WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

EMILITANT



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Labor Fakers Before Congress

The A. F. of L. Bureaucrats Finally Recognize the «Dole»

L. "leaders" submitted a petition for of further drawing the distinction be-Federal unemployment relief to Presi- tween these capitalist agents and the dent Hoover and to Congress. The one rank and file workers, as well as a means hundred marched one whole mile to the of moving the masses ahead to build the White House. It was not exactly a movement. hunger march, this dandy crew of wellgroomed portly per-capita absorbers. It ment relief and what it implies should must have been a rather grotesque look- offer an added opportunity to penetrate ing affair, in the present unemployment the ranks of the A. F. of L., in building situation.

But this is not the point. There is ployment relief. As yet however, no sersomething else worth nothing in this ious efforts have been made to extend whole affair. For the A. F. of L. high the movement to embrace the A. F. of L. officials it represents a considerable unions. change of front, since the convention held at Vancouver last fall. Above all, it is important to know the reason for this change of front.

First of all, it signifies further evidence of the slowly growing pressure within the unions, of discontent caused by the ravages of unemployment. The petitioners, so humble in this role, but insolenty haughty before their union membership, fear the signs of the coming be made to sweep the fakers off their discontent. They fear its becoming directed against the rulers of a system which is causing unemployment and misery. They fear its becoming expressed in genuine class consciousness. Hence they hurry to head it off if possible.

We recall the traditionally reactionary A. F. of L. policy of servile cringing before the desires of the politically distinguished to Washington. It is this leadership as agents of capitalism. At gle for unemployment relief, while havthe Vancouver convention the assembled ing something on the credit side of the high salaried business agents despite balance sheet (for example by way of change of policy is necessary. Not merethe changes in the phraseology of the dramatization of the issue) still carry ly a change on paper but a change in orators, reinforced this policy in full. a mounting record on the deficit side. reality? They frothed at the mouth against the The very demonstrations organized by "dole". They went on record against unemployment insurance and any form of federal unemployment relief.

Would it now seem, in view of this petition, that the traditional A. F. of L. policy is undergoing a change. We fear it would be entirely too optimistic to have such expectations; but these gentlemen are quite alarmed at the prospects of seriously rising discontent. And that much their petition reflects

The petitioners ask for appropriations for direct federal relief; for cessation of wage cuts; for the five day week, for the enactment of the Norris anti-injunction bill and, of course, they also asked for the inevitable 2.75 percent beer. shown by its adoption at this moment of a number of measures of relief to or a number of measures of rener to capitalism. There are the examples of 1931 we were entirely at the mercy of On the 19th of November, three days lar reconstructing finance corporation, of well and acted accordingly. Hence, the the establishment of the two billion dolthe Glass banking bill, etc. On the very inhuman and beastly 3rd degree and same day of the filing of the petition the brutal beating. Bunker at the time, no one had seemingly come forward to Senate leaders girded their loins to defeat even the moderate La Follette-Costigan bill providing an appropriation of 375 million dollars for federal unemployment relief. Undoubtedly more attention would have had to be paid to the A. F. of L. heads if they had undertaken to lead a substantial section of the millions of unemployed in a march upon the White House. But that, of course, they had no intention of doing. It is precisely to prevent demonstrations which can easily fan a flame of real protest and seriously advance demands, that the petition came forward, and came forward in the manner it did. The gov ernment need not at all take serious heed of such requests. It well knows the intentions and designs of its obedient servants.

There may be workers, however, who take this change of front at face value, thinking that it indicates a more progressive attitude and hoping that real leadership for unemployment relief can be expected from the A. F. of L. high salaried officials. Such hopes, of course, are doomed to disappointment. It is true that even these reactionaries are subject to a change of front under compulsion and pressure. They may even under such conditions take steps forward and in a progressive direction. But by their position as defenders of capitalism and hopelessly reactionary make-up any such steps would always remain far behind the actual needs of the workers. Essentially they remain a brake upon the movement and looking for the meaning for the Left Opposition, the and May. Our readers have noticed the portunity to bottay. Its step must become an active build-special inducement offers. First, in the pamphlets offered for new subscribers pressure upon them, by the deepening ing and extension of its circulation. announcment of the theoretical organ, during this period. All of this material cut drive, will increase. This pressure And today, with several organs being would be deliberately and consciously published or about to appear, the extenaided, organized and directed by Left sion should embrace the whole Left Opwing militants. It should be made articulate and effective, not based upon ex- aim. pectation of results from the official

YOUNG SPARTACUS AFFAIR

The Spartacus Youth Club of New York (formerly the Marxian Youth Club) will hold an affair for the Young Spartacus at the Militant Hall, 84 East 10th Street, on Saturday evening, February 27th. There will be entertainment, dancing and refreshments.

All youth are invited to attend this affair as well as the regular club meetings held every Sunday afternoon at 8:00 P. M. at the above address.

The other day one hundred A. F. of, flunkeys but, on the contrary, as a means

This petition for Federal unemploythe movement for a struggle for unem-

The Daily Worker, in its issue of Febrary 11th, says editorially in commenting upon this petition: "The workers' answer should be a wider campaign for unemployment insurance, building up the fighting ranks of both employed and unemployed, fighting hunger and the rotten capitalist system which produces it. In the ranks of the A. F. of L., the movement for unemployment insurance should

This is absolutely correct. But it can be made a reality in only provided the party leadership pursues a policy of the united front in every sense of the word. The opportunity for it has been available; it is becoming daily more pronounced, moreover, its acceptance and

The efforts of the party in the strug-

Lecture by ARNE SWABECK

The Left Opposition and

the Unity Ruse of the Lovestone Right Wing

at the Labor Temple 14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday, February 19, 1932 at 8 P. M.

ADMISSION: 25 Cents Unemployed Workers Admitted Free Auspices: New York Branch Communist League of America (Opposition)

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION

the party, regardless of the militancy than the proceeding ones. That down ward tendency is also the status of the movement as a whole. This has become an ineradicable record of the working class attitude toward the party leadership practice has become an imperative need. and its policies. And this in a situation of growing pressure from mass discon-

Is it not be clear that here a complete

The Jailed Marine Workers and the I.L.D

members during the last week. All these Court and after having pleaded not the defense of the prisoners involved in Realizing that we were facing the rest dividually so this statement of facts must obtain legal advise somehow. I, will serve as a reply to all those concern- therefore, put through a telephone call ed. If I am judging correctly, it is evi- from Tombs prison to Mr. Fishman, an dent that a misunderstanding exists in many a comrade's mind as to my personal ed me in another case. Mr. Fishman stand on the question of the I. L. D. I arrived the same afternoon and upon tle that very question once and for all-

At the time of our arrest Nov. 16, kept his promise. the police and they knew it only too after the arrest. I received a letter asked me whether I thought the I. L. D. would come forward to defend us. I replied that I was sure they would as the organization of the I. L. D. was supposedly non-political and in any event

Oppositionist Victim of White Terror in Greece BULLETIN

secret funeral of our comrade T. Baboucopoulos in Athens, Greece.

200 comrades forced their way through the police columns that were guarding the gates of the cemetery in order to bid farewell to the victim of the medieval terror that the Venizelos regime exercises against our Greek comrades

The police forces were reinforced from the military garrison and they succeeded in arresting all our comrades whom they are deporting immediately to the island of Lesvos.

I have received about a dozen letters non-partisan. On the following day, after from party members as well as I. L. D. having appeared in the Magistrate's letters deal with the same question— guilty it became evident to me that the that of the I. L. D. and its relation to L. L. D. did not intend to take the case. writing material to answer each letter in- successful, it became evident that we attorney who had successfully defendplea of the humble petitioners, was shall endeavor in this statement to set- hearing the case told me that he would see us through, fee or no fee. He has

from comrades Cannon and Tresca, informing me that due to the fact that defend us, they had in conjunction with other comrades retained an attorney who would call to see us. The following day, Mr. Sabatino called and has since then handled the case as chief counsel with Mr. Fishman as associate counsel. On or about the 15th of December, one month after the arrest, I received a let ter from Mr. Brodsky informing me that he had been instructed by the I. L. D. to offer his legal services. I want comrades to bear in mind that this was the first offer we had from the I. L. D. and The Bourgeois press reports the it came 32 days after our arrest. Bunker, Trajer and myself discussed the letter and it was decided that I should write Brodsky asking him to call in order to enable us to discuss the question of the committee and endeavor to find ways and means whereby the I. L. D. and the committee could get together on the question. Nothing was heard from the I. L. D. until 9 days later, when Brodsky came. I asked him how the I. L. D. could explain its attitude in view of the fact that when approached by

the case. I have not enough stamps nor of our life in prison if the frame up was gravate this situation for the Mikado's

(Continued on page 2)

OPENFORUM World Powers at Loggerheads

Japanese Repulsed in China as Laval Cabinet Falls in Paris

ists have up to the present been the only ones to play the role of apologists for Nipponese militarism.

The bold stand taken by Tardieu has, if anything, only been of service in the consolidation of Wall Street influence in termining factor in imperialist politics.

Japan, weakened already by her Far Eastern adventure and losing ground continually in her diplomatic disputes unemployment it brings can only agministers. On the other hand, the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods has al-

Glotzer Meetings

The national tour for comrade Glotzer of our readers in the various cities his ities is under way. dates are quoted below.

Glotzer's lectures. His subject will be: WHAT IS EUROPE HEADING FOR?

The following is the schedule for

Boston, Mass..... February 19 Montreal, Canada.. February 21 Toronto, Canada .. February 23-24 Buffalo, N. Y..... February 25

Meeting under auspices of Proletarian Party Opposition at 416 Pearl St.

Chicago, Ill. February 27-28 West Frankfort, Ill. .. March 1 St. Louis, Mo..... March 2 Kansas City, Mo. March 3 Minneapolis, Minn. .. March 5, 6, 7 Chicago, Ill. March 9-10 Cleveland, Ohio March 11 Youngstown, Ohio ... March 12 Pittsburgh, Pa. March 13

workers shortly after the arrest they had 85 East Craig St., Sunday evening, Feb. ilize" the industry at the expense of the

prought about a very noticeable shift dustries. And it is primarily the breakmuch more "reasonable" in their negoand the others until new factors inter-

strong-headed drive for a sharp solu- Tang politicians attempt to exploit this pressed colonial masses. tion, the French reactionaries have suf- situation is only natural. But it is not The imperialist powers are busy prefered an internal defeat, through a com- their intention to make use of it by paring their households for the coming displayed, have constantly decreased in bination of circumstances, by the down-rallying the masses for a real struggle, test of strength. Just how imminent working class participation. The Febru- fall of the Laval cabinet. The inevit- For them, it simply constitutes capital this clash is, may be gathered from the ary 4th demonstration was smaler yet ably more moderate regime that will in the bid for the support of American parleys going on at Geneva in the antesucceed Laval, will not fail to take into financiers. Washington is not at all re- chambers, away from the din of oratorial account the desires and demands of the Juctant to come to the aid of the Chi- bombast. These discussions have for Washington government in continuing, nese bourgeoisie. The centralization of their subject the very prossic matter of under a new guise, the traditional French China and its transformation into a struggle for European hegemony. After stable market for American goods, has ing on civilians, the distances to be esall, the money bags will remain the de- always been one of Wall Street's dreams. tablished between battle lines, etc. The Any opportunity to realize this dream utmost watchfulness is required of the will be taken advantage of by United international working class. We, too, States imperialism.

> But the Kuo Min Tang has not yet with the West, finds herself entangled in succeeded in establishing a stable boura net of strangling contradictions. On geois power in China. All the experithe one hand, the Manchurian expedition ences of recent years have helped to the class struggle in Germany will serve and the attack on Shanghai have already strugthen the hatred of the masses of the as a signal for imperialist action. It is proved to be extremely expensive, have people against the foreign robber powers, sapped her resources like a suction pump. America included. They will undoubted-A protracted stay in China can only ly look upon the Kuo Min Tang's flirtamean the collapse of her financial structions with Wall Street, with suspicion. ture. Discontent at home is maturing This fact cannot help but increase the it is on this point, that the Stalinist rapidly. Despite ethe censorship, reports opportunities of the Chinese Communof anti-war demonstrations in Tokio and ists to build up their influence and to intern. and especially in the Soviet Unin other cities have found their way into take the lead in the struggle, supported ion must be called to order. the press. The economic crisis and the by the prestige and the backing of the

> The events of the last week have ready piled up heavy losses for her in- | Soviet Union and the world proletariat. Rumors have been spread about rein the relationship of forces among the ing of the boycott that Tokio is concerned lative to a supposed entente between powers involved in the recent struggle with at present, after the first flush of the Soviet government and the Japanese The unexpected and rasher remarkable victory and the ravenous ambitions ac- with regard to the transportation of resistance put up by the Chinese at companying it, have dimmed. And even troops on the Chinese Eastern Railroad. centering on the Far Eastern question. then, it is questionable if the imperialism Despite the disgustingly non-revolution-Chapel has vexed the Japanese aggresors of the East could repair its losses by ary stand of Litvinoff at Geneva, dealt quesiderably. And the rather cool re- merely lifting the boycott, as the situa- with elsewhere in this issue, despite the ception given the French delegation at tion stands today. At any rate, it may fact that this position at the Disarmanent Geneva, has not served o encourage be safely assumed that in the coming Conference only constitutes another step Tokio any either. The French imperial- weeks, the diplomats at Tokio will be in the Stalinist degeneration, it is, nevertheless, inconceivable, that there is tiations with the U. S., Great Britain any truth whatsoever in these rumors. Any such entente could mean only one thing in betrayal of the most elementary The temporarily successful defense of duty of a proletarian power—that of in-Chapei has no doubt raised the morale transigeant antagonism to the imperial-Europe. Isolated internationally by their of the Chinese troops. That the Kuo Min ists and their designs against the op-

> > restrictions in the use of air-craft bombmust be prepared. The tension in Germany, in the face of the March elections, may well give vent to an explosion that will shake Europe. The outcome of the task of the Communists to lay the ground for a successful counter-action of the proletariat. The first requisite for that is international solidarity. And leadership in all the parties of the Com-

The Presidential Elections in Germany

place and the most important parliament. parliament. is now under way. For the information ary drive in the history of German pol-

Previously we announced that comrade of a "coalition" drive to defeat Fasc- confident that they can defeat this coaliism. He will have the support of the tion even on the election field. The Nazi to Europe in which he also spent about social democracy, the Centrist party, party and their counter-part, the Nationfour weeks of fruitful discussion with the People's Party, the Economic Party alist party, are grooming their ranks for Lenin's closest co-worker, comrade Trot- and the Democratic Party. In a word, a united stand against the "coaliton". sky. It is the result of this discussion the "democratic" forces are uniting on The Fascists are now attempting to force which will form the kernel of comrade the basis of a defense and resistance through Hitler's citizenship with the

From the Needle Strike Front

The struggle of the dressmakers New York began a week ago under the auspices of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. The Right wing controlled International Ladies Garment Workers Union postponed the calling out of its shops for more than a week, with the sole object of isolating the fight of those dressmakers who are striking under the banner of the Left wing. While the response to the Left wing was not such as would be desirable, the ranks remained intact all the time since the

The conditions of the dressmakers are now in danger—now more than ever. The Schlesinger machine will not fail to live up to its record of betrayals: The meeting for Glotzer in Montreal It will again look for all shades of "imwill be held at Universite Ouvriere, partial arbitrators" who will help stab-

(Continued on page 2)

All political parties in Germany are the head of this drive stand the socialretrenching themselves for the general ists. The object is to retain Hindenburg presidential election to be held in March. as the "iron man" to save the republic. At present the nominations are taking and also to keep Bruning at the head of

The Fascists are orientating themselves for the drive. To them the elec-Hindenburg has accepted the candidacy tions do not close the question. They are against Fascism—and Communism. At aim of legalizing his participation in polities and acting as a candidate for his

> It would be the greatest danger to the working class of Germany and the whole world, and particularly the international Communist movement, to believe that the Fascists will terminate their drive for power with the end of the elections. Quite the contrary. In the event of a defeat of Fascism at the election polls, they will begin instantly with a concerted drive for power through an armed coup.

At the moment of this writing, the detailed plans of the combined Fascist and Nationalist front are unknown. There is a certain uneasiness in the ranks of the democratic coalition because of this. They do not know how to resist the Fascist drive. They fear the results of an election defeat of the Fascists because they understand that in such an event, Fascism will resort to an armed struggle against the government.

In this situation the role of the Comnunist party is of highest importance. Information from Germany demonstrates that the C. P. G. is now concentrating on the elections. Thaelmann is the party candidate for president. The party is now too, preparing for an intensive

But the danger in the present situation lies in that the party sees no further than the elections. It is correct that the party should carry on the struggle gle on the election field. But that cannot be the final aim of the struggle. For the Communists it is more important to see further than just the parliament-(Continued on page 3)

> MINNEA POLIS $\boldsymbol{C} \hspace{0.1cm} \boldsymbol{O} \hspace{0.1cm} \boldsymbol{M} \hspace{0.1cm} \boldsymbol{R} \hspace{0.1cm} \boldsymbol{A} \hspace{0.1cm} \boldsymbol{D} \hspace{0.1cm} \boldsymbol{A} \hspace{0.1cm} \boldsymbol{R} \hspace{0.1cm} \boldsymbol{Y}$ f o r "UNSER KAMF"

Saturday, FEBRUARY 27, 1932 9 P. M. at the home of ELKIN 1127 Gerard Ave., N.

active, Militant builders. But it is yet badly needed. entirely too small, and the results have therefore remained scant. To make the ly during our coming three months' subproverbial "power of the press" have a scription drive, covering March, April Spartacus, Unser Kamf, and Communposition press. This is our immediate

There are still a few months of the winter season left which offers the best opportunities among workers being more attentive, participating more in meetings, and being more easily within reach of our propaganda. We naturally depend upon our comrades to support us, to at tend these gatherngs, to make their contacts, to sell a copy of the Left Opposition press and to endeavor to get a new sub. When practically organized and carried on, this will also help us in replenishing our depleted treasury

This we propose to take up particular-

istes. Secondly, by the special books and

GERMANY The Key to the International Situation

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Slowly we are developing a group of which we assure all our supporters is THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST has been published at the minimum of parliamentary campaign as a fight on REVIEW, to appear April 1st as a new expense so as to provide literature of two fronts: the fight against Fascism addition to The Militant, the Young a high quality at a price workers can and against the Centre-social democratic afford to pay. As to the quality-that coalition, stressing at the same time we are willing to submit to our readers that the most important fight must be to judge. But we expect they will also, made against the Centre-social democraupon the inevitably favorable judgment, tic coalition, and not the Fascists. do their part to help build the Left Opposition press.

> During the period of the drive, we of fer for Militant subscriptions the following ocnditions:

One year subscription: \$2.00-a copy of The Permanent Revolution (paper bound) by L. D. Trotsky.

Six months subscription: \$1.00—a copy of The Strategy of the World Revolution (paper bound) by L. D. Trotsky. Three months subscription: \$0.50-a

copy of any one of our 10c pamphlets. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST REVIEW will appear in 48 pages, bimonthly in the beginning. The price per copy will be 15c. Subscription will be \$1.50 for 12 issues and \$1.00 for 8 issues. Help us build the Left Opposition Press!

The Jailed Marine Workers & the l.

Soderberg Explains the Disruptive Role of the Stalinists in the Defense Negotiations

(Continued from page 1)

turned us down with the excuse that they not called on Sabatino nor Fishman. ary 19th and two days before we were scheduled to go to trial, nothing more was heard from the I. L. D.

On January 19th, Stern, Organizer Secretary of the New York district of prison. He said the I. L. D. had sent defense movement. I endeavored in my have the workers framed", "And we have ward, leaving the Daily Worker analysis him to offer the services of that organ- letter to make all kinds of concessions the stool pigeon". ization. I pointed out to him that we were going to trial in 48 hours so what the I. L. D. to come in. The following the case to date, yet an attorney that the beginning of an assault against the could we do now? He stated they had day, Mr. Buitenkant, the I. L. D. attor- has spent three months working on the Chinese Soviet Republic, that mythical been too busy with other cases. As far ney, arrived and we had a discussion. I case does not know "how to defend it." creation of bankrupt Stalinism. as he personally was concerned, he had asked him to explain the previous actions It was evident that we could come to no While the cannon roar in Shanghai just arrived from Pittsburgh where he of the I. L D. where they had spurned arrangement after this. The following and the civil population is ruthlessly a couple of days ago. How sincere this actions were erroneous but that they now individual was can be judged by the were willing to rectify the errors. fact that at that very moment was rest- I asked him to leave, so the defending in my pocket a letter written to some ants could discuss the matter. I was friend of mine dated New York City, warned during this discussion by both Nov. 25th, with an official I. L. D. let- Bunker and Trajer that the I. L. D. was terhead and telling my friends that not sincere in this offer. I refused to "Soderberg has associated himself with believe it at the time. I could not consome racketeers", was "an enemy of the ceive of an organization playing with the workers" and finally that "this is not very lives of three workers. I could not our attorneys, but that there was a danan I. L. D. case" and warning my imagine the extent of their irresponsibilfriends to "keep hands off." I knew ity and treachery. How correct Bunker he was lying when he spoke to me but and Trajer were later events have proven. I did not want to do anything that later an attorney arrived bringing with stand was that I was still willing to ac-

ted front of the defense.

I stated, however, that I would not in order to leave the door wide open for

Later Buitenkant returned and shortly would prevent the I. L. D. from joining after, Sabatino and Fishman arrived. with the committee in the defense. I We informed Buitenkant that we could 25th. On that date, the offical organ of told him that I was still ready and not and would not supplant our present willing to accept the I. L. D. in conjunc- attorneys nor discharge the committee tion with the committee. A few hours that had worked faithfully for us. My

Hacker, N. Y. District Organizer of the sel with Sabatino as chief attorney, pro- -the danger of War". The facts and I. L. D., which in effect asked us to viding arrangements could be made with arguments adduced by comrade Shachtdid "not want to reopen friendly rela- dissolve the committee and discharge Sabatino and Buitenkant. It soon be- man constituted a brilliant confirmation tions with Soderberg". He told me to the Attorneys Sabatino and Fishman. came evident, however, that this was of the forecast made by comrade Trot-"forget it." After some discussion it was We pointed out to him that it would be impossible due to the obvious belligerant sky in November, in his pamphlet Gerdecided that Brodsky call on Sabatino against all ethics and principles to do so and domineering manner of Buitenkant many—the Key to the International Sitwith a view of cooperating as an attorney now but in order that no one should say towards Sabatino. He informed Sabat- uation—"there is no threat of an imand that the I. L. D. get in touch with that we turned any defense offer down, ino that he did not understand the case, mediate and acute danger to the existence the committee. To date, Brodsky has we would be willing to accept the I. L. knew nothing how to defend it, etc. It of the Soviet Union from the Far East. D. attorney as associate cousnel if that should be borne in mind that Sabatino While the Daily Worker and the Stal-From this date, November 15th to Janu would be satisfactory to our attorneys, had gone through the case carefully inists saw in the Manchurian events prin-That evening I sent a letter to Stern several times but as far as Buitenkant cipally a series of maneuvers against informing him that I was willing to go was concerned, he had not even looked the Soviet Union, the Japanese imperialto any extent to make this a real uni- up the indictment and certainly had not ists were preparing the attack on Shanasked us what it was all about. As ghai. With the realization of their Brodsky stated, "It is an ideal I. L. D. immediate objective in Manchuria, they orders some literature. under any circumstances tolerate a dual case." "We have the dynamite", "We shifted their scene of operations south-

> still unchallenger, i. e., I was stil lwilling to accept the I. L. D. attorney with fendants and that there still was time

> This is a true picture of happenings since our arrest and up till January the party comes out with a vicious attack upon the Marine Workers Defense Committee and accuses the committee of betraying the defendants. As one of those defendants I state openly and viciously stabbed them in the back, but they have betrayed all that is fine, that is decent, that is sacred in labor's prin-

They have shown themselves to the borators with the prosecution, first at the time of the arrest when they left us at the mercy of the police and treacherously sneaked away and actualthinly veiled provocative articles in their press, and secondly, when they, under excuses of wanting to correct these past errors, came in and came with one purnose only—that of smashing our defense.

ary actions of the proletariat plus the the Left Opposition to organize the un- spite of the I. L. D. There is one ployed. Ignorant, incompetent and overwell organized movement of the unem- employed councils on the united front gratifying feature about this case. For sent feeble and insignificant state into Syndicalists, I. W. W. and Communists of that wage cuts will not create more work participating railroads will make an able of conducting a fight to help the unionists, to sit at the same table and bers of their class. This is an achieve-The author traces the progress of the ment but it is precisely this achievement the successes it was able to win until blind, mad, factional rage—are trying to split. They tried, by lies, to stampede very black. Of interest is the story of the workers at our arrest. They did not succeed. They cannot understand it. I ask comrades, workers everywhere: Support the Marine Workers Defense Comthe full and undivided confidence of the defendants.

2. THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD

REVOLUTION

(Part 2 of the "Draft Program")

86 pages, two-colored paper cover 25c

Introduction by Max Shachtman

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JACK SODERBERG, Tombs Prison

BOOK REVIEW

Unemployed Councils in St. Petersburg! Library Publishers.

This pamphlet is an interesting and popular account of the unemployed movement led by the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks in 1906. Although the situation in which this movement developed is radically different from that which surrounds the unemployment here of today, nevertheless one reads these pages with the hope of finding some general experiences which are instructive for the Communists at present. And to be sure, this is to be found in the tactic used by the Bolshevins in involving the employed workers in the fight for the interests of the unemployed.

St. Petersburg developed on the declin- fight within the trade unions for their terly anti-working class that it makes ing wave of the 1905 revolution, which participation in the unemployed move one wonder and ask, why? What are had already attained its climax in the ment. This of course requires a correct their purposes? Moscow uprising of December. The trade union policy and a correct unfright which the Russian rulers had ex- employment program, neither of which acquitted at our trial it will not be be- ployed members by accepting a volunperienced as a result of the revolution the Stalinists possess. The proposal of cause of the I. L. D., but rather in tary wage cut for those who were unemployed enabled the Bolsheviks to wrest basis is in accord with Lenin's idea. This the first time in modern Labor history they nevertheless know, and admit in ing any limitation upon the use of funds some concessions from the St. Petersburg would transform them from their pre- has it been found possible for Anarchists city Duma for the unemployed. The unemployed situation itself had been arti- organizations of influence, really cap- different factions and A. F. of L. trade but diminish it. fically created by the bourgeoisie through a lockout of the workers in the last unemployed, and develop the class con- discuss ways and means of freeing memmonths of 1905 in retaliation against their revolutionary demands and actions. In the beginning the St. Petersburg Sov- St. Petersburg Unemployed Council and that the party burocrats—with their iet had assumed the responsibility of caring for these tens of thousands of locked out workers, but after its suppression the Bolsheviks commenced the organization of the unemployed councils. Unlike the present unemployed councils which consist of all unemployed who wish to join them, the St. Petersburg unemployed councils were representative bodies. The unemployed workers elected their delegates who composed the unemployed councils. The first un employed council consisted of thirty delegates.

The author relates how after its organization he and the president of the Unemployed Council went to Lenin to report what had been done to organize the council. "Vladimir Illyitch heard what we had to say, and then said he had some doubts as to whether the Unemployed Council alone could fulfill its program by its own efforts."

Lenin told them: "Through this organization alone you cannot induence the bourgeoisie; you will not be strong enough, and the unemployed workers themselves will not be able to develop this work on a broad proletarian class basis. Therefore, you must immediately extend the Unemployed Council to include representatives of those employed in all the factories and mills in St. Petersburg. You must now begin to agitate in the factories and mills for this purpose, and immediately arrange for the election of these representatives. The Unemployed Council must consist not only of 30 representatives of the unemployed, but of 100 or 150 from all districts, from all factories and mills. This will provide the unemployed with a genuine proletarian leading body which will really be able to exert pressure successfully on the City Duma and on the bourgeoisie generally".

In accordance with Lenin's sugges tions, the organizers proceeded with the further formation of the Unemployed Councils.

While the suggestions of Lenin are in 1906 by Sergei Malyshev Workers not applicable in their exact form for the unemployed movement in the United ciple. States, nevertheless, the essential idea, that is, that the unemployed themselves cannot compel the bourgeoisie to alleviate their condition to any appreciable extent, but must gain the support of the employed workers, remains particularly true today. In St. Petersburg where the workers had already experienced the organization of Soviets, it was proper to go to the factories to obtain the support of the employed workers. In the United States, unfortunately, this cannot yet be done, that is, not In their eyes we are but political pawns. on a mass scale, for the workers are not Our lives mean nothing to them. They ready for it. But it is possible to go are not concerned. They have played a The unemployed council movement in to the trade unions. It is possible to game in this case so despicable, so utsciousness of the proletariat.

> its liquidation when the reaction became, how the Bolsheviks were able to finance a whole series of strikes with funds obtained by the unemployed council from the City Duma. This was done among other ways by listing the strikers as unemployed. The author narrates a number of other interesting occurences which makes this pamphlet very readable.

-G. R.

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Introduction by J. P. Cannon

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN

REVOLUTION

Translated by Max Eastman

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THE MILITANT

to fight, in view of the mistrial.

rest of the working class as open collaly assisted the authorities with their

February 4, 1922

1.00

N. Y. Open Forum ORGANIZATION

The subject of comrade Shachtman's lecture on Saturday, February 13, held before an audience of about fifty workhim a statement drawn up by Carl, cept I. L. D attorneys as associate coun-ers, was "Imperialist Aggression in China

hanging in mid-air. Nothing daunted, That is all the I. L. D. knows about the Daily sees in the attack on Shanghai

had been at the time of our arrest and us and even referred to me as a stool day we went to trial and a mistrial was slaughtered the suave diplomats meet in therefore did not even know we were pigeon. In reply, he stated that they declared. Upon returning to my cell I Geneva to discuss disarmament! To this arrested until his arrival in New York had been mistaken, that their previous found a telegram from the I. L. D., orgy of hypocrisy and jockeying for favoffering to take over the defense. Al- orable position comes that bright star of though I at this time was certain that Soviet foreign policy—Litvinoff. Not to a weekly." the desires of the I. L. D. leadership be outdone by Grandi, the Fascist spokes was not so much to defend us as it was man, he proposes as the only solution to to disrupt the defense committee, I still the problem of war-complete disarmawanted to keep the welcome sign up ment! But not to seem unpractical, he and wired the I. L. D. that my stand was is willing to accept less as a beginning. point of view of the Left Opposition. up this work. And we count surely on

way. That there are real opportunites for extension of circulation of the Left Opposition Press is indicated by letters we have received recently. We quote at least one subscription. The record from one received from a comrade from of accomplishments will be kept on the Pittsburgh: "What I learned for a short | bulletin board. This branch expects to while reading The Militant and the paper from Greece called PALI TON TAXEON (Class Struggle) I never learn- in charge of The Militant circulaton. ed for six years reading the Empros, the Greek language paper of the official Communist Party of America. I received your Greek paper COMMUNISTES! which was sent to me, and found it very interesting." The comrade subscribes to The Militant for COMMUNISTES and

From a Chicago comrade we received the following: "Please find enclosed money order for \$2. for renewal of subscription to The Militant. I am out of work since May last year. The little savings I had are gone and I live on chanity at the present time. That has never happened to me before. The only thing they could not take away from me is the same old hatred which I feel for our wonderful order of society, the capitalist system. I hope the comrades are able to keep The Militant going as

This should be a good incentive to So clear was the opportunistic policy from Minneapolis, Sacharow from Chiof Stalinism at Geneva, so evidently in- cago, Schechet from Boston and Goodman correct was the Stalinist analysis of the from Philadelphia. Comrade Goodman open forums and public meetings ar-Manchurian and Shanghai events, that is now going to serve his term in Prison ranged by them. They should also, when there was no discussion in opposition to but we expect the Philadelphia branch an opportunity is available, endeavor to comrade Shachtmans presentation of the to follow his fine example and to keep have our comrades speak on this subject

Our subscription drive is getting under more comrades joining the ranks of The Militant builders

The New York branch has elected a special committee in charge of the drive. Each member is required to bring in be in the lead. Comrade Tom Stamm is giving special attention to the subscription drive in his capacity of being

Our Second National Tour This week, comrade Glotzer is starting out on his national tour. Public meetings have been arranged in the various cities which will serve to further bring the views of the Left Oppostion on the burning issues of the class struggle before the American workers. It will serve to give added life and added strength to the branches as well as to make more firm their contacts with the Centre. A couple of big features of this tour are to be a planned address over the radio from St. Louis and a debate with A. C.

Townley at Minneapolis. The subject of Glotzer's meetings will in the main center around the issue of the international movement, and particularly of Germany. Comrade Trotsky calls Germany at present the key to the internatoinal situation. It is decisively so. We propose to follow up regularly in The Militant columns with information of all developments in Germany and The Militant builders. We have had endeavor to make a searching analysis among the most active ones of the re- into the events and perspectives. We cent months such comrades as Hedlund propose that in addition to Glotzer's meetings the branches should wherever possible bring the subject forward at before labor organizations. We expect the situation in Germany to become a subject for serious discussion by our membership as there are many important essons to be learned in such discussions. Above all should this opportunity be utilized to spread comrade Trotsky's pamphlet on Germany far and wide.

AFTER THE R.R. WAGE CUT

In our previous article on the Railroad, responsibility to the workers whom we Brotherhoods, we quoted a United Press represent and our country, we have ment, that the betrayal is at the hands report to the effect that on Jan. 14, Railroad capital and Ruilroad labor "sat industry and the demands of the public they betrayed the three defendants and down across a conference table deter- welfare in this present unparalleled sitmined to provide dividends for rail in- uation against the individual sacrifices vestors and work for unemployed rail requested of the railroad employes. In

Accordingly, the recent Chicago railroad wage conference had a two-fold purpose. First, to provide more profit for the millionaire investors in railroad bonds and stocks, more money for the rich who do not need it and did not earn it, and this money was to be taken from the poor railroad wrokers who needed it badly for food, clothing and rent, the very necessaries of life. Well, the first purpose of the wage conference was accomplished by taking \$215,000,000 from the rail workers wages and giving it to the railroad capitalists. But what happened to the second question on the conference program, to provide work for the unemployed rail workers? That was only a bluff in the first place. The Brotherhood misleaders, who have nothing in common with the workers anyway, never had any intention from the begin-Of one thing I am sure, if we are ning, of getting any work for its unempaid as these Brotherhood officials are, their final agreement with the railroads, derived from this pay roll deduction, the

Complete Harmony prevails at the Wage-Cutting Meet

According to T. C. Cashen, one of the participants at the conference, there was no disagreement between the Chiefs on the question of taking the ten per cent cut for the men. The only difference of opinion which arose in the conference was over "the policy of procedure". The policy agreed upon was to take the mittee which is the only body that has cut for the men right there and then. The Chiefs did not want their crony Dan Willard to wait until they put the wage cut through the mill of the Watson-Parker Law, because that might have delayed the cut for another thirty or sixty their treachery to the workers. days. As a matter of fact the Brotherhood Chiefs were so anxious to serve and please the railroad Chiefs that they worked overtime on Saturday, January 30, in order to get their letter of acceptance in shape for presentation to the railroads on Sunday, Jan. 31st, so the cut could be put into effect on Monday, February 1st. And to show by their own words the brazen betraval of the railroad workers at this fake wage conference at Chicago by the Brotherhood leaders, we will quote in full their letter to Willard accepting everything the railroads asked for. Read it carefully:

The Palmer House Chicago, Illinois January 31, 1932

"Mr. Daniel Willard Chairman, Committee of Nine Railroad Presidents Chicago, Illinois

"After a painstaking review of the proposals and arguments which have been ably and forcibly presented in behalf of the railroads, we feel compelled to reiterate our previous opinion that as a matter of pure right and justice, the railway employes could not be called upon to agree to a ten per cent reduction of their meagre earning. Nor do we wish to give any assent to the theory that wage deductions are to be regarded ordinarily as the appropriate means to promote prosperity. We cannot believe that the public welfare is advanced by organization. reducing the purchasing power of labor.

"But, with a profound sense of our

weighed the urgent needs of the railroad the hope that our action may improve the health of our industry, may improve the cooperative relations of management and employes, may stimulate a revival of business, and may advance the general welfare, we have decided to accept the proposal of the railroads to the em ployes whom we represent, that-

"Ten per cent shall be deducted from each pay check for a period of one year beginning February 1, 1932:

"Basic rates shall remain as at pre sent:

"This arrangement shall terminate automatically Jan. 31, 1933.

"We attach the following conditions to this acceptance of your proposal: "(1) That the formal notices served by the railroads whom you represent

upon the organizations of employes whom we represent, seeking a fifteen per cent reduction in present rates of pay, shall be withdrawn and further proceedings thereunder discontinued. "(2) That the railroads whom you

represent will agree that without attach earnest and sympathetic effort to maintain and increase railroad employment. "We trust the foregoing proposition will meet with your favorable condi-

Very truly yours, "(Signed) D. B. Robertson Chairman, Railway Labor Executives Associaton.'

We believe that the above letter constitutes the most open and shameful betrayal of the railroad workers in the annals of the Railway Labor Movement. The two feeble conditions incorporated in the letter and numbered, (1) and (2), are both pure fakes, and are merely put in there by the labor skates to cover up

The request for a fifteen per cent cut referred to in condition (1) was never a serious proposal in the first place. If it had been, it would have been put into effect. In all probability it was a suggestion by the Brotherhood leaders to enable them to make the workers believe that their leaders saved them something. As a matter of fact, everyone knew, who studied the matter, that what the railroads really wanted was a ten percent cut and they got it. Press reports released at the very beginning of the conference on January 14, stated so frankly.

In condition (2) where the Brotherhood Executives stipulate "an earnest and sympathetic effort to maintain and increase railroad employment", they got nothing. The railroads agreed to two things and those two they got, namely: A 10 per cent wage cut, and the offer on the part of the labor leaders of cooperation with the railroad managements. Items (4) in the final agreement reads as follows:

"The parties unite in expressing unqualified approval of whole-hearted cooperation between management and employes and agree to do everything they can in support of this policy."

The only thing the railroad workers got out of the Chicago wage conference was another costly lesson on the bankrutpcy of its overpaid bureaucracy with its class cooperation policy and the useless character of the craft system of

—A. E.

The Sims Murder

The terror of the boss-class in Kentucky knows no bounds. Not content with brutal repressions and beatings, they have resorted to murder. Cold, planned, premeditated murder.

On Wednesday morning ,February 18, William Simms, nineteen year old organizer of the National Miners Union and member of the Young Communist League was shot down by deputy thug. Orbin Miller in the employ of the Rockefeller controlled mine interests in Pinevile, Kentucky. He died a few hours later. Lawson Green, a N. M. U. organizer, who was with him when the shooting took place was arrested. As Simms lay dying in a Knox County hospital the inhuman district attorney kept plying him with questions. All urgings from hospital nurses and friends of the young organizer, to have that torture cease, proved futile. When the district attorney finished his inquisition the bed was saturated through and through with the red blood of the young miner and Communist. The end came a short while after.

Murderer Orbin Miller who went through a formal arrest was later released by county Judge Baker of Barbourville. The reason given being that he (the deputymurderer) shot either in defense of himself or his accomplice. "So it didn't matter." But it does matter! It matters to the starving and struggling miners in Kentucky. It matters to all those impoverished dsouthern workers, black and white, fighting for the right to organize. It matters to the entire militant working class.

Lawson's testimony in the mock-trial against killer Orbin Miller was rejected. His testimony was rejected because he was a miner. His testimony was rejected as invalid because he dared tell the miners of Kentucky-Tennessee of their serf-like existence. His testimony was rejectedd because he dared tell them organize. In the County Court of Barbourville, Kentucky, Orbin Miller's testimony proved valid and just because he has a general reputation as a killer. Because he served a sentence in jail for robbing the Cumberland Gap post office. This degenerate's testimony was placed against the testimony of Green Lawson, miner and organizer and the court decided in favor of the degenerate, the kill-

From the Needle Strike Front

(Continued from apge 1) workers; openy or behind the backs of the workers these class-collaborators and parasites will give up what still remains of the conditions that the dressmakers won through many bloody strikes. It is this danger of leaving the conduct of the strike in the hands of the Schlesinger macine and their Lovestone helpers that makes imperative for the Left wing to call for:

(1) UNITED PICKET LINES. (2) FOR IMMEDIATE FUSION OF THE TWO STRIKE COMMITTEES. (3) FOR A CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER THE SETTLEMENTS JOINTLY.

The banner of the Left wing can again be raised high among the thousands of organized and unorganized dressmakers in the struggle for unity, in the effort to bring about One Union, in the fight for better conditions for the needle workers. The great mass of dressmakers will marlch under the Left wing banner when they see it unfurled it for unity.

(To Be Continued)

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Character of Fascism The Government Reprisals in Greece The Stalinists in Bulgaria

An Analysis of the Composition of the Hitlerist Camp

tee of the C. P. G. decided overnight, ism, it is certain that the reformist orthat Fascism is reigning in Germany and ganizations in themselves will be totally that Bruening is its prophet. The 11th crushed. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. put its seal upon that, and all expectations, nourished by the "deviations" and inconsistencies in the resolutions, in the speeches of Remmele, etc., that the German central to facilitate this surgical operation for committee would revise this decision and it, (Trotsky)". take reality into account, have come to naught. Under the mask of a "theoretical elaboration"; a large current of confusion is flowing through the party into the minds of its membereship and the only one of the four credos of the Thaelmann article in December which is actually being preached, is: 'We live under Fascism!" "Fascism and social-Fascism in the last analysis are two different shades of one and the same basis for the bourgeois dictatorship" (Manuilsky's report to the 11th plenum)

the resolutions of the 5th world congress have been raised from their graves and ings who base themselves upon a parlia- policy of toleration. The Marxist manthat Stalin's theoretical infantile maladies, like "social-democracy as a moderate wing of Fascism", "social democr- the state apparatus is as yet in its emacy and Fascism as twins" and other ab- bryo. It restricts itself to the toleration Hitler, together with Braun, as componortions of the same sort are being preach- of the Nazi terror. The foreign policy ent parts of one and the same system. ed as eternal truths. It is only being of Bruening is not that of Hitler. That consistent for a Warner Hirsch* (Die is what differentiates Bruening from lesser evil, has no sense, because the Internationale. Vol. 15, No. 1) to coun- Fascism. What brings him closer to it system against which we are fighting, terpose democratic England and France we know full well; it is the regime of needs all these elements. But for the to "Fascist" Germany!

situation, the question whether we really active support of the Nazis, etc. If we proletariat must take advantage of this have Fascism already in Germany, is of want to evaluate the Bruening governthe greatest strategic importance. If ment as a whole, we must characterize one takes an affirmative position on this it not as Fascism but much more prequestion then one must come to an entirely different point of departure, to an tion to Fascism, of the active preparaentirely different (and distorted) evaluation (Groener!) of Fascism. tion of Hitler, as well as of the Fascist danger in the perceptible future. For Bruening consists not in the aim but in the bureaucratic jackals gaain, by howlin that case the question of a formulation becomes the question of a prognosis of the most likely development.

The theoreticians of the Comintern are operating with commonplaces like thing that must not be overlooked. "Bruening and Hitler are both merely dictators of the bourgeoisie. Between an open Fascist dictatorship and the Bruening government there is in no case any class difference whatsoever." These are elementary truths for every Marxist.

The essence of Marxist analysis does not, however, consist in the recognition of the general, but of the particular, of the concrete. The essence of a valid political characterization does not consist of the ability of fastening it on to every, but to a definite, political situation.

Can the expression "Fascism" serve as a characterization for a specific political phenomenon, for a definite situation? It can. But in that case, what is "Fascism" actually? A review of European, and especially Italian Fascism, permits us to elaborate certain specific features of it, without any difficulty. Fascism is a unique and new phenomenon of the period of monopoly capitalism, a product of post-war capitalism, an off- Italy, she wants to make of it a tribune shoot of reformism.

As the collapse of economy spreads, as reformism begins to disappoint the road stocks, by putting forth the threat masses looking for a way out, Fascism of a "united front" is saddled everywhere with the task of intercepting the radicalized masses who are about to turn revolutionary channels proletariat and the impoverished peasant and of faking them useful once more for classes of Eastern Europe require some the purposes of finance capital. It is a sort of a way out for the bourgeoisie. matter, in this case, first of all, of radi- Germany, Poland, Rumania, Hungary calized petty bourgeois masses and con- live on top of a volcano. Each bourgesequently, we see everywhere, as a par- oisie is conducting a fierce struggle ticular feature of Fascism—its broad against the working class, ruining its petty bourgeois mass basis. Further- own home market, and consequently, more, we se as a consesuence of this, also the foreign market of the others. the super-radical and quasi-revolutionary, typically petty bourgeois phraseology, the desecration of the idols of icy is insufficient to resist the monstrous yesterday—democracy, pacifism—and the onslaught of America, coupled with the idealization of the most brutal strongman dictatorship. We see further an unrestricted terror of the Fascists against the working class and all its organiza- of a certain amount of agreement among tions before and after its seizure of the rival imperialism, that is to say, power, through particular organs (Fasces, Storm Divisions, etc.)—a terror ing certain temporary advantages over of such a great quantitive proportion that it becomes transformed into a specific quality. Fighly we see the na- is ready to tolerate the Fascist countertionalist ideology as a maneuver of divertinf attention from social misery and on to drive its point against the U. S. as the basis of an aggressive foreign S. R. The East European states are also policy, which is possible only on the being encouraged by France to prepare backs of a defeated working class, for for an armed struggle against the U. S. whom the revolutionary way out is closed. It is especially significant to liberate herself from the fetters of Vertake into account, as Alfred Kurella has done, the strong war sentiments current among the Italian workers. Its origin and the tasks asigned to it which to shatter the hegemony of France

by the bourgeoisie, account for the position of Fascism with regard to the social democracy. Fascism, which cannot tolerate any other party, not even a petty bourgeois one, at its side, can least of all tolerate those for whom it must sub- bourgeoisie. Briand was the man of the stitute, because they have compromised and outlived themselves. It is quite true on the basis of the Versailles Treaty, that the social democratic leaders would after the defeat of the Poincare foreig Fascism would not share its power with has little by little withdrawn from the them. Despite the offer for a coalition scene. Heavy blows are in store for made by the Baldesi of the Socialist France from the outside. The recent Party of Italy, the S. P. I. was proscrib- ministerial crisis has reflected this fore- of the C. P. . of the extreme danger of nevertheless landed in the fortress of in so far as foreign policy is concerned Brest-Litovsk. Just as it is certain that its program jibes with that of Laval. But for this it is necessary that Thael-

In October 1930, the central commit-| several D'Aragonas will go over to Fasc-

"Fascism, nourished by the social democracy, will and must eventually crush its skull, in order to reach power. The Austrian social democracy does all it can

That is why the formula of "social Fascism" is not only harmful in agitation, but also false as a political pro gnosis.

When we consider, after this brief analysis of Fascism, the present day Bruening government, the differences are ocracy is doing. Because the "lesser unmistakable. Its social basis consists evil" Bruening is being tolerated unfortunately, as yet of the reformist by the S. P. G. and not fought by it, workers chained to it by their treacher it becomes by itself an ever "greater masses of Fascism even though it does time to time, The ideology of the Bruenmentary majority, is conservative and not quasi-revolutionary. The terror of Trotsky in his latest pamphlet: emergency decrees, the factual even if moment, these elements are in conflict The question of the evaluation of the not formal, suspension of democracy, the cisely as the government of the transi

The difference between Hitler and the social basis (what Thaelmann, Manu- ing himself hoarse against Trotsky ilsky and Co. say about their common ("Trotsk, an agent of Hitler-Fascism"). social basis is pure twaddle). It con- In his day, he himself, after leaving the person, worker or intellectual to particisists in the methods. And that is some-

respondent).—On December 31, 1931, State troopers arrested comrade Demitrios Mylona. President of the Panrefugees Organization of Agrini, and led him to the Police Hearquarters. There the lackeys passed him through the third degree and locked him in a dark cell. At midnight, the Chief of Police Anastaspoulos arrived at headquarters and rade. During the hearing our comrade declared that he is a Communist and as President of the "Panrefugees", he carried the book and a protest leasiet, which

It is, however, conscious deception to characterize this order of things as the "lesser evil", as the social deming and Hitler does not as yet signify a ist in the Stalinist ranks. ner of posing the question is given by

"We Marxists consider Bruening and The question which one of them is the with one another and the party of the conflict in the interest of the revolution". -F. BAUER.

(To Be Continued)

* This gentleman, still convalescing from the Merker malady, is seeking to squeeze his way into the front ranks of C. P. G., did not disdain the role of a genuine "agent of Ullstein".

AGRINI, GREECE-January (Our cor- they discovered in his pocket.

Immediately, this bestial policeman attacked our comrade with a black jack shouting that he is a member of the Unemployment Committee which met this Monday. Confronted with the Bolshevik courage of our comrade, the beast continued his attack with rabid madness for immediately begun to examine our com- a whole hour until our comrade began to bleed. At the end he did stop with the threat that he is going to kill him in case he continues to be an active Com-

> The following day they called comrade Mylonas for another hearing.

But how Anastasopoulos was able t learn of the meetings of the Unemployment committees which are illegal remains a mystery. In this organizationous leaders and not of the petty-bourgeois evil" and is enabled thereby to prepare al committee Stalinists also participated the "greatest evil" so impudently. It is and there it is possible that this treach-It is therefore not at all strange that indeed maneuver with the latter from clear that to differentiate between Bruen- ery is the work of stoolpigeons which ex-

> The condition of comrade Baboucopoulos continues to be the same and the wounds in his shoulders are not healed and therefore he can't move from his have to care for him. In the meantime the condition of our comrades within the prisons walls remains the same and we urge the formation of a committee of workers and intellectuals to bring to light the criminal activities of the Wardens who are aiming to exterminate our fighters by every device of terror.

We are informed that our comrades of the Averof prisons are going to declare a hunger strike because the Ministry of Justice did ont reply to their

The "Students Syntrofia" circulated leaflets and appeals to every intelligent pate in the rally which is scheduled to be held at the "Trianon".

Use Violence against Oppositionists in the Prisons

We are bringing below the document of comrade D. Gatcheff .incarcerated in the Philipoppel Prison in Bulgaria, mentioned in the February 6th issue of The Militant. It speaks highly of the revolutionary quality of our Bulgarian comrades. whose spiendid morale should serve as an example and as an inspiration to all Communists, and to the Left Oppositionists in particular.

To the District Attorney of the Phil lipoppel Court, Petition of the Prisoner Dmitri M. Gatcheff, sentenced to life long imprisonment, a member of the International Left Opposition under the leadership of the brave comrade Trotsky and Rakovsky, against G. Ognianoff, T. Nikoloff, Boris Dimitroff, etc.

Mr. District Attorney:

against which we are fighting and for my opponents.

For a long time there have been existing several factions within the labor class. movement; the Right the Centrist and the Left. Of late, the approach of decisive struggles between the classes has brought about an aggravation of the factional disputes.

The Left faction in Bulgaria, as it exists at present, came to the fore towards the end of 1928. The opponents

of our faction, incapble of conducting an ideological struggle and of withstanding our tactics, resort to personal attacks, provocation and threats, employ ing all the means unworthy of a revolutionist. They have more than once published all sorts of stupidities about us, for which they have never brought any proof. We have answered all these provocations in a firm and disciplined manner, by pursuing our course, the course of the Marxist Left Opposition.

They have threatened our friends that

they would throw them out from the third floor windows of the Central Prison. They have spat into their plates to deprive them of the meagre nourishment granted by the class enemy. They have attempted to get two of our friends killed at the hands of paid assassins. (At the Haskovo Prison) they have crushed the I should never have desired or toler- skull of one of our friends. They have ated your interference into our fac- made attacks upon the lives of our fritional disputes. You are a representa- ends in the prisons of Silven, Vidin, etc. tive of the power of the bourgeois class | They have stolen letters directed to us ... That has become a system with them. which we want to substitute the power of They murder our friends in Russia, in the working class. We are a faction in the fatherland of the workers and pea the labor movement hostile to your class sants. They imprison, they sentence to justice and to your class itself of which deportation Bolshevik-Leninists like Trotbed. The Municipal Hospital shows a criminal neglect and the same attitude is shown by the I. L. D. Our comrades of the representatives. But sky, Rakovsky, Muralov and others. They in the moment in which my opponents have shot upon our friends in China and is shown by the I. L. D. Our comrades of the other faction turn to you and de- elsewhere. I must emphasize that all mand justice from you, I am forced to these deeds have not been committed by bring the truth, in the first place, be- the Communist party but by one of the fore the working class and then also to factions and that is-the Centrist facthe attention of your tribunal. At any tion, which is only a bureaucratic and rate, the responsibility for this inter- paid apparatus, with Stalin as its head. ference on the part of our class enemy They act without the knowledge or the into our internal disputes, rests upon desire of the Communist party and in this manner they stab a knife into its heart and into the heart of the working

> Ever since my arrival here, these filthy affairs have also begun with regard to myself. I have more than once challenged them to make public their "accusations" and to counterpose the two points of view. They have always avoided this and have been continuing their attacks.

On the 11th of this month, after some similar quarrels and provocations, I met G. Ognianoff. I told him that they would remain cowards and rogues as long as they would not adopt an open declaration. Upon this, T. Nikoloff and G. Ognianoff almost simultaneously fell upon me with the cry, "Traitor!". Nikoloff beat me with a stick over my head, Ognianoff struck me in the righ teye with his first. This was the cause of the entire scuffle. The result was: One of our comrades was wounded in the head, myself in my ear, and one other also on the head. On their side: Two wounded and several suffering lighter injuries. opment in the U. S. S. R., for it is not That is the whole truth, the rest is pure

of the proletarian masses. As against rade Trotsky, condemning the attack th pseudo-efficiency of the ihperialists, against members of the Left Opposition as against the "European unions", as in Canton, states: "We will never emagainst the conferences of Lausanne and ploy terroristic methods in the factional the European "united front", it is neces-struggles within the labor movement. It sary to counter-pose the agitation around is the task of the Left Opposition to take the slogan of the overthrow of the bour- special care with regard to this. Firmgeoisie, for the realization of a Soviet ness, will power and discipline are in-United States of Europe. The internal dispensable!" Yes, we are fighting against ruin of bourgeois Europe is characterized the system of provocation, terrorism and by its extremely chopped up, parcelled cold blooded dmurder within our ranks. off economic picture. This tattered char- Can we also make use of this? No and acter is an obstacle to the economic dev- never! We can never employ provocaeolpment of society as a whole. But tions, terrorism and murder against our the bourgeoisie seeks only profit and the comrades. But once we are attacked, advantages of competition. Only the we must defend ourselves for we are not proletariat, only the broad exploited dogs. Our factional opponents are at masses can realize the socialization of present playing in the role of the thief

They are organizing more attacks. They are employing more provocation vocations coming from us. We declare that we shall answer all their threats with firmness and discipline.

We shall not employ the same weapons as they do, and accuse them of being connected with the management of the prison, but we shall tell the working class that they are being tolerated by this management—and that when they raise their hands against us they are acting unconsciously as a tool of the bourgeoisie.

Stalin himself is unconsciously a tool of the Ramsins when he shoots Opposition fighters, when he exiles them, throws them into prison. And the Ramsims are the conscious instruments of French and international imperialism. History also has its logic and that is the logic of the class struggle. I protest not only against the situation,

that my opponents remain "free" (i. e. they are in the regular prison), which permits them to hunt up witnesses and to continue the slanders against us-I protest against the fact that we, who have been wounded and beaten without any guilt on our part, are condemned to solitary confinement and subjected to an insufferable regime. Is it possible that for the necessary enjoyment of sun and air only 30 to 40 minutes are to be granted to us in the day?

I shall furnish you with sufficient evidence that the responsibility does not rest upon my shoulders without attempting to throw it on anyone else. The working class alone will judge who is really guilty and it is to it that I address myself. D. GATCHEFF

-- Sharp Changes in the Foreign Policy of the French Imperialists --

(Continued from last issue)

first part of this article, the Laussane conference, which is to occupy itself with the question of reparations, that is to say, in the last analysis, with the Versailles Treaty, will be confronted with such troublesome and unstabe conditions. If it is to be a matter of taking up the Young plan, the French will refuse to participate in it and will maneuver to postpone it. Germany intends to play its own game there, taking advantage of the attitude of the U.S. England considers it futile to lose its if it should be impossible to include the question of the debts to the U.S. As to from which to appeal to the mercy of the U. S., who are in control of all its rail-

It is indisputable that the development of the crisis and the movement of the reducing the working classes as a whole to actual servitude. But even this polstrictures of the economic crisis. That is why the struggle against the proletariat cannot go on without the intervention without some of the imperialisms achievthe others. France intends to maintain her own advantages. For this price, she S. R. But Germany is still seeking to sailles, from the "tribute". For that is the only means of easing her difficulties, but also at the same time the one by

in Europe. The development of this situation which has been maturing for several months has brought about a displacement in the directing apparatus of the French period of ascent of French imperialism, like to rule together with Fascism, but policy. Faced with new difficulties, he ed even before the C. P. I. Despite all cast. Some demagogic reserves still ex the services rendered to Pilsudski by the ist; they constitute first of all: the radi-Socialist Party of Poland, its leaders cal party, which has just asserted, that

the approaching elections.

For the reasons enumerated in the against the proletariat, the growth of a character of extreme urgency, the which this revolution will be victorious unemployment, the awakening of the clashes between the imperialists show labor movement, combined with the need the way to the only genuine solution to mask the aggressive policy of France the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the and perhaps also the defeats which it installation of the dictatorship of the has undergone, beneath the veil of paci- proletariat which alone will solve the fism, also constitute important facts. The problem of the socialist United States of radicals and socialists will play this role Europe. The C. I. is at present engaged and will doubtlessly, consciously prepare in a struggle along the lines of the "nato play it much more openly in view of tionalist and social" liberation in the different countries. It provides further

> A TIMELY DEBATE NO WORKER CAN AFFORD TO MISS!

COMMUNISM vs. ANARCHISM IN SPAIN For Anarchism:

For Communism: MAX SHACHTMAN

of the Communist League

Editor of Il Martello - well-known Italianof America (Opposition) American Anarchist.

Just Returned from Spain. ROGER BALDWIN Chairman

Friday, March 4, 1932 at 8 P. M. at IRVING PLAZA, 15th St. & IRVING PLACE Admission: Thirty-five Cents can be procured at the offices of The Militant, 84 East 10th St., and Il Martello, 82 East 10th Street, New York City.

The Presidential Elections in Germany

(Continud from page 1)

ary struggle. For us it must be clear that the elections can at best act as a certain barometer of the tendencies to the political situation.

party without bearing in mind the sit- be held responsible for the defeat of uation as it will appear after the elec- the German working class. It is they tons, the trend of the struggle in the who are responsible for the failure of event of a defeat or victory of Fascism, is to lose oneself in a purely parliamentary struggle. Such a situation would result in continued defeats of the party and victory for the black forces of re-

What should the party do now? It should prepare for the struggle that will follow the elections. The Opposition has pressed for a change of line on the part of the C. P. G. We have attempted to make the party realize that the situation in Germany is a revolutionary one, that it ought at present prepare its forces for an eventual armed struggle for power. The elections should serve as an indicator of the relation of forces and

If the party is to successfully defeat help in the preparation for the conflict. Fascism and all the forces of reaction, it is necessary that it first change its analysis of the political situaton, and reorientate itself accordingly. Concretely, this implies an acceptance on the part tant task confronting the party is the workers in the struggle against Fascism.

mann and Company first drop the theory that "the main danger is the social democracy".

CARLO TRESCA

If the party does not at once change its orientation, the leadership of the C However, to plan the campaign of the P. G. together with the T. C. C. L., will such a change today and for weakening the position of the workers which sign fles, in effect, strengthening the position of Fascsm

> The elections will decide nothing defintely. At best they may postpone for a short time the decisive struggle. Between Fascism and Communism only the armed struggle for power will decide the future. Supposing that the Centre social democratic bloc should win the elections. It will at best give the working class more time to prepare itself for the final struggle. A victory of Fascism will push to the foreground the extreme acuteness of the situation, and force it to a head. In either case the election result will not change the perspective of struggle.

The party must foresee all the implications beforehand. The elections must serve it as a means of organizing its forces. The C. P. G. must begin to actually promote a genuine united front of the workers and their organizations. Fascism in Germany. The most impor- The perspective must be that of struggle-to defeat the Fascist front as the organization of the united front of all step toward the proletarian seizure of

-ALBERT GLOTZER.

The necessity of an internal struggle | Thus, once more, and this time with | for an "alliance" of the countries in with the U.S.S.R. This perspective is false. The United States of Europe on the basis of Socialism will require a complete fusion with the U.S.S.R As against the anarchy of capitalist Europe, it is not sufficient to counterpose the "harmonious" économic devela matter of a simple hypothetical com- invention. parison that remains abstract in the eyes In No. 16 of the Russian Bulletin, comthe principal means of production, after who cries: "Stop thief!" the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of political power, as well as the socialization exchange production and and they tell stories of threats and proplanned economy for a broadened market, through the elimination of the manifold national barriers winding and provocations as we have in the past, around Europe. This is the perspective which we counterepose to the bourgeois

-LA VERITE.

CHICAGO OPEN FORUM WHAT IS EUROPE HEADING FORP Speaker: ALBERT GLOTZER SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1932

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LEARN FROM THE WORKERS

The sound impulse of the militant workers to maintain solidarity with persecuted members of their class under all conditions has again been demonstrated by the latest actions of Local 2090 of the carpenters' union in regard to the marine workers' defense. At the same time it has been shown again how far upstart bureaucrats. holding office by appointment and freed from accountability to the ranks, can depart from the principles they claim to espouse, and even to monopolize.

Local 2090 contains quite a few progressive and militant unionists, including a number of sympathizers of the official Communst Party. The I. L. D. has had a strong support there and the carpenters have responded every time to its appeals for class war prisoners. They took the idea of non-partisan labor defense more seriously, apparently, that the officials of the I. L. D. who had talked to them so much about it. Consequently when an appeal was made to them for the marine workers they responded just as loyally as they had done in other cases. The principle had taken root in the union, and the few members, inspired by the Party and I. L. D. bureaucrats, who tried to sabotage the action succeeded only in damaging their own prestige.

It might be thought that this warning would have been sufficient to put a stop to such trifling, at least in this union. But the Stalinist generals and field marshame and absolutely no respect for the intelligence of the workers. They thought there must be some mistake, and they undertook to correct it. Hacker, the disexperience that the carpenters could not ed the attack to their defense committee and proposed that the union should withdraw its support from that body.

The ruse did not work. Without showing any prejudice one way or the other, the carpenters decided to hear both sides before coming to their final decision. They invited the defense committee to send a speaker to the next meeting. Af- for the future. We must rather concenter hearing him they voted to continue their support of the marine defense committee until the end, without slackenng any of their help to the cases defended by the I. L. D.

In this action the workers gave two lessons to the bureaucrats. On the one hand they showed that what they are really concerned about is workingmen in jail and not the auspices of their defense. On the other hand, rejecting the sabotaging tricks of the Hackers, they maintained their solidarity with the prisoners defended by the I. L. D., in spite of the Hackers. In both cases we believe they were right. Their actions show a line of principle, and that is what is needed to find the right answers to questions of the class struggle.

The lesson will be lost on the bureaususe these people think only of instructing the workers, great imperialist powers is taking place never of learning from them. But we at a time of the moral collapse of bourhave no doubt it will have its effect on geois pacifism. In the face of the bloody that distinction was only technical, but the Communists in the carpenters' union Sino-Japanese conflict, the bankruptcy of who were made ridiculous before their the Kellogg Pact, the League of Nations Times correspondent: "Litvinoff comorganization by their attempts to carry and the various other designs of the pletes the circle of these suggestions. out false instructions.

~~ UNITED FRONT IN PRACTICE

We have heard a lot of twaddle about the united front from critics of the Left Opposition who have described our struggle for principle as "sectarianism". ample of the united front which has not involved a sacrifice of principle—the marine workers' defense committee—was initiated by the "sectarians" of the Opposition. So far all of its activities have been of a positive character and we have no reason to regret our participation in it. What the future will bring we cannot know, but this much is already clear: the formation of the committee carried into life an almost forgotten principle, it rendered a timely service to persecuted workers and therefore to the class they represent. Thereby it is justified.

The event may have a certain effect on future developments in the Left wing labor movement. Hopes—as well as fears and speculations, depending on the source—are spoken of all around in this regard. But in our opinion the hopes as well as the fears are considerably exaggerated. We think now as we thought before that the problem of the united front, taking all the circumstances—and primarily the splits and relation of forces in the Communist ranks-into consideration, is a long way from solution. The work of the marine workers defense committee is at best only a contribution, by way of example, toward that solution.

Most empty and groundless of all is the talk about our participation in this joint struggle signifying a "change of against war? He proposed disarmament policy" on the part of the Communist to the capitalist governments, total dis-League. Those who draw this conclusion armament, if acceptable, partial, if more show that they know no more now than practical. How well it fitted in with the they knew before about the question of program of the Conference and its ob- by another representative of the Soviet they knew perore about the question of the Soviet the united front. The defense committee Jectives! The Conference is out to ac- government, we shall quote from Chichis in o sense a political combination. It complish just this modest task of reachis not a union for joint struggle on a ing a common agreement on reducing to his message to the U. S. Congress of wide front of the class struggle. It is armaments. They all talk about it. They January 18, 1918, on the question of the a simple agreement to cooperate on a sin- all offer plans to achieve it. Litvinoff's League of Nations and the conditions gle concrete issue, the most obvious one proposals were just appropriate for the for World Peace. Dated October 24, and the one having the widest appeal occasion. Besides, he is moderate and 1918: to the honest workers in all camps, and conciliatory. He is ready to compromise in a case which would brook no delay on a plan of partial disarmament so as only settle the present war. It must In a case which would and negotiate not to appear. "impractical" to the immake all wars impossible. It cannot munist workers take note! yery long when workers are facing trial; perialists. In a word he was obliging be unknown to you, Mr. President, that

you must either help to defend them or desert them. We chose the former course without any illusions as to the possible ary wing of the Party. The case against mental conceptions on the subject of the united front in general.

Another point needs to be considered and—from our point of view—unavoidable united front action. That is its exendeavor was conceived as a class duty at the moment. We never guaranteed are good, far better in fact than was to be expected. But we are willing to leave predictions as to the final outcome to others. We will draw our conclusions at the end of the experiment.

Nevertheless the experince up to date has all tended to confirm in practice the conceptions we held in advance regarding the difficulties of carrying through a united front action without the participation of the official Party. The logic of the situation works against its success, and it is only the exceptional circumstances and the limited character of consideration beforehand, that prevented a disruption of the present action.

The rude provocations of the Stalin-Stalinists, by their whole course, prepared the ground for the transformation shalls have hard heads, very little of the defense committee into a concentration boint against Communism. This did no happen, and it is not likely to happen. There were and remain certain safeguards against it. By the nature of trict organizer of the I. I. D., took an the case and the origin of the movement evening off from his arduous labors for the Communist are in a position to fight the principle of non-partisan support of more effectively against such a distorclass war prisoners to go to the union tion. The principle of unity-against and explain that it did not apply in this the captalsts and not against the Comcase. Having learned by the previous munist Party—has been firmly established in the policy and work of the combe turned aginst the prisoners, he switch- mittee and will not be easy to change. And finally, this direction is strengthened by the attitude of the prisoners who have a decisive word and have spoken it clearly for this policy.

All of this goes to show that we are dealing here with an exceptional situation from whic it would be most unwise to draw hasty and general conclusions trate on the problem of the moment. The treacherous maneuvers of the Stalinists have been branded as they deserved to be The task now is to hold the defense novement to the basis of principle upon which it has worked up to now, which alone could maintain its class unity and justify its existence.

w

MORGENSTERN AND GOODMAN

workers is nothing new, even in America counting for their rudeness, their dis-

where only the first skirmishes of the great class struggle have so far taken place, and Morgenstern and Goodmdan are only two more added to many. Yet the departure of these militants represents a unique development and has an exceptional significance. It fell to them to be the first to fall victims to direct class vengeance against the revolutionresults and wthout altering our funda- them was purely political; the indictment was based exclusively on the contents of our unemployment leaflet. Hitherto this persecution has been realien class influence upon the movement. the results of the effort. So far they Thereby it has conferred a singular honor upon them and upon the cause they symbolize and represent.

Beyond all doubting there will be many more to follow in the stormy times that must intervene between the present period of preparation and beginning and the day of the final victory. Our doctrines which are destined to become the fighting ideas of millions will receive their verification in the heat of mighty conflicts in which no resource of violence and oppression will be neglected by the class enemy. In these fires the cadres of the revolutionary vanguard will be the issue, which we naturally took into steeled and tested. There will be many representative of official Communism in those who are to follow. We can all be ishing and strengthening the anti-Com- our flag into the Pennsylvania jail are sectarian trade union policy which the glittering Pepper conceived. While the munist elements, which are present in not strangers to us. We know them as and yet stalwart, revolutionists take with them our aflection and our faith.

Despite their youth, Morgenstern and Goodman have already earned their standing in the Communist movement; there are six or seven years of activity behind them. They belong to the founders and organizers of the Left Opposition in America, and before that they fought on the side of the proletarian tendency in the party. In the ranks of the Opposition they have been distinguished by their qualities of stability and endurance, by their stubborn adherence to principle and their capacity to go against the stream. They combined a courageous open fight for our ideas against heavy odds with the modesty that befits the young revolutionist who doesn't know it all. In them there is not a trace of the ugly presumptiousness of those academic upstarts who conceive of revolutionary education as a set of scholastic exercises. The jail will not hurt Morgenstern and Goodman, it will only make them stronger

As is known, the Stalinists, who dispose of the party press and the defense organization of the I L. D. and abuse the good faith of the workers who support them, refused any assistance to our two Philadelphia comrades. They deserted them in the court of the class enemy and gave not a published word of movement. The names of Morgenstern notice to their conviction and sentence. and Goodman will be a banner for us The imprisonment of revolutionary We will not forget that. In the final ac- in the fight to hasten on that day.

The Right Wing of Spanish Communism The Truth Concering the Actual Policy and Influence of the Maurin Group

Left and the Center representing the 'official" wing of Communism. In these divisions, the Spanish movement is not at the party and among the workers, rev- the very idea being propounded to preall unlike the movement in every other olutionist of long standing and prestige, cisely those elements—anarchists and important country. Where it differs is Joaquin Maurin, with his associates Ar- syndicalists—subsequently made it necin appraising this conditional, limited fracted through the distorting lens of the in the relative strength of each of the landis, Arquer, Sese, Miravitlles, and essary for Maurin to retreat a bit on ocntrolling centrism, which is a form of three wings. In distinction from most other countries, the Left Opposition in perimental character. Our part in the In the persons of Morgenstern and Spain can easily stand comparison with of Catalonia "and the Balearic Islands". Goodman, American capitalism has the official party from more standpoints To such an extent that the official party the slogan of "All power to the C. N. struck directly at the Left Opposition. than one. In addition, the Right wing today, while it grows with sometimes T.!" They had proposed, he claimed, group in Spain—at least at the time I visited the country; I learn that the ratios have since changed considerably in favor of the party-is as large in one district as the official party is nationally, figure has increased since I left) in the tongue and edited by Miravitlles, in if not largen. And what is more, enjoys practically a monopoly on the Communist movement so far as Catalonia is

the Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation and its electoral apparatus, the all important respects, supercedes the the National Confederation of Labor sponsible and unrepresentative clique, itself, and nothing more. terming itself the "Executive Committee" to foist itself upon the membership, willy-nilly, met with obdurate resistance, particularly from the Catalonian be "pure" and take in only educated Communists

The result was that, as has happened everywhere else, the bull-headed arrog-

loyalty, their violence and their slander we will also present our bill for their treachery to Morgenstern and Goodman.

In their actions in this case there is revealed, as by a premonitory flash, what these people will be capable of in the future when events will put the great class questions categorically, when no one will be able to dissimulate, to hide or to evade The day of reckoning will come. Let us hope that it will come before their course unfolds its ultimate logic in a catastrophe for the

-J. P. C.

others, was able to win the leadership the slogan. over the whole Communist organization phenomenal speed in other parts of the the slogan of "All Power to the Proletarland, has practically no strength what-list!" Unfortunately for Maurin, I read ists have some four to six thousand (the bloc.

Federation and the Bloc are reminiscent upon. Later on, a copy of Maurin's to an American Communist of the fab-The Spanish Right is organized into ulous plan of Pepper & Co. to build a terview which he granted the Buenos mass party in the United States by the simple expedient of organizing the "Fed-erally: Workers' and Peasants' Bloc which, in erated Farmer-Labor Party" on a "mass scale" and then suddenly converting it onians and the Madrid Executive Com- occasion requires. But there is one feain the party. The attempt of an irre an enlarged caricature of the Federation

> Yet there is something more. The Maurinist justification for the two organizations is that the Federation should revolutionist, Communists; it must be somewhat "narrow". But "as Lenin taught", the Communist party, i. e., the Federation, must surround itself with broad mass organizations into which even non-Communist elements may be taken. Such an organization, the Bloc is supposed to be. It is much larger than the Federation; it takes into its ranks all sorts of elements, including "Catalan Left" supporters and people to the right of even this bourgeois group.

The whole point, however, is that the

"Bloc" increasingly dominates the "Fed-

eration", instead of vice versa-that is

assuming for the moment that the whole idea is not a vulgar derision of Lenin's teachings. In the elections, it is not the Communist organization which is presented, but the candidates and platform of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc. In this case; substance marches side by side with form. The critical minority which Maurin finally expelled, sharply assailed the whole policy of the Right wing leaders in the elections. Wherever the Bloc was active—and most of its militants are also Federationiststhe face of Communism was heavily veiled with the more attractive colors of opportunism. Instead of advancing and high profits from China and Siberia, tion to playing upon the petty bourgeois and that fearing the competition on the prejudices of the nationalistic elements. part of the Japanese capitalists they are It is no exaggeration to say that the making miltiary preparations in order to largest proportion of the Bloc's growth overcome the resistance which may be has been among the petty bourgeois eleoffered them by Japan. You undoubted- ments and among the employees and office workers, particularly in Barcelona, where the factory workers in the Right wing organization are very few. On the countryside, the members of the Bloc are mostly peasants, tenants and even small proprietors. These elements,

The source of strength of the Maurinists lies precisely there: in its petty bourgeois surrender to the backwardness of the workers and peasants of Catalonia. The party of Macia, the "Esquerra Catalan", the various other factions of the Catalonian bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, have all moved to the Right ficial party, promptly expelled the whole since the proclamation of the republic. group of Arlandis and Sese. Here, by would not be in accordance with Stalin's This is particularly true of Macia, the The marked shift to the Right of what original source of the opportunsm and alanists, has created a vacuum in the moral stagnation to which the official field. Politics abhors a vaccuum as Communist movement is doomed by the much as nature does. It seeks to "fill the vaccuum." In Catalonia, the space theory that has limted the role of the left vacant in politics by the Macians is being occupied by the Maurinist group, Their cries had little effect, for only a tier-guards of the Soviet Union, with the increasingly popular candidate for the post of extreme Left wing of the Catalanists.

flocking to the banner of the Bloc, do

not remain passive there. They exert a

growing petty bourgeois pressure to

which the leaders yield with a grace

learned from the art books of opportun-

Not having an influence over the decisive sections of the industrial workers, particularly those organized in the C. N. T. (National Confederation of Labor, ian teachings on the laws and develop- the strongest trade union center in others. It all depends upon whose ox Spain, controlled by anarcho-syndicalists. and now by the "pure" anarchists), the Maurinists have been making the most Pact by the Stalin Government was a desperate efforts to gain a real foothold cause the alternative it had to offer violent breach of Lenin's international there. In this field too, the vulgar op- caused the Communist workers to shrink portunism of this Right wing group bobs to the surface. In order to lend himself almost everything depends upon the the appearance of a strength he does not possess, Maurin talks constantly of fuses to learn and therefore cannot teach the all-saving heed of a united front in and lead, will never produce big rewhich no other organization, not even sults. The Stalinization of the Spanish the official Communist party, figures at | Communist Party is being paid for today all. The syndicalists and the anarchists by having thousands of militant workdo not even bother to reply to Maurin's ers and peasants led deeper into the fantastic proposals and schemes. For, swamp of compromise and confusion by with all the insistence upon his "Lenin- the clique of Joaquin Maurin. ist correctness", Maurin has developed

The Spanish Communist movement is ance and blundersomeness of Stalinism; an idea for Spain which has few if any livided into three distinct groups: Right, literally drove hundreds upon hundreds rivals in recent revolutionary history. of the best Communist workers into the He approaches the C. N. T. with the plan camp of the confusionists and opportunithat it should take power! Neither ists. Skillful leader, popular figure in more or less. The patent ridiculous of

> Maurin spent some time trying to convince me that his group had never raised soever in Catalonia, where the Maurin- that very evening a copy of the popular agitational organ printed in the Catalan which the slogan of "All Power to the The structural relations between the C. N. T.!" was repeated and elaborated official organ, La Batalla, reprints an in-Aires La Nacion, in which he says lit-

"The Trotskyist faction is insignificant. It is made up of a few dozen more Federation. The Federation was the into the Communist Party. In Catal- or less unknown intellectuals. Its speonia, too, the Federation controls the cific weight is practically nill. Towards victims. The example of Morgenstern Catalonia until a short time ago when Bloc, and is led by precisely the same the Spanish revoution, they take a comand Goodman will have its value for the split took place between the Catal-people dressed in different uniforms as pletely Right (!) position. They advocate that the working class cannot yet ists could only have the effect of nour- confident of this because those who carry mittee of the party over the insanely ture of it which is worse than what the aspire to taking the power when it has no constituted Soviet organization. They latter sought to impose upon the party sitll-born F. F.-L. P. was at least for propose as a solution that the Socialist this case as they will always be. The fighters. These young and unassuming, members against the will of a majority mally conceived as a bloc composed of party should assume the power. Their of them. The trade union dispute which various organizations otherwise indepen- reformist social democratic past weighs was of such vital importance at the dent of each other, and admitting no in- down upon them enormously. The Workheight of the revolutionary upsurge—dividual membership, the Workers' and ers' and Peasants' Bloc contends that involving as it did the whole future of Peasants' Bloc is a "bloc" in no real the working class should take the power. sense of the word. The Communist Fed- And through the medium of hypo-het which was being resurrected—was ren-eration directs it; like the Federation, tic Soviets but with the aid of the exdered increasingly acute by the extra- the Bloc is based upon individual and isting organizations. Without being syn ordinary bureaucratic regime prevailing not group membership; in a word, it is dicalists, we believe that the syndicates (trade unions) can be powerful instruments in the taking of power by the proletariat. We propagate the taking of the power by the C. N. T. We will lend all our aid to a syndicalist government".

> What a "syndicalist government" would look like, what it is, what its ingredients are, what it resembles-remain secrets sealed with seven unbreakable seals which not even the syndicalists can -nor have they ever cared to-epen. It is hard to believe that Maurin does not "know better"; it is the plan of the Right wing opportunists, however, to win the syndicalist workers by this slogan; what is gained, in actuality, is the muddying of the waters and the spread of confusion among the workers. In this respect the Catalonian Right wing is no different from its sisters-under-the-skin in other countries. Maurin is clever enough, by the way, not to affiliate with the Brandlerist "International". It would gain him absolutely nothing, for he knows what this "International" is worth, and it might shut the door for him to re-entry into the official party on his own terms, i. e., as party leader. He told me that Brandlder had sent a letter of inquiry, and that B. D. Volfe, of the Lovestone group, had also written to attempt to establish relations. But the wily Maurin wants to have nothing to do with the rest of the Right wing, although he is blood relative to them. Yet he is like Brandler and Lovestone in that he is prepared to criticize the effects of Stalinism in any country in the world-except in the U.S.S.R., where, apparently, the ordinary laws of the physical and mental sciences no longer operate.

It should not be thought that Maurin is in any mood to capitulate on Stalin's terms. He is too flushed with the progress of the Bloc to do that. Already, a delegation of the Comintern containing such stars as Bela Kon and Humbert-Droz has visited Spain for the main purpose of winning over the Federation. But so compromised and discredited is the official party among the workers there, that the Maurin machine was able to nullify practically all the arduous labors of the delegation. Out of the thousands "avaiable", the C. I. got only about three score comrades, led by Arlandis and Sese, who demanded of Maurin that he actually unite with the official party instead of merely writing appeals on the subject. Maurin, who is alway ready with an elaborate speech on the absence of democratic procedure and of the right to speak freely in the ofthe by, a little burlesque was enacted. Arlandis and Sese immediately shouted with the fiercest passion that bureaucratism had gripped the vitals of the Federal eration, that Maurin was a dictator, that the rank and file could no longer discuss the problems of the revolutionary movement, that expulsions were a bureaucratic answer to criticisms, etc., etc. short weeks before their own expulsion. they themselves, together with Maurin "the dictator", had engineered the expulsion of members of the Federation who sympathized with the Left Opposition and insisted upon discussing the disputed issues—comrades Molins, de Cabo and is yoked!

The Comintern failed to break Maurin's power in Catalonia primarily beaway. In this case as in all others, party. An incompetent party, which re-

-MAX SHACHTMAN.

The Litvinoff Stand Disarmament on

imperialists to fool the masses with il peace, the imperialists in Geneva feel limit." Litvinov repeatedly emphasized, lusory perspectives of internationa the shaking of the very foundations of "The only way to prevent war is gentheir "peace" institutions. The masses in capitalist countries who are suffering, starving and n a state of fear of an approaching world conflict of unheard of dimensions, have lost their confidence in But for all that, the first concrete ex- their present rulers. They seek a new word, for an inspiring thought that would show them the way out of their torturesome conditions. Who could be expected to bring them that inspiration if not a representation of the Soviet Union, who could present the exploited and deceived masses that vitally needed message in their hour of desperation, if not the builders of a free working land".

The opportunity to fulfill this historic by the Soviet Government. Litvinoff did the Soviet government is to build up mission was conferred upon M. Litvinoff fulfill his mission, but in a tragic man ner. His proposals for peace at th Geneva Conference were disappointing and if they had any value at all, it was that of soothing the shattered nerves of the imperialist diplomats and morally strengthening the tottering structure of their so-called League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact and other schemes of deceiving the masses. Litvinoff's proposals may also have the effect of reinforcing the hopes of the soft-boned, chickenhearted liberals and social-democrats who are sharing in this pacifist fraud with the imperialists. The workers of the capitalist countries, the millions of unemployed, could not read anything out

of Litvinoff's proposals. What did Litvinoff propose 's a remedy

those of the French or Italian delegates, not in essence. As put by the New York As was fitting for the delgates of the New Russia he went to the extreme eral and total disarmament." This half truth is the crux of the whole problem. As a Marxist, Litvinoff must know that this half truth lies at the foundation of bourgeois pacifism and that it is an utterly false theory. He must know that according to Marx, wars are inevitable under capitalism. He did not, however mention a word about the abolition of the capitalist systemas a condition sine qua non of the abolition of wars. He did not as much as suggest the necessity for the international proletariat to achieve the socialist revolution if not in their own interests, at any rate in the interests of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, he said, "The sole aim of socialism in the Soviet Union." In other words, the Soviet government wished to be assured by the capitalist governments that their capitalistic nature will Union.

The same New York Times correspondent remarks, that, "in internationl quarters, the Soviet delegation was credited with being marked with moderation and as likely to increase the possibility of success for the Conference." Surely, the correspondent has in mind the moral success of the imperialist leaders of the Conference. Thus Litvinoff's mission instead of being an inspiration to the international proletariat has turned into its opposite by rendering moral success to international imperialism. Such is the logic of Stalinist dialectics. Litvinoff went to the "extreme limit" of this logic.

For tse sake of comparison with the true Bolshevik-Leninist attitude taken

"But the League of Nations must not

ly know of similar plans of the ruling capitaist circes with regard to other territories and other nations. Knowing this, you will have to agree with us that it is not possible to leave the factories, mines, banks in the hands of private individuals, who always use the great means of production created by the masses of the people to export the products and capital to foreign countries, to extract from them excessive profits, provoking imperialist wars by their struggle over the booty. We propose, etc. . . .

rect stand? He could not because that theory of "Socialism in one country," former idol of the petty bourgeoisie. whic is a reversal of Leninist internot assert itself in regard to the Soviet nationalism. This morbid theory is the was formerly the Left wing of the Catlittle value and significance in the international proletarian revolution.

Lenin's internationalism is considered by the Stalin leadership "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" and its place is taken by national opportunism. Marxment of capitalism are substituted by petty-bourgeois pacifism and putrid opportunism. The signing of the Kellogg ism. Litvinoff,s proposals at the Geneva Conference are of the same character.

Lenin conducted a bitter struggle be-

The "Disarmament Conference of the and willing to cooperate. If there was the capitalists of your country contemplate continuing in the future the same policy of conquests, and of exaction of the Bloc organizers devoted their atten-

> therefore, Mr. President, that the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries be adopted as another of the basic principles of the League of Nations, Why did not Litvinoff take this cor-Stalinist leadership. It is this spurious Communist parties to that of mere fron-

fore and after the world war against pacifism. The Stalin leadership at the Geneva Disarmament Conference has given aid and comfort to the imperialists and their pacifist agents. Let the Com-

ALBERT ORLAND.