are not under class struggle ideology and have the type of railfind easy pickings. We know the capi profit and we know the capitalist class in their offensive against us, in the crisis, have been striking at a rategical points: the steel workers, the railroad workers, prisoners and of deportations. These workers' wage cri are of vital importance ists, in the struggle for the redivison of the earth. Are we gong to stand by idly while this tremendous international conpoint to an increase of class battles in the United States -HUGO OEHLER.

MINNEAPOLIS WORKERS OPEN FORUM "Fascism or Communism in Germany?" A Lecture by Vincent Dunne at 1530 E. Franklin St. Sunday, FEBRUARY 14, 1932 ADMISSION FREE Everyone Welcome

Amter Speaks on the Radio

What can be done by a revolutionary riotism the entire broadcast, having exconsciousness when the capitalist class meeting, the delegate of the Boston Left taught us by Marx—"as contributor on of the crisis. Opposition stressed the importance of the leading Angle-American newspaper, reaching the workers and organizing the 'New York Tribune', at which I have was the result? After the third meeting casions; and more recently by Trotsky, particularly in his statement in the Manchester Guardian, reprinted in part in

Last week, Amter, faced with a choice between these methods, strove mightily to emulate his master, Stalin. It is true that Amter was not interviewed. He spoke over the radio. It is no less true tha Amter is not Marx, nor Lenin, nor Trotsky. This he fully confirmed again by his speech.

The occasion of the broadcast was a dinner given by the Association for Belter Citizenship' Inc.! attended and addressed in addition to Amter by Rudolph wer is that the true reason for such a Spreckles, the financier, Chas. Solomon, lamentable situation is that the I. L. D. of the Socialist Party, and Wickersham instead of carrying on as a mass organiof the commission bearing his name. To this strange position had life brought es. The Stalinist machine is satisfied Amter; from directing gangs to break is true that in times of crisis much water to limid the I. L' D. to a handful of sel- up Opposition meetings' to speakected Stalinists and blind followers who, ing over the radio at a patriotic dinner right or wrong, will carry out their mas- toga her with financiers and a social ter's will. The next must follow. The Fascist! We do not wish to be misunfew "true worthy" I. L. D. members are derstood. We believe that it is correct already so overburdened with the many to utilize such opportunities to speak to road leaders they do, the capitalist will tasks of the other Left wing organizations that they simply cannot attend all nothing in common with those party suptalist can sell below value and still make of the meetings—with the results de porters, misguided by Amter and Co. who call Trotsky a "coun er revolution-How much longer can this go on? Is ary because he writes for the capital-

> Spreckles' as his contribution to the tion. "No, not until we have organized tax on short saels on the stock exchange, a genuine united front as called for by a tax on the export of capital to provide Mooney in his August 20th appeal will an unemployment insurance fund; and and carried out the will of Tom Moo- nocuous and abstract exposition from the socialist point of view of the class Aruggle. It could have been given in toto ten years ago' so little relation did it have to the real les of the present international and national situation. Nor did Solomon offer any solution except a description of what Socialism is! Wickersham who followed Amter and was the last speaker launched into a eulogy of the physical grandeur of "our country". As he was completing his lyric of pa-

working class leader to develop class hausted its allotted time, was cut off. We are therefore unable to comment on places its press at his disposal was Wickersham's proposals for a way out Against the bankruptcy of Spreckles

and the empty abstractions of Solomon, a Communist presentation would have of Mooney. A number of organizations (author's preface to Critique of Political Lood out in the listening workers' ears Economy); by Lenin on numerous ocllike a clarion call on a dark night. In our opinion Amter should have made a short statement of the extent and depth of the workers' misery in the present the N. Y. Times of April 13. 1931 crisis, followed by a brief explanation of under the title "TROTSKY SAYS its causes and a concise outline of the SOVIET POINTS WORLD PATH." How Communist solution 'He should have all, or at least the present writer, who a working class "leader" can misuse the mentioned the various capitalist a tempts is a member of the executive, does not same opportunity to sow confusion in to solve their crises by wars (what about meeting was called to organize the mass- Stalin in two interviews he gave to re- then he should have emphasized that the presentatives of the New York Telegram only solution was an international proand New York Times toward the end of letarian revolution, that in preparation for it we must fight unitedly against the sweeping capitalistic offensive, for immediate demands such as the six-hour day. credits to the Soviet Union, unemploymen; insurance. His conclusion should have explained the role of the Communist party in this struggle for immediate demands today, and for the overthrow of capicalism tomorrow and how it is distinguished from the socialist party.

AMTER FAILS MISERABLY

But this is precisely what Amter did not do. He began by at acking the diners. Having "vanquished" them, he called upon the unemployed workers to "join the Communist party which fights hunger." Similarly he called upon the employed workers to join the Communist party to fight wage cuts' and upon the Negro workers to join the C' P' to fight for social, political and economic equality. He denounced "Walker's open, shameless submission to the bankers of Wall Street". At this point he was indistinguishable from a Republian Party demagogue of the type of, let us saycongressman MacFadden. And so on and so forth he rambled without plan.

A non-Communist worker listening to Amter would have come away not a whit enlightened as to what Communism is. what the Communist party stands for, nor how it proposes to fight hunger, wage cuts, lynching, deportation. Nor would we have suspected that the American Communist Party is a brother section of the German C. P.' which is facing a critical historical moment, upon whose success or failure in uniting the masses against Fascism depended to a large extent his own fate. Neither would he have dreamed that a war is brewing' nor would he have been enlightened on how to fight the war danger'

To the objection that Amter could ho: in ten or twelve minutes give an exhaustive analysis of the entire world situation, we can reply: Marx, in writing the program of the First International was forced to present his ideas in such a manner that his conclusions, which for political reasons he could not include, would follow inevitably in the mind of the reader' But, as we have already pointed out—Amter is not Marx.

T. STAMM.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Terror against the Greek Opposition string this, too. Our comrade is passing this, too Our comrade is passing grave moments and the doctors openly express their fears.

ATHENS, GREECE

Bolsheviks) on accourt of their valiant death. activities in the front ranks of the class struggle.

system of GrGeece is enfeebled by the that I denounce the Rizospastis and the acute economic crisis, the bourgeoisie of Stalinists and Chat I was and I'll always Greece are desparately trying to sup- be a Bolshevik-Leninist (Archio-Marxpress every workers' resistance by ex- ist). terminating the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communists. They imprison prisons is in danger. The state is plan- los refuse to give even medicines. Comthem for many years in dark cells, and they deport them to desert islands, and amnesty' Fight to save them! very often apply terrorist measures, as in the case of our comrade Theodore Baboucopoulos.

Comrade Baboucopoulos has been member of the Archio-Marxists for the last two years and has participated with all the Archio-Marxists of Athens in the demond ration that the party called on Omonia Square to celebrate the 14th anniversary of the Russian revolution.

The Rizospastis, the Stalinist organ in Greece, merely reported the arrest of a few Archio-Marxists, and later mentioned our comrade as a hero, inferring at the same time that he is a member of the Youth League. The Pali Ton Taxeon, organ of the Left Opposition, in its issue of December 29, 1932, prints a letter sent by comrade Baboucopoulos from his bed in the Municipal Hospital'

We bring his letter in full below: "To the Communist Organization of Bolsheviks-Leninists (Archio-Marxists).

"Comrades. "As is known, I was arrested with another member of our organization, comrade Cotoni for the events of the 14th anniversary of the Russian Revolution during the demonstration at Rotzi lair by the lackeys of Charalambidi, who followed us about and they sentenced comrade Cotonis to three years' imprisonment and two years deportation and myself to one and one-half years imprisonment and two years deportation.

"They threw me and 7 other Archio-Marxist you he into the cave that the bourgeoisie calls "reformatory" and they si.ion.", What to descrige most, I don't know . . . the more I try to think of it the dizzier I get. Later on, when I'll I'll write you in detail.

we protested against, the suppressed measures as a means of punishment, tory terms' Certain his orians said, for DARES QUOTE LENIN they forced us to run like horses around the prison-yard.

'When we refusedd to run, the bestial then they placed our feet into the iron bars, beating us for hours at a time until our feet began to bleed of the wounds and only fatigue exhausted our, hang- party' used by comrade Trotsky in his men. I was left within the prison with- history of the Russian revolution, to deout a doctor's care for len days and my signatethe April Theses of Lenin and the

(Continud from page 1)

marched together with their shops, fac-

tories, institutions of learning and Sov-

iet institutions. Many Opposition groups

carried their banners in the general par-

ade. It was with these banners that they

left their shops and other institutions. What sort of counter-revolutionary ban-

ners were they? Let us recall them once

1 "Carry out the testament of

2. "Direct the fire toward the Right-

3' "For genuine workers' democracy

4. "Against opportunism, against

split-for the unity of he Leninist

against Nepman, Kulak and bureaucra!

WHAT REALLY HAPPENS?

more:

Lenin!"

party!"

tee!"

The capitalist regime of Greece is and myself protested we were told! "I ble tortures, all the crimes which Greek carrying a reign of terror against all have not got anything" and when the pol- capitalism pursues in order to exterrevolutionary workers and is concentrat- lution progressed and the gangrene rot- minate the victims of the proledarian ing its efforts especially to exterminate ted my foot and threatened my very life struggle must be brought to light. A by all means at its disposal, the com- they brought me here and cut off my committee of workers and intellectuals rades of the Opposition (Archia Marxist- foo and at present I am struggling with must be formed to visit all the prisons

"Another question that I wish to pose is this: The Rizospastis a tempts to pre-Now that the edifice of the capitalist sent me as their own comrade. I declare

> "The life of our comrades in the ning assassinations. Fight for general

> > With comradely greetings, Theodoros Baboucopoulos, Municipal Hospital".

The Crimes of the Capitalist prisons must be brought to light! Our comrade Baboucopoulos is strug-

gling with death. This horrible crime shall not be left without consequences

foot became sore. When my comrades for the bourgoeis class. All the horrithorough investigation and bring to light our comrade and has neglected to meet all the criminal activities of the capital his needs' ist organs againd: the imprisoned and

deported revolutionary workers. The Victims of Capitalist Atrocities

Are In Danger

The assassins of comrade Baboucopou rade Baboucopoulos is the victim of the cannibalism of the watch-dogs of the capitalist regime, and is in a critical conton. The fever fluctuates be ween 30 to 40 degrees centigrade.

ders and one on his arm.

During the last few days a new bag of pus has formed on his other arm. It

Characterisic of the bestiality of the capitalistic regime is the criminal indifference that the administration of the Municipal Hospital shows (oward the condition of our comrade.

His food is miserable, medicine are refused him. The comrades collected

The Stalinists do not allow any dis cussion at the I. L. D. Branches on this question in order to conceal the fac that he is an Archio-Marxist.

Many workers' organizations have pro tested vigorously against the Czarist methods.

The Leather, Workers, the Cigarette boxmakers and Lithographers, Stevedores, Ho el Workers, I. L' D' branches of Following the amputation of his foot, Toumbas' Salonica' Neapoleos, etc., two wounds were opened up on his shoul- | Needle Workers Union, and Cafe and Confectionery Workers Union, are among

-PALI TON TAXEON.

HISTORY MADE TO ORDER-alas

Revolution, in which the General Secretary of the Russian Communist Party | the entire party. violently attacks the "rot en liberalism" which exists among the Communists with he history of the party was not yet the in his "History of the Party" has recogregard to "Trotskyism"

What is the reason for all this wrath of Stalin's? The "chief of the world functionaries who reported that the rection of all the books already published revolution", proclaimed as such by all "Trotskyist" ideas have not only slip on the history of the party" in order to the bureaucrats, who dare no deny their ped into the historical article of some root out Tro skyism. Radek who was master anything, and celebrated as such party candidate, some Slutsky, but that mentioned very indirectly in the Stalin at all official occasions and by the entire in the complete works of Lenin, the article, has also repented . . . by re-Stalinist in ernational press—what has "smugglers" have introduced monstrous he to fear from "Trotskyism" which has distortions of history which have to be mistakes and by denouncing these been crushed and annihilated for years? rectified immediately. It was discover- Luxemburgist errors "which have led, as And moreover, who are those rotten lib- ed, for example, that a certain Ovsiannierals who have introduced the Tro skyist kov, working under the personal super- STALIN DOES A BIT OF poison into the history of the Russian vision of Kamenev, wrote in Note 79 to party without his knowledge?

STALIN CREATES A HISTORY OF APOLOGETICS

In his leisure time, whatever of it is granted to him by the affairs of state, see that in almost all the publications overcome the danger hanging over me, the Russian party ever since the first red ion of October 25 (Pravda of Decemweeks of the February revolution (be ber 15, 1931). Is it possible to tolerate "The last "scene" took place because fore Lenin's arrival in Russia), he has not been presented in sufficintly lauda- A RED HISTORIAN example, that immediately upon his ar-

> Others, like Slutsky, even went so, far as to employ the term "rearming" of the

The "Uprising" of Nov. 7th. 1927

We must come back once more to the tremendous activity he unfolded in spite, the revolution. The effects of this dearticle by Stalin in the revue Proletarian of the resistance of the so-called "old cree have not failed to become evident. Bolsheviks" to get his theses adopted by We read in the entire Soviet press, that

height of his chagrin. He mobilized a nized his mistakes and has promised to whole legion of censors and obedient "go ahead emergetically with the cor-Volume XIV of the Complete Works of Lenin that (1) "Trotsky published in Vienna a popular working class paper, the Pravda destined for Russia" and that "Trotsky broke with the Menshe-Stalin has taken the trouble to go over viks"; (2) that Trotsky "at the beginbegan our extermination by applying the history of the revolution and the ning of the imperialist war adopted a the archaic methods of the "Holy Inqui-Russian party. Imagine his surprise to clearly internationalist position". In this same Note' he author dared "reconducted by people who are loyal to peat" the Trotskyist legend according to his own person, his role as leader of which it appears that he led the insur-

such "Trotskyist smuggling"?

rival in Petrograd, Lenin found it necmerely content himself with narrating haps, succeed in suppressing all the pubmerely content himself with narrating haps, succeed in suppressing all the pubtrids knocked us down unconscious and of the Bolshevik party led by Stalin and the historical events already known un- lications of the "History of the Party" iversally from the testimony of John and the complete works of Lenin in the Reed (Ten Days That Shook The World) or from the memoirs of Shliapnikov on own history of apologetics. In this manthe February revolution and the shameful role of Stalin in that period. Volos- rail, for a certain time, the young Comovitch also attempted to analyse the facts munists in the Soviet Union. But the and the political positions adopted in history of the revolution, which is unique the pas, by the Bolshevik party, to draw and universal, and which, for a Marxist, the logical conclusions flowing therefrom, ought to be "not an apology of political Here is what the Pravda (12-17-1931) positions, but a concrete and coherent says about him: "The 'historian' Volos- image of the actual process of the revovitch 'proves' (this plehora of quotation old ion" (Trotsky: The History of the ocracy", "Against Nepman, Kulak and marks is the Pravda's own brand of Russian Revolution—Russian edition) What really happened on November 7, Bureaucrats!", "For the unity of the irony—M. M.) that Lenin in 1915 did not is a history written on the basis of documents of the original property in Germany and they are defining to suspect that I am a "Trotsky-1927? Naturally, the Opposition also par- party!", were considered—naturally not pose the question of building socialism ments and living testimony of the epoch ticipated in the demonstration of the oy the working masses—but by the Stal- in one country. Volosovi ch distorts the by revolutionary Marxies in the various Tenth Anniversary. Its representatives inist apparatus as counter-revolutionary. history of the party in the Trotskyist countries. The History of the Russian Nevertheless, at that time no one of manner by opposing the tasks of the Revolution by L. D. Trotsky written on the apparatus people dared as yet to world revolution to the question of the basis of historical documents and speak of an armed uprising. Such an complete possibility of building socialism numerous destimonials by active partiinvention would have seemed altogether in one country, as it was posed by Lenin cipants in the revolution, will permit the too shameless and insolent in the eyes (our emphasis-M. M.) In falsifying his- younger revolutionary generations of all of the participants in the demonstration. tory and in slandering Lenin, Volosevitch countries to reestablish the image "of When more than a year after Trotsky writes that for Lenin "the question is the actual process of the revolution". not posed from the point of view of the growing over of the bourgeois revolution rising, it was not with regard to the into the socialist revolution but solely demonstration of November 7. but some from the angle of the fundamental Bolthing quite new, which the G. P. U. could shevik slogan of the given period, notnot, however, refer to by name. After ably, that of the transformation of the the exiling of Tro sky, this accusation imperialist world war into a civil world was not repeated by anybody. Stalin did war. Consequently the question of buildnot dare introduce it into the press. The ing socialism in our country does not very memory of 1. disappeared, went up even enter' (Third Edition, page 64) Volosevitch even goes further. He declares that 'even when this growing over (mentioned above) becomes an established fact, the question of building socialism in our country alone' while the other countries remain capitalistic, is not a

> THROUGH TEN EDITIONS in the Pravda, cannot contain his wrath "crimes" in the eyes of the masses of any longer, concluding: "And it is these smuggled Trotskyist gods that Volosocensor will still have to affirm with great bil erness later on in the same article that what is most revolting about the whole affair is the fact that "these smuggled goods have gone through ten edi-

question for the present'. (Page 65)."

Stalin's article in the Proletarian Revhe history of the Bolshevik party and shortly appear in the Militant.

Yaroslavsky, one of the unfortunates But the reading of these passages of blamed for the "Trotskyist smugglery" nouncing for the xth time, his former if fatally, to the Trotskyis, opposition".

"REARMING"

Thus, the history of the Russian rev olutionary movement and its relationships with the revolutionary movement of the West, is going to be recast' Stalin is going to make his history "to order", just has he has made his apparatus to order. Already in depriving D. B. Riazanov of his functions as director of the Marx-Engels Institute, Stalin began a well-prepared "scientific Marxist" basis for an apology of his policy. Now, he Another historian, Volosovitch, did not be made in one country. Stalin may, per- the hour. ner, he will undoubledly be able to de-

Left Opposition in Toronto

TORONTO-

Our Toronto comrades have recently begun to unfold aclivities which speak very promisingly for a real growth of the Canadian Left Opposition in the near future.

They are among the most active participan's in the Open Forum being conducted by the Toronto Workers' Club, at which comrade Maurice Spector lately gave a successful lecture on "Lenin-Luxemburg," during the course of which discussions of a more comradely nature And Smith, the author of the article than has been the custom for some time took place, with leading members of the official party taking part in them.

The Toronto group is also mvoived right in the midst of the struggle against the government reprisals against the Communist Party of Canada, which goes under the name of the "Repeal Section 98 Movement" Delegates from the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) were seated at the conference called by the party's defense committee and the Opposition's proposaals and views for carrying on this work olution was not only a manifestation of are gaining a ready ear, some of them impo'ent wrath in the face of historical already adopted and bringing good retruth, it was also a decree for all the sponse. Articles dealing with the exstate publishing houses to make a com- ceptionally in eresting developments in plete revision of everything relating to the "Repeal Section 98 Movement" will

False Strategy -- False Tactics

Dangerous Perspectives

Just as a proletarian revolution in of reaction in Europe. A victory for united from from below." Fascism would lead to the last attempt NO UNITED FRONT! of capitalism to postpone its impending downfall for decades through the destruction of the proletarian movemen!.

ance between a Fascist Germany and the other imperialistic countries. France not tion of the Soviet Union is more than probable. Should it come to that, it would mean that the social revolution

Does that mean, that there is no way out of this situation? To maintain this, would be pessimism and would signify a complete surrender of the faith in the inner forces of the proletariat. Should the Comintern and the party change their had a big fight in the Central Committee strategy and tactic, were the Soviet Union and the Red Army to actively take it was from a tac ical point of view, their stand as the organizing forces of he German revoulution, Fascism will will be able to mobilize the masses and not even reach the threshold of power. To allow Fascism to get as far as the

threshold of power, that is' to permit them to enter a coalition government means to clear the road for the full seizure of power by Fascism. To believe that the right moment for an action against Fascism is the time of its "exposure" in a coalition government with plenty to do. Bruening only people who are planning to dodge the enemy and to capitulate is very low, they have not had a memare capable of. At the moment Fascism enters the government, the signal will months. Theoretically they are so backbe given for a struggle against the pro- ward that they don't even know the most letariat. The only answer to that is the fundamental teachings of Marx and proclamation of the General Strike. That Lenin. is the point of time at which the defensive of the working class begins, which is transformed in the course of struggle into the offensive. The General Strike will deal the Fascist bands their first blows and open up the mass struggle against the bourgeoisie. Its outcome will be neither Fascism nor a Bruening. The moment the united front of the proletarian class is established in the course of struggle, the real disintegra tion of Fascism begins.

"Nearer to the social democra ic and wants the History of the Party (instal ute) trade union masses!" is the burning and that of History as a whole, to play slogan of the moment, if the struggle is the same servile and unworthy role. not to end in a defeat United fornt with But just as socialism cannot be con- the S. P. G. and A. D. G. B. (Trade structed in one coustry, history cannot Union) organizations is the command of

> (January 1932) (To Be Continued)

HAMBURG, GERMANY

the party in Germany and they are beline of the united front and denounced the "Red Referendum" I asked why it was that we (the C. P. G.) are not gaining all the S. P. G. votes that they are losing. There was a leading comrade

As you probably know, I have joined

from Hamburg present. He said: "We definitely do not use the united front Germany would open up a new epoch for from above, for only opportunists will in which revolutionary workers are dechase of medicines. The Labor Defence the revolutionary proletariat, Fascism go into a united front with the social ained and undertake a broad and does not follow at all the condition of in Germany will open up a new epoch Fascist leaders; we make only a red

On my objection that I did not mean the kind of united front made in England at the time of the General Strike or in A victory for German Fascism means China with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuo war against the Soviet Union. An alli- Min Tang, but to officially offer the S P. G. and the trade union, without binding our hands in any way, a fighting unexcepted, in a campaign for the annihila- ited front, side by side, against the Fascists, as the Bolsheviks did in 1917 against Kornilov's cossacks, he replied very weakly: "This is a different situawould be made impossible for an entire tion; there was an immediate demand of crushing Kornilov's army. Our main enemy is now the S. P. G., who tolerate everything that Bruening or the capitalists did ate" He wanted to talk with me alone later on, but never said a word about it again. He admitted that they about the "Red referendum" but he said a question regarding the moment they that 'hey had to take such a vital issue out of the hands of the nationalists and Fascists, to make it a red one (Sic!)

I just heard, at a functionaries' meeting to which I was invited, that this comrade from Hamburg will come down again to organize the group here and that I am going to be a fund ionary with

The activity of the party group here bership meeting for more than two

If you pick up a party paper or pamphlet nowadays, you are sure to find some kind of a polemic against Trotsky and the Left Opposition. This is a good sign. It shows that the Left Opposition' with its Marxst-Leninist understanding is taking roof in Germany too, and it is sure is necessary, for a great deal depends on the L. O. in the immediate future.

WINNING S. P. WORKERS

I am also often participaling in discussions with social democratic workers and they are still an influence here, as strong as ever. Their influence is not shattered at all, as I should be by the Communists, what with the continual open betrayals of their leaders. I am doing my best to win them over to the -PERMANENTE REVOLUTION C. P. G. or at least to make them friendly to the party.

I hope I'll be able to do some good work here before I get bounced, but then' of course, I am going to devote myself entirely to Opposition work' I hope that things will start rolling our way soon and that the proletariat will come out as the victor. We've got some tough work ahead of us for the next few weeks and months.

_BILL (V. B.)

Comrade V. B. is a German worker and a member of the Communist League of America (Opposition), active in New York before leaving for Germany several months ago. We hope to bring more correspondences from him-written on the field of action—in coming issues.—Ed.

SIMON AND SCHUSTER Inc.

announce

the publication, February 27, 1932

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by LEON TROTSKY

> Translated from the original Russian BY MAX EASTMAN

Volume I -- The Overthrow of Tzarism (February to June 1917)

\$4.00

clashes took place, consisting entirely port that lies outside of the real activity of attacks by the divisions of the G. P' U., who fore their banners away and heaped blows upon them. A selected group of Red Army commanders broke down the door of Smilga's quarters and forced their way in, on the balcony there were hanging the banners of the Opposion and the portraits of Lenin, Trotsky

and Zinoviev. This, then, was the up

rising of November 7, 1927.

January 2 1932

had been exiled by Stalin, the G. P. U. accused him of preparing an armed up-

5. "For a Lenini t Central Commit-Only when the facts began to fade from memory, did the Stalinist school of 'ted Army, students and pupils walking falsifications begin to spread the legend of he attempted uprising of November side by side with the Oppositionists who 7' The fact that this legend has, to a no clashes. Not a single worker with a certain degree, become the central point sound mind could interpret these ban-That proves that the real actions of the ners as banners directed against the Bolshevik-Leninists do not appear to be Soviet power and the party. Only after several individual factories had joined workers and party members. Stalin action, did the G. P. U. send out special tually complains' that despite the eight- vitch offers to the reader under the divisions upon instructions from the years long campaign' Trotskyism is still cloak of quotations from Lenin, 'pro-Stalinist secretariat' to assault the de- being regarded as a Communist tendency monf rators who were carrying their inside of the party! For his policy of banners peacefully' Afer that' several reprisals, Stalin needs some basis of sup-

of the Left Opposition. This basis of support, he tries to find in the police myth of the rising of November 7, 1927. Even if we had no other signs, this fact alone would suffice for us to say: the personal dictatorship of Stalin and his plebiscitary regime are in a bad way, in a very bad way!

-L. TROTSKY.

A STATEMENT OF THE MARINE WORKERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE

(Continud from page 1) the C. P. L. A., the I. W. W., the Young People's Socialist League, trade unions, Anarchist groups and other organizations' The I. L. D' and the Communist Pan'y are absent only because they refused specific and repeated invitations to participate.

That record alone, made in the face of many difficulties in a few weeks' time' could stand as a refutation of any attack against the committee. But there is one more accomplishment, and the most important one of all: The Marine Workers Defense Committee established the fact that no worker no matter how obscure he may be, who falls into the hands of the class enemy shall be deserted and left without means of defense. Those who try to infringe this principle and deny assistance to a persecuted worker -as the Communist party and the I. L' D. did in this case-will find a defense movement arising spontaneously without them. This is the greatest significance of the work of the present committee and its strongest appeal to the honest workers of all organizations

HOW THE DISRUPPTERS ACTED AT THE TIME OF THE ABREST

When the Daily Worker comes forward tion. in its issue of January 25th with the THE FRAUDULENT ISSUE OF statement that the defense committee has "CLASS STRUGGLE DEFENSE" a policy of "betrayal of the class struggle and of the defendants particularly" it invokes a reminder of its own policy from its inception, their dishonest manand conduct, and that of the I. L. D' in euvers repulsed by the prisoners, and the case. The people who now proclaim their own rank and file members prothemselves the only champions of the defendants, who offer to "defend" them even against their own committee' spoke in a slightly different manner in the days following the arrest-when Soderberg. Bunker and Trajer were helpless in the hands of the police' without influential friends' money, attorneys or any means of defense. Here is what the Daily Worker wrote on November 18th. two days after the arrest:

"Soderberg, secretary of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, whom the capitalist by no means an ordinary criminal case. erican banker has been investing his the case of some Communist members of when the dictatorship applied it. The press calls a 'Red', was expelled from the Communist party for being a sustitue united front of labor to protes. of the size of the canvas can be obtained. picious element and also from the Marine Workers Industrial Union for dis- was for this aim that the cooperation of tional Bank, it was pointed out that ruptive and anti-working activites. Tra- the I. L. D. was requested in written approximately 3 1-2% of the total rejer, Reilly, and Bunker were expelled form three different times. But instead sources of the bank consisted of German from the Marine Workers Industrial Un- of cooperation to build a united mass ion as bad elements." At the same time movement of the workers' the I' L. D. ofthe Young Worker stated: "Soderberg fered unqualified lawyers to replace the loans to the S. A. and European defaulfis a stool pigeon."

cused men went to the I' L. D' for aid, meal and begin with an attempt to dis- A general all-around, world wide re it was refused. The I. L. D. refused to rupt the movement that has already been fusal to pay, as seems to be imminent, have anything to do with the "renegades", the "suspicious elemen s", the own statement in the Daily Worker the American banking institutions" "stool pigeon", the people who had been "expelled from the Communist party". ment. When they say in this statement And from Nov. 18th until Jan. 25th, the that the "International Labor Defense Daily Worker never mentioned the case considers this case as a direct attack upby a single word. La requires a supreme on the workers in the marine industry" e to come now two and one-halfi months later, on the very eve of the trial' and pose as the only real friends of the prisoners' They come too late!

THE UNITED FRONT POLICY OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Marine Workers Defense Committee was formed only after the I. L. D. and all other defense agencies had Trajer do not stand alone before the explanation of the creation of this prerefused or failed to intervene It was court, as they stood in the first days sent Corporation. formed at the express written request of after their arrest, it is due to the prin- A DOLE FOR BANKERSall three defendants who had no other ciple of labor solidarity which called the STARVATION FOR WORKERS means of defense and nowhere else to Defense Committee in o existence. Labor turn. The first nucleus of the commit- solidarity is the best, and—in the final tee, at its first meeting, adopted a pol- analysis—the only real defense of per- mistakes." The explanation of the above sewing circles, must "legalize" themicy of unded front and invited all ele- secuted workers who fall into the hands ments in the labor movement to join and of the class enemy. Those who violate the measure as passed. The initial cap- The statutes of the organization must be cooperate. In its broadcasted statement this principle, who put narrow factional all is to consist of \$500,000,000; the reon the case, published in various papers interests above it, who seek to disrupt maining 1 1-2 billion is to be made up and in leafle, form, it stated: "It is the the movement organized on that basis, through the sale of bonds, but and this aim of the committee to broaden its mem- are acting against the interests of the bership to include representatives of all class. A defeat of these disrupters will tions are to be fully and unconditiontendencies in the labor movement". On be a vid ory for the class and for all ally guaranteed as to interest and printhat line it sent invitations to the Com- class war prisoners, now and in the fu- ciple by the United States," by the govmunist party and the I L. D. On Dec- ture. ember 5th, on Decemebr 18th, and again on December 29th, it addressed letters to the I. L. D. asking for cooperation in the struggle to arouse the whole labor movement for a united fight. All these invitations were ignored. The request for a speaker to repesent the I. L. D' at the public mass meeting was unanswered.

THE ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT THE LEGAL DEFENSE ON THE EVE OF THE TRIAL

Rejecting all appeals to help in the organization of the workers' solidarity movement, the I. L. D. resorted to an insidious campaign, through its lawyers, to demoralize the prisoners and induce them to change counsel at the last moment Taking advan age of statements of the prisoners that they wan ed the help of the I' L. D. as well as that of all other organizations—which was likewise the policy of the comme tee -the I. L. D. lawyers tried by every means to induce the prisoners to sign a statement repudiating their defense committee and the legal counsel employed by it and to

turn the case over to them. When the nature and seriousness of the charges against the marine workers is taken into consideration—charges of hav-

ing committed specific crimes which tion, party, group and tendency to parti- carry a penalty on conviction of as much cipate in the common work on an equal as for y years in prison, with an agent basis. The committee now contains re- provocateur and perjured evidence to compresenteatives of two Communist group, but which requires the most thorough and skillful legal preparation-one must be appalled at such a criminal maneuver. To propose the discharge of able counsel horoughly familiar with the case and prepared by weeks of patient work to conduct the trial, and substitute new lawyers whose specialty is minor cases in the Magis rates' Court-is that not playing with the lives of men? Is it any wonder that the prisoners' who would be glad lo have their help if it were given in good faith, recoiled againg, this infamous proposal with the bitterest indignation and refused to talk with them any further?

It was in answer to these machinations that all three defendants sent their telegram o the mass meeting and declared: "We reathrm our fullest and unswerving confidence in the committee handling our defense and appeal to all workers every where to give the committe its fullest cooperation and assistance". On the basis of that express declaration of the prisoners themseleves, which is only a restatement of wha! they have said on every occasion when the matter was called into question, the defense committee resolves to continue its work and calls on the I' L. D. to cease its disrup-

Condemned by their record in the case testing against their policy—the disrupters seek to justify themseleves with a and workers' organizations to fight this case along class lines, along the lines of mass defense". This argument against the Defense Committee is just as false, just as dishonest, as all they have said and done in the case. The Defense ning to convince the workers that this mine, but when we consider the countries Its chief activity has been to organize funds for the past decade, an inkling against the frame-up and defeat it. It In a recent statement of the Chase Nacounsel already retained. At the eleventh ing countries, brings the total to a far Then, when personal friends of the ac- hour they promise a workers' mass move- from negligible item on the asset sheet. organized while they kept silent. Their would seriously impair the condition of councillor of State under the monarchy. testifies to the effectiveness of this moveto learn is that all workers have a com-

> honest workers of all sections of the la- measure they say, "the business depresbor movement to join and support this sion canno be cured by such measures." united fight and condemn the attempts Recognizing the truth of the above stateto disrupt it. If Soderberg' Bunker and ments, one must search elsewhere for the

Build a stronger movement of workers solidarity for the imprisoned marine workers!

Defend all class war prisoners regard less of their views or affiliations! Collect funds to help the defense of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer'

MARINE WORKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE 82 East 10th St.,

New York City

> Benefit of the Imprisoned Marine Workers

Bunker — Soderberg —Trajer at the

STUYVESANT: CASINO Second · Avenue and 9th St. Friday Evening, February 12th. Auspices of the

Marine Workers Defense Committee Show your solidarity with these victim of the frame-up system. Come

and bring your friends.

The R. F. C. Ruse

(Continud from page 1) three billion would have to stand a loss of approximately 42%; wo and one half billion losses of 18%. The merchant and worker unable to pay the high rents of 1928 and 1929, the real estate owner unable to pay the interest on he mort gage and the same with the farmer; the bank unable to pay its depositors. This is the picture presented.

In the field of railroad bonds the sit uation is exactly as serious. More than 70% of all railroad bonds are held by banking and similar institutions' The severe decline in the net income of railroads, dropping from \$1,284,000,000 in 1929' to the low of \$534,000,000 for 1931, republic of all the workers" which the brought aboas a consequent decline in the railroad bonds. In 1931 alone to say fundamental law of the land? nothing of the sharp decline of the last few months of 1930, railroad bonds have experienced a decline of 25 to 50 percent. Of course there are various remedies that are being experimented with now, to increase railroad income. Namely: the rate increase recently granted, will succeed in bringing in an additional profit of \$100,000,000; the second, if put earned now is estimated at \$75,000,000 The holder of railroad bonds and securities might put much hope in these probe much worse than it now appears; for dividend purposes to the stock and bond holders. The proposed savings of \$300'-000'000 is already being balanced against a substantial increase in the total haulage of the railroad of the country can return to them a portion of the income final argument. They want "all workers of the prosperity days. This increase in provement on the business situation as a

> The third unstable factor is the defaulting on both the European and the Latin-American markets. The vastness credits (with Germany on the verge of defaulting). Adding to the above the

The Defense Committee appeals to the power" In referring to the recent

is the all inclusive but, "the said obligaernment. In oher words' the U'S. government has agreed to buy two billion dollars worth of depreciated and worthless paper from the banks and railroads' have been "The Bank Subsidy Bill of 1932".

All this by itself is nothing new. Big business repeatedly at empts to secure the aid of the class as a whole for its own particular enterprises. The whole campaign to dump the reparations into the Atlantic revolves around the question of aid by the capitalis: government to a particular group' the bankers. The present plan has exactly a similar character.

The latest patch has been applied 'o our industrial and financial system' Two billion dollars have been diverted from the taxes to aid the bankers and rail roaders in 'heir present "sore plight" Although the measure may have a temporary effect, "there is obviously no real remedy for this depreciation in security values except the ref oration of earning power" The trend out of the present crisis must occur in the industrial field, in the field of manufacture. Without a Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; forpick-up for industry as a whole one can ADMISSION: 35 Cents expect to begin hearing before long of a

Spain's Bourgeoisie on the Offensive

This is the second of a series of articles on the situation in Spain by comrade Max Shachtman who recently returned from an extended visit to such centers as Madrid and Barcelona.-Ed.

Have the workers gained politically from the establishment of the Republican-Socialist coalition government which came into power after the over hrow of the monarchy last April? What rights have they been accorded? To what extent do these "rights" conform with the high-sounding phrase "the democratic socialists had incorporated into the

An Atmosphere of Suppression The visitor to Spain is immediately impressed with the fact that the most rigid control is exercized by the police even more so over the native born. Spain where there is a passport or document the amount of bond interest not being in the interior of the country. Passport traveller who makes a trip from one inspective increases, were it not for the terior city to another has an official gorealization hat very little replacing of ing down the length of the railway carreplacement of worn equipment. Only us both the dubious honor of being accompanied all during the voyage by the police-quite an escort of honor for the agent, who kept pacing in from of our business mee ing of the Madrid Opposicompartment till we reached Barcelona, tion! The Russian Okhrana could do no casting the most suspicious glances at us better. haulage is dependent upon a general im- all the while as hough to prevent us from making the slightest move to disfrom the variage point of a train car. While representatives of the most reactionary section of the foreign bourge- today into the republic without he slight-Committee has worked from the begin of this item (is impossible to deter- oisie receive the undisturbed hosp ality est change. And carried over mostly unof the government, foreign Communists der the regime of the very men who fulcase is an issue of the class struggle, and defaulting—countries in which the Am- have not only been arrested, but, as in minated so violently against the system the French Chamber of Deputies who outstanding example is Galarza, the Dircame to Spain, have been transported ector-General of Security in Madrid; to the border of Spain for deportation. o hers, like Azana, the president, Prieto,

of the socialist trade union center, and mon interest in repulsing the attack and edy for this depreciation in security before the fall of the latter. But now lic are being cynically abolished by a r actionary bourgeoisie in power which is taking no chances on allowing the workers the democra ic political rights

which were originally promised them. Legalizing An Organization

Under the republic today, all organizations, whether trade unions, political presented in advance to the Director the monarchy; today they drown them

new scheme to restore confidence and re

turn prosperity. To the millions of unemployed workers, the government refuses the slightest aid. But to the financial oligarchy Resolution of Marxian Y. C. it is prepared to lend its entire machinery. As the coun jester of American capitalism, Win Rogers, intimates: The The proper title for the measure should government is always ready to help those who do not need it—those who do, the working class, will have to wrench it from them in the course of the struggle, against capitalism for its eventual over-

-H. STONE.

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General of Security (roughly, the equipoly, the government and its Civil Guard valent of our police chiefs), or to the were to be found exclusively on the side governor of the province, and if that of the employers. In Madrid, the telea formal meeting is called eight days by the Civil Guard. Each scab repaira report is 'hen turned in to the "Seguridad", together with the names and records of every officer, and then—only then-is the organization "legal"; 'we hasten to add, providing all of this has been approved by the authorities. Every meeting, regardless of whether it is a public mass meeting or a closed business meeting of an organization, mus. receive author ies not only over foreigners but the O. K. of the authorities before it can be held. A local trade union canis the only country on the continent, ex | not call its own members logether to cept Fascist Italy, known to this writer discuss its internal affairs without permission from the "Seguridad" which also into reality, another \$200'000'000; while ary examination in the course of a trip has the right (and exercizes it) to send a detective and a uniformed policeman control at frontier countries is a matter to attend the meeting for supervisory of course everywhere, but in Spain the purposes and to make a report. Even the Socialist party, which has scores of representatives in the Cortes and three ministers in the cabine, must apply for fixed capital, very little of necessary re- riage demanding his documents. We permission to hold a public or private pairs to locomotives and cars has been travelled with one of he comrades from meeting and have them attended by done during the past year. Were the ac- Madrid to Barcelona, two cities well police! A regular branch meeting of tual balance shed to be drawn, it would within the frontiers of the country, but the Madrid local of the Opposition which we had scarcely got under way when a I attended was also graced by two plain money that should have been used for police official, accompanied as usual by clothes men, who made no secert of their replacement purposes, has been used for the evil-looking Civil Guards, approach- business, listened to the proceedings with ed us and asked for our documents. My great attention and made copious notes. comrade's revolutionary 'notorie.y", (he At both ends of the street on which the has been arrested 29 times now!), gained meeting place was located, were stationed four Civil Guards and two regular

We have already had occasion to write about the Spanish court system in returb the law and order of the country lation to workers. The abominations of "governmental detention", despised so heartily under Primo, are carried over Under Primo de Rivera, practically the socialist minister, Domingo, "the every labor organization, regardless of man to the Left of the Left", could also its form or activity, was suppressed or be mentioned. Workers may (and are) declared illegal. The only exception to still be arrested without charges placed this rule was the Socialist party and its against them. They can be held without organizations, for the simple reason that either charges or being brought to trial. the sanguinary dictatorhip enjoyed the They can be kept in prison for years collaboration of no less a personage than without "due process of law".—That is Largo Caballero, party leader, secretary the system of "governmental detention". Just as the workers have not gained the real right to organization so little The advent of the republic has not have they gained the right to strike. In the Catholic unions approved it; that they must fight unitedly to that end. value, except the restoration of earning the rights which the working class and anarcho-syndicalist C. N. T. would have peasantry gained for themselves by sheer no part of it. These "parity comm"force in the early moments of the republees", which virtually crippled the right the bourgeois parties!-but especially to strike, are still in force 'oday, at after it, the repression has been accenleast to the extent that the workers re-

cognize them. The Government and Strikes

When the workers go out on strike in spite of the strangulating class collaboration committees, they meet with the violent, organized opposition of the 200 members of the C. N. T. imprisoned, billion dollar bill to relieve bankers' par ies, chess clubs, sports associations or government. The same people who today and more than 1,000 throughout Spain. occupy some of the most important posts The number has undoubtedly increased is easily seen by a careful reading of selves if they have 19 members or more, in the state once did all they could to since then, especially after the recent revfoment sirikes and disturbances under in blood if necessary. During the famous national telephone strike of more than six most he ago, directed at the American trust which holds the mono-

The resolution below was passed Club, on Sunday January 31. The its contes s.-Ed.

ceived a letter from Weisbord making don (1907) Congress of the Russian accusations against one of the former social democracy and Lenin defended the members of his organization who is now a member of the club.

2' In view of the fact that Weisbord has taken his case against this worker to the capitalist court, we consider it beneath the dignity of a workers' organization to consider the charges at the same time they are pending there.

3. We condemn this appeal to the ethics of the labor movement and as a far greater offense even than the one charged against the worker in question. We demand that Weisbord withdraw his case from the capitalist court. Only by that can he gain the right to appeal to any workers' organization. When that

is done, the Marxian Youth Club will consider the accusations and pass judgment on them.

-MARXIAN YOUTH CLUB'

worthy grants the required permission, phone exchange was completely occupied later a which the organization is for man who went out, was accompanied on mally constituted. At this meeting, two the truck by four Civil Guards, armed police officials must be present for the to the tedh and ready for business. The purpose of supervising the procedure same story can be told about any other and taking notes for their reports to their strike. Nor do they stop at "giving prosuperiors. If the meding formally ap- tection" to scabs. The instances are proves the deposed statutes and the of- piling up when the Civil Guard has fired ficials of the organization are elected, point blank at strikers, killing and wounding men and women and even lit-

Now, with the adoption of the "Law for the Defense of the Republic", the situation become worse. Merely to quote from its provisions will give an idea of how the shades of Bismarck and the Russian Czars must envy the reactionism of their successors. The following are considered as "acts of aggression against the Republic and as such liable to the present law":

"4. The indirect provocation or he incitation to commit acts of violence against persons, things or property for religious, political or social motives.

"5. Every word or gesture of contempt for institutions or organizations of the

A rikes not announced eight "3. days in advance, unless there exist other intervals designated in the special law; strikes launched for motives other than questions of work and those not having been preceded by arbitration or concilia-

Punishment is indicated in the second article: "The direct authors of the acts enumerated in paragraphs 1 to 10 of the preceding article, as well as those who will have ince ed them to commit them. may be deported or banised for a period no greater than that of the validity of this law, or have imposed upon them a fine up to the maximum of 10,000

A Dictatorial Power

In the third at icle, we read that "The Minister of the Interior has the power to: 1. Prohibit public meetings or manifestations of a political, religious or social character when, by reason of circumstances, it may be assumed that their unfoldment may disturb the public peace. 2. Dissolve centers or associatoins considered as inciting to the realization of the acts enumerated in article 1 of this law." And article four informs us that the application of the law is confided exclusively into the hands of the Minister of the Interior.

The results of the application of such a monstrous piece of ultra-reactionary legislation may well be imagined. The reactions of the workers and peasants to the law, of the workers and peasants who retained so many of their illusions in the "republicanism" of the bourgeoisie, are increasingly salisfactory from the revolutionary point of view. The The above are the conditions that brought about any appreciable change 1926, Primo created the socalled "comites bourgeoisie, by the adoption of this law the creation of the Reconstruction Fin- in this respect. That labor organiza- paritarios", or party committees, which and by its subsequent application, is ance Corp. is to remedy. Even the lead- tions exist at all as yet is due solely to were composed of one representative of manifestly on the offensive. It is aiming financiers of the country are very the fact that the bourgeoisie, in forsak the workers, one of the employers and the ing at the complete suppression of any skeptical as to its value, "Sixty billion ing the monarchy, was compeleed to give "impartial" government chairman—com- independent working class movement, of dollars in values lost during the past a formal recognition to the militant la- pulsory for every industry. This scound reducing the proletarian and peasant for the intelligence of the workers for ed from the publicity material of the three years cannot be repaid by two bilthose who made such a record in the Defense Committee. What they have yet ion." The Annalist of January 15, 1932 through the dictatorial repressions of by his councillor of fate, Caballero, and level to which it was depressed under uses the phrase "There is no real rem- Primo and of Berenguer in the months only the socialist unions (U. G. T.) and the rule of Alphonso and Primo de Riv-

Even before this law-voted by the socialists and Catalonians as well as by tuated. Scores, perhaps hundreds of Communists, are in prison now. When I was in Barcelona, the editor of the C. N. T. daily paper, Solidarid Obrera, the anarchist Felipe Alaiz, told me that in Barcelona alone there were more than

-MAX SHACHTMAN. The third article will deal with the Socialists and the question of a Socialist government in Spain-Ed.

********************** CORRECTION

In the article by comrade Maurice Spector on Rosa Luxemburg, which appeared in the Militant of January 23, several unfortunate mistakes crent in o unanimously at the Marxian Youth the proof, which require rectification.

In the paragraph beginning with "The reason for its issuance is evident from response of Rosa . . . ", the sentence reading "When the character of the Rus-1' The Marxian Youth Club has re- sian revolution was debated at the Lonposition of the Mensheviks (!), Rosa Luxemburg along with Lenin represented the viewpoint of the Bolsheviks . . . ' should, of course, read: " . . . and Plechanov defended the position of the Mensheviks, etc."

The sentence at the beginning of the last paragraph, should read: "German menshevism and the bourgeoisie had capt alist courts as a violation of the triumphed", not "has triumphed". -Ed.

CHICAGO OPEN FORUM

Sunday, FEBRUARY 14, 1932 What Will the 12 Million Unemployed Do?"

Speaker: JOHN EDWARDS at

1435 N. Western Avenue Auspices: Chicago Branch, C. L. of A. (Opposition)