WORKERS **OF THE** WORLD. UNITE

17

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VOLUME NO. 25 [WHOLE NO. 84]

Our Second Conference

A Milestone in the Progress of the American Opposition

try who come together for the second years since our first national conference, we look back over a period of the consolidation and growth of our influence. The Marxian wing of the movement, reduced to a numerically small section by an unprecedented combinaton of circumstances, has established a place for itself from which all the violence, suppression and slanders of the Centrist apparatus have been unable to tear it.

The voices of the prophets of doom are greatly stilled today. The Right wing which, while in power in the party, combined with the Foster faction to expel us_summarily from the party, is itself out of the ranks today. At the bottom of its defeat lie the invincible ideas of the Left Opposition, from which the Centrists were compelled to borrow wholesale in order to combat the liquidators. In a remarkably short time, in this country, at least, the march of events has revenged itself upon the Lovestoneits in so conclusive a manner that it no longer brooks discussion. When they expelled us, it was with the declaration that we were, or soon would be, in the camp of all the enemies of Communsim; that we would soon be on the same side with Muste, with Brandler, with Lore, with Salutsky, with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy-against Communism and the Communist party. Hardly had the ink dried on their accusations, when they themselves adopted the course with which they charged us. Today, the Right wing faction is the American section of the Brandlerist "International". In the needle trades unions it conducts a struggle, hand in glove with anti-Communist and pseudo-progressive cheap-jacks for the liquidation of the militant unions. Muste, Salutsky, Lore and the A. F. of rormers against the Communists, smoothsilk workers by the trade union hierarchy. The faction which, after its expulsion from the party, made the charge of "sectarianism" its highest trump against us, itself occupies the place of a tiny sect tagging along at the heels of "progressives", protesting the value the revolutionists. As against the Stalinists of the Cen- | are sure to win the support of the rev trist faction, the Left Opposition has also olutionary elements in the Communist other than the Communist party, and this called for his own defense by the I. L. urped the tremendous machinery of the Comintern, with the official stamp of the tion. Soviet Union upon them, the Stalinists have had tremendous opportunities to advance the influence and the prestige of the Communist movement, particularly in the last three years. But the official stamp and the apparatus have proved to be inadequate. Correct revolutionaries ideas, an ever greater absence of which is the mark of Stalinism, are the essential pre-requisite to revolutionary progress. In this field, the appara tus-men have made one blunder after another. The influence of the party in the great unemployed movement, in spite of the increase of joblessness, has declined to a low point. The strikes led by the party have not merely ended in defeats, but have been marked by fatal mistakes which a correct course could easily have avoided. The magnificent opportunities offered to Communist leadership for taking the initiative in a nation-wide united front movement, have been systematical ly sabotaged by the Stalinists, and in its place, the sectarian, disastrous formula of the "united front from below has been substituted.

The delegates from all over the coun-1 widening circle of Communist workers. Our own ranks have experienced a National Conference of the Left Opposi- gratifying consolidation, especially in the tion will asemble under the banner of an realm of our ideas in which lies our of several important internal and exterorganization which has not been so greatest strength. Questions upon which strengthened in every respect, so sure of lack of clarity existed, upon which we its ground, so confident of its victory, at even had a false position, or which were any time since its foundation. Through disputed for some time, now approach a all the vicissitudes and weak points final and correct conclusion, and there that stand recorded in the more than two is no doubt that the conference will put its definite stamp of approval upon the results so that they may henceforth be regarded as settled questions for us. The Opposition was not and could not be born as a full-fledged, matured political body. It was assisted in the process of its growth by the invaluable experiences, both positive and negative, of the Opposition groups in other countries, and primarily the experiences of the Rus-

sian Bolshevik-Leninists. Without this active internationalism-participation in the ideological and organizational life of the movement as a whole-the past period would undoubtedly have been marked by considerable difficulties and even by crises which we were able to avoid.

The second conference meets with a firm Marxian nucleus establshed in this country. The struggles we conducted against the Right wing and Centrist factions have steeled our faction in intransigeance and in principle. To no small degree was this process advanced by our own internal struggles, against the facile confusion of Weisbord, for instance. Of incalculable aid in this, also, was our Militant, which we have once more succeeded in establishing as a weekly paper, and the series of Marxian works-pamphlets and books-which we turned out and which found such an encouraging reception among the Communist workers "The Left Opposition is the only progressive force in the Communist move ment." The American section has al ready succeeded, in spite of our numerous and manifest shortcomings, in laying had applied for membership in the I. L. the solid foundation for new steps for ward. We have an unshakable faith in the power of our ideas and the sureness In Paterson, it sits cheek by jowl with of our victory, provided we remain true to ourselves. These ideas will become a L. skates, playing the base role of in- real power when they penetrate the masses. This aim we will realize, not by ing the road towards the betrayal of the an impatient leap ovr stages of our own development, not by "clever maneuvers' and high-sounding schemes, but by an unyielding adherence to our fundamental line in principle, by the hard road of self the name and ubious honor om preparing the Marxian kernel of revoultionists, by re-popularizing the ideas and being a servant to the Hackers and Fosmethods of Marx and Lenin, the ideas ters. of its special kind of services against which made the Russian revolution and

built the Communist International. In this historic task we have assumed, we The comrades were simply expelled for self while still in the Opposition, was not

The political lease granted to Chiang Kai-Shek by imperialism for his services as butcher of the Chinese proletariat seems to be at an end. The coincidence nal development in Chinese affairs has forced Nipponese capitalism to dispense with the services of their Chinese bourgeois lackies and to take matters into their own hands.

As has been well known for some time, entanglements, and even by family represent being undermined by his impersituation. For some time now, his power and that of the Central government at | hem, announced a similar cut, effective Nanking have been undermined considerably by the tenacious and persistent The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Comstruggle of the partisan detachments of the revolutionary peasantry, by the new Canton, as well as by material disadvan-

recent flood disaster. All of which, by (Continued on Page 4)

group. The Stalinist agent who pressed

the charges against comrades Bord and

Craine-members, and active ones at

that, of the I. L. D. for several months-

and against comrade Harry Milton who

Malkin. After having been expelled from

the Left Opposition for making back-

stage deals with the Right wing fakers

time when the Left wing was under fire,

he is today wearing the badge of of-

comrades of Malkin before this. How-

ever, Malkin did manage to attack him-

belonging to a political

Throughout Land The heaviest single blow dealt in the not ignore such a handicap as a 10 per- are not affected," according to the presinational wage-cutting campaign of the cent wage reduction by other firms. It dent, Mr. Sloan, but it will be recalled Chiang Kai-Shek was linked to the Japan- capitalist class has just been delivered will be necessary for us to take similar that the Steel trust announceemnt of ese by all sorts of political and personal by the United States Steel Corporation, action to keep our operating costs at the which announced that, effective October general level." lationship. The fact that Chiang is at 1st, wages of all its employees, approxi-A virtually identical wage cut was announced simultaneously by the United mately 220,000, would be cut ten percent. ialist patrons marks the seriousness of the A few hours later, the second largest States Rubber Company, the largest in that industry, with 25,000 employees. The steel corporation in the country, Bethle-

"five-day week" is to be established in the same day, for its 50,000 workers, its plants, with an equivalent cut in wages which would amount to about onepany has followed suit. eleventh of the present scale. 'The socalled independent steel barons

To cap it all for the most ruthless alliance of the Kuo Min Tang "Left" at have already announced that the cut will and widespread wage reductions ever announced in one day, the General Motors be universal throughout the industry. The tages heaped on top of these, such as the president of the Pittsburgh Steel Com- Corporation has announced salary cuts pany expressed the sentiments of the "inranging from ten to twenty percent. dependents" by saying that "we could "Hourly wage rates of the corporation

War Clouds Dark in Manchuria Steel Wages Slashed

wage cuts was preceded by an exactly similar announcement a number of weeks ago.

The steel industry cuts were forecast and analyzed in the Militant two weeks ago, when we wrote in part as follows:

"Wages per ton of finished steel have declined steadily, during the same period. In 1922, wagss pr ton were \$42.35, from which they dropped to \$27.45 per ton by 1929; last year, the company could not fire workers as fast as the demand for steel declined, and the average wage per ton rose slightly to -31.69. Corresponding to the steady decline in wages has been an increase in the proportion of profit to the gross sales of the corporation. As recently as 1924, the Steel Corporation paid out in wages 35 cents out of every dollar that it took in, and retained as profits 12 and a half cents. By 1929, the share of labor had declined steadily to 28 cents, and the share of bondholders and stockholders had increased just as steadily to over 17 cents. Last year, because of the inability of the big corporation to adjust its activities rapidly to the shrinking market for steel,, mentioned above, the share of labor was 35 cents and profits 15 cents ... We conclude that the steel companies

Now the cuts have been officially announced, in spite of all the pious pledges made to the contrary. Hoover, it is reported, is considerably "shocked" by the wage standards. No intelligent worker was ever deceived by these promises, to mobilize the resistance of the workers. If any doubts ever existed about the and the solemn pledges of capitalists and

That the N. E. C. of the C. L. A. had labor leaders, the recent action will remade a motion that every member of the move them for good. Hoover will soon recover from his "shock". The steel C. L. of A. join the I. L. D. and organizations sympathetic to the party for the workers, who have been unemployed as purpose of disrupting and splitting them. it is, or else working only two, three or That Morgenstern and Goodman had four days a week, will receive a "shock" been handing out a leaflet attacking the of much more durable and disastrous

York district organizer, of the I. L. D., inery had been well oiled to railroad us its growth. ----R. C. had "spilt the beans" about expelling all out of the I. L. D. and that no excuses

> On Sept. 11, I filled out an application for membership at the Steve Katovis Branch of the I. L. D. I was instructed by the secretary to appear at the next are about to engage in a drastic camweek's meeting. The following Friday, I paign of wage-cutting which will place appeared before the branch and was told a militant steel strike on the order of rade who rose to speak against our exthe day." pulsion and had the manhood enough to to wait until new applicants for memvote as he believed. The others voted for bership appeared on the order of bush

the resolution against Trotskyists, many ness. reluctantly. This resoluiton contained The meeting began with the organizer making a special announcement that a representative of the D. E. C. of the announcement, because of the promises I. L. D. was to address the meeting on made by the steel makers to maintain the subject of the "disrupters". To the astonishment of the writer, the representative of the I. L. D. proved to made mainly for the purpose of offering since the I. L. D. recognizes the Comin- be none other than M. Malkin recently a pretext to the A. F. of L. leaders not ficial Communism in order to hide his tern, and the latter does not recognize expelled from the Oppositon.

The chairman introduced the speaker and Malkin took the floor. This is the deceptiveness of the Hoover conference substance of his speech:

in its work! The I. L. D. closes its eyes at the same time to the workers in the S. P. and other reformist organizations even The bluntness with which the charges though the Comintern does not "recogwere pressed is exceedingly remarkable. nize" them. In this spirit, Malkin him-

mass meeting

Expulsions Campaign Begins in I.

A few days after Hacker, the New activities. It was plain that the mach-| L. D. to rid itself of those who prevent

However, there was at least one com-

perialists in the Soviet Union" to the

"Paterson strike." It was deliberately

drawn in such a manner as to confuse

tained the sentence to the effect that

ing to allow Oppositionists to participate

the floor at

Oppositionists from the ranks of the or- were needed by the organizers or by **Refused** Admission ganization, he sent down one of his lieut- Malkin. The details of the expulsion are enants to Young Defenders Branch No. of value only in so far as they expose 3 and then to the Steve Katovis Branch the manner in which the Stalinists can to expel the disrupters who had been corrupt and contract a mass organization among the most active members of their to the confines of a party appendage.

Our Position Confirmed

On virtually every occasion, the forecasts and the proposals made by the Left Opposition have been, confirmed by the events themselves. In the trade union field primarily, in the field where the party's attitude towards the daily problems of the working class is put sharply to the test, the viewpoint of the Opposition has not only been justified as against that of the Stalinists, but our persistent principled criticism has slowly made its way through all the bureaucratic barriers and finally found expression, even if to a limited degree, in the turn from the extremely false positions adopted by the party leaders at the height of the "third period" follies. The latest demonstration of the power of our ideas has been the turn made by

the party in our direction, by its advocacy of the development of trade relations with the Soviet Union in connection with the Five Year Plan and mass unemployment in the United States.

Association of Owners of Railroad and Branch of the Communist League of Am-Public Utility Cesurities stated that erica (Opposition), will begin its third In general, where the Stalinists have waterways, if allowed to develop at all, season on Friday, Otocber 2nd, 1931 at continued, with increasingly harmful re-"should complement the railroads under the Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd sults, to pursue their classic course of their ownership and operation", and Avenue. Prominent and well known zig-zags, condemning today what was gospel yesterday, spreading confusion on that "the railroads, under regulation and leaders of the American revolutionary with the proper spirit of cooperation every question, the Left Opposition has been able to maintain a steady course shown toward their employees, should on the fundamental principled questions control and manage the coordination of of the revolutionary movement, the ideas public transportation facilities." gaining in influence and support in a) The acute crisis in the railroads is

Our conference will mark a milestone

coming period.

R.R.s Prepare Wage Cuts

The policy of class collaboration, caused by two things: the sharp falling whose classic home has been the four off in traffic, and the increasingly effec tive competition of passenger automo ranway protherhoods, will soon be conbiles and busses for the passenger traffic, fronted by a decisive conflict of interests under the pressure of the crisis. In the first half of this year, gross revenues of the railroads fell off 28.7% compared with 1929, and 18.1% compared with the first half of 1921, the worst previous crisis. Operating profits were \$238,000,000, compared with \$563,000,000 for the first half of 192'. At this rate, for 1931 the railroads will earn \$616,-000.000, or less than 3% on their official

valuation of over \$21,000,000,000.

Bondholders are in a panic, not to

speak of stockholders. Banks, insurance companies, trust funds, individually and through their organizations, have sent delegations to Washington to picture the sad fate of the widows and orphans whose investments are being ruined. Finally, the situation has resolved itself into two alternatives-either an increase in railroad rates, or a cut in railroad wages. The Interstate Commerce Commission closed hearings at Chicago on Sept. 5, and is expected to hand down a decision next month. The railroads ask for a 15% increase except for coal and coke, on which a set of schedules is to be worked out may average more than 15%.

Position of Labor Leaders

The railroad brotherhoods of course are supporting this move, and in general "defending" the railroads. Last March, Robertson of the Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, addressing the National

made considerable progress. Having us | party and the Left wing around it, and | in the face of all the I. L. D. says about | D. In this way, Morgenstern and Goodwe shall bend every effort in that direc- not being a political organization. On man were not given defense in Philadelsuch a basis the I. L. D. expects to win phia. With this spirit, the I. L. D. will over all workers to its banner. It was not succeed in rallying the masses around

organization

on this road, that will enable us to tread not until we pressed them to point out itself as the leader in the movement it more surely and more swiftly in the the detailed "crimes" we had committed for the class war prisoners. Because its that we were given lies as to our various eyes are shut and we dared to bring up

D., was none other than the discredited mention from "intervention of the im-

of the A. F. of L. Furriers' Union at a the members of the branches. It con-

treachery. We have warned the party the Opposition, the I. L. D. was not go-

llowed

this point, we were expelled. The bureaucrats do not intend to stop here. They threaten more expulsions and they will find more Malkins to do the dirty work. We on our part do not intend to stop here either. We appeal to all those who

are in earnest about building the I. L D., not as a Stalinist sect, but as a mass organization, we appeal to these comrades to raise voices of protest against the procedure of the irresponsi-

trucks for less-than-carload (l. c. l.) ble bureaucrats. We, for our part, will freight, and barges run on land watercarry on defense activities in spite of ways, rivers and (canals, for carload them. We will give all the support we traffic. In 1929, it is estimated that over 650 billion ton-miles (tonnage moved can to the I. L. D., whether it is actimes miles hauled) of freight were knowledged or not. At the same time, we will carry on our struggle against there. transportd in the United States. Of this

(Continued on Page 4)

Hacker and his ilk, thus helping the I

EXPANSION PROGRAM

The National Conference of the League | \$2,000, we expect to consolidate the founwhich opened this week marks another dation of the Weekly Militant, and to achievement of the organization, follow- begin the publication of the theoretical ing directly in the tasks outlined for our- organ. These will be big steps forward selves in the Expansion Program. We for our movement and every effort must declared that when the Fund reached a be made now, with the conference opencertain point, we should have strengthen- ing a new period in our organization, to raise the full quota and raise it quickly. ed the national office and the staff, the We know it can be done. A few dol branches of the League, and that we lars from every member will turn the would have returned the Militant to a trick. And if our sympathizers, our felweekly basis. All of these tasks have low-workers in the shops and labor orbeen realized up to now and we are deganizations, are approached on a more termined to finish the campaign in pro extensive scale, the claim on every memper style. With the \$1,500 mark reached, ber will be that much reduced. Less than our national conference was to be held, six hundred dollars are now required and now this task is being realized too. and if the Militant is to be strongly established, if the road to the monthly The fund now exceeds \$1,400. With the

balance to be raised for the total of

NEW YORK FORUM

the discussion.

theoretical organ is to be traversed swiftly, if we are to increase the number of pamphlets and books issud by us-the money must be contributed generously

A new series of Forum lectures, un and quickly. der the auspices of the New York Every comrade's shoulder to the wheel! Secure the Militant by finishing the Expansion Program Fund to the last cent Since the contributions tisled in our last issue, we have received the following sums: New York: T. F. Meade-1.85; movement will deal with the most im-A. Basky-1.00; B. J. Fields-25.00; portant current events and interpret them Boston branch-6.00. Total: \$33.85. in the light of Marxism. All workers Previously reported: \$1,392.14. Grand are invited to attend and participate in Total to date: \$1,425.99.

party and the I. L. D. in Philadelphia and that the I. L. D. would not defend

such renegades. That the C. L. of A in Philadelphia had built an opponent organization and was fighting the I. L. D That when ocmrades Cannon and Shachtman were at the head of the I. L. D., they pursued an anti-class defense policy and that was the reason they were removed from the leadership.

That all members and sympathizers of the Trotskyists were renegades and counter-revolutionists and were not eligible for membership in the I. L. D. and any such individuals already members should be expelled.

That the C. L. of A. and the Opposition the world over were against the Sov- talist class in America-who have soundlet Union against the C. I. and enemies ed the keynote.

of the working class.

That we had united with Muste, the A. F. of L. and the police in Paterson and that we were fighting the party and the National Textile Workers Union spirit of the workers would be broken

That any organization or individual that did not support the party could not belong to the I. L. D. and if they were already members they should be expelled. He then presented a resolution which he said must be supported by every one present.

The substance of the resolution was as follows: The C. L. of A. is a counterrevolutionary organization and enemy of the I. L. D. and the working class. Any member of this organization is ineligible for membership and if already a member should be expelled. That the C. L. of A. was opposed to the principles and ideals of I. L. D. and that the members of this organization joined for the pose of disrupting the I. L. D.

There was also a motion to the following affect: That Harry Milton, who their ranks for a bitter fight, all they had made out an application for membership in the Steve Katovis branch of the ed" (Hugh Frayne); the "U. S. Steel I. L. D., not be accepted, because he was a member of the C. L. of A. The floor was then thrown open for

(Continued on Page 3)



Stuyvesant Casino-2nd Ave., and 9th St. Saturday Evening, September 26 1931 Admission Fifty Cents New York branch: Communist League of America (Opposition)

A Signal to the Bosses

huge corporations, with whom are allied in one way or another virtually every powerful industrial enterprise and big banking interest in the country, is far from the end of the reductions campaign; it is the signal given by the masters of American industry for a systematic, nation-wile, relentless undercutting of the standards of living of the whole working class. When these people speak, it is not the corner grocer cutting the wages of his clerk, but the Taylors, Morgans, Farrells, Schwabs, Graces, Sloans, Davises-the real dictatorship of the capi-

The wage cut announcements by these

What we have written in the past is being realized today. The textile workers and miners were driven back with such violence, with the hope that the when the wage cuts in the bigger and even more basic industries would be proclaimed. Today it is steel, rubber and motor cars. Tomorrow it will be the | railroads. , The next day, all the others will be confronted with the same fate. Unless the resistance is organized now, the struggles in the future will be considerably handicapped.

Who will stand as the organizing center of this defense of labor's standards? Surely not the A. F. of L. leaders. For years they have lulled the workers into a false security. They have stripped the unions of every militant fighter who sought to arouse the vigilance of the workers. They tied the organized labor movement to the footstool of the capitalists. Even now, in the face of this brutal series of wage cuts, instead of a ringing call to the workers to dress can say is: "I am very much disappoint-Corporation has taken a very foolish step" (Joseph Ryan); "it is a great mistake" (John Sullivan); "I can only ex-

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MILITANT

tarian, like Bruening's. With the de-

claration that Bruening is exercizing a

dictatorship, nothing is said. For us

Marxist-Leninists, every bourgeois re-

gime up to now has been a dictatorship

ods. And these are different with Bruen

The Floating Baron

Almost every other day brings a new

indication of the progress which German

Stalinism is making—if not in the ranks

of the social democratic workers, at least

among the chauvinistic military camar-

illa and the blue-blooded nobility. But

all the Lieutenant Scheringers whom the

semi-nationalistic program of the Stalin

ists win to its side, are not an unmixed

any length of time. An example will il-

in the fury of his newly acquired en

scheduled for a number of meetings under

C. P.'s auspices, on the subject "My Path

from the Fascists to the International

Red Aid and the German Communist

Party." Last August 31, the Herr Baron,

or "comrade" Baron von so on and so

forth was slated to speak again at a

mass meeting in Halle. He never ap-

peared. Between the announcement of

the meeting and the day it was to be

held, the Red Baron had turned Black

once more and was back in the camp

of the Hitlerites. Whether the Nazis

intend to hold meetings where the Baron

will speak on "My Path from the C. P.

are making merry over the reconversion

How many of the other Barons, Counts

-ERVIN BAUER.

(To Be Continued).

luminate the point.

Berlin, September 1931

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR **Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements**

IN SPAIN

PAGE 2

Progress of the Left Opposition

The Spanish Communist Opposition is very grateful for your tremendous assistance. It may be said in all frankness that without your generous demonstration of generosity, it would not have been possible for us to accomplish many of the tasks that we are realizing. This shows conclusively that the International Opposition has known how to arouse the prophecies: but the same thing was anspirit of international solidarity which nounced a year ago. Did not everybody has been annihilated by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Your solidarity is a lofty example which we will not tire of repeating to the comrades in every country so as to serve to stimulate them. All the comrades of the Spanish Communist Opposition have been notified about the aid lent by you, and we believe we are interpreting their expressions of thanks. We shall soon send a message of greet ings and appreciation to all the North American comrades for publication in the Militant. And now let us proceed. to a brief sketch of the situation of the Opposition in Spain and the work it is carrying on.

The Propaganda Tours

At the present time, comrade Henri bao, Santander, Oviedo, Gijon, Leon and importance of the party. Salamanca. Comrade Fersen is passing through the province of Galicia, embrac-, ing Pontevedra, Vigo, Santiago, Lugo, Ferrol and La Coruna. Another comrade will leave one of these days for Extremadura and still another for Andalucia and Levante.

All the impressions of our organizers are tremendously good. In all these places we have good nuclei of militants, very enthusiastic and active. We believe that by December the Spanish Opposition will have one thousand members, but a thousand enthusiastic members and active militants. In our country, this signifies an extraordinary success The country which mainly preoccupies the Communist International for its "Trotskyist" tendencies is Spain. They believe tha main "danger" in Spain is "Trotskyism". And I do not think they are mistaken. So fearful are the Stalinists that they do nothing but sent delegations. At this very moment we have three in a delegation from the Communist International to Spain. . .

Our Weekly Organ

We have a splendid piece of news to give to the Spanish and the International Opposition: On the 25th of this month, [September] will begin the publication in Barcelona of our weekly paper, called El Soviet, which Andres Nin will edit. We have decided to continue to publish Comunismo as a monthly and a weekly organ. Comunismo has succeeded in gaining a great authority in Spain, and even the members of the official party acknowledge that it is the most valuable journal that has ever been

Germany and the Approaching Winter Even Bruening, the eternally smiling mentary struggles whether the reformists ennment and its emergency decree sys- torship. In fact, the Centrist analysis hunger Chancellor of German imperial could once more hold the masses in check tem, which is rendered possible by the is false because the Bruening regime ism, has declared, under the protest of in the economic struggles and on the agreement of the S. P. G. Based thus which supports itself upon the reformis upon a nominal parliamentary majority, workers, has a different social basis from his social democratic lackeys, who feel streets against Fascism, or if the success themselves hampered by it in their work of the Communists would be more than the Bruening government has long ago Fascism, which rests upon the despairing of deception: Germany is approaching an electoral victory, so that in the face

practical lack of significance of parlia

ment, for the actual relationships of

forces were determined by quite differ

least to the composition of praliament.

ent factors and did not correspond in the

The Fascists quit the parliament, their

ists, Stennes and Straser, and the for-

Since then, German Fascism has been

self to all the wishes of the bourgeoisie

with whom it stands in principle on the

is best shown by its attiture in the July

take, but which was not seen by this

Does the defeat of Fascism in the

all is over with it? With such an as-

lapse only on the basis of a victorious

advance of the proletariat, or when the

bourgeoisie no longer requires its ser-

vices; but nothing of the kind is visible

'legalizing" itself and merely filling its

a winter which is the worst time in a of the threatening civil war, nothing century. This declaration refers, of would be left to the bourgeoisie but the course, not only to the economic, but also to the political sphere.

Those of our American comrades, who have attentively studied the reports from Germany, will say skeptically about such say the same thing a year ago, after the outcome of the September elections? Were not deceptive pictures conjured up false trade union tactic, it was not possi before us at that time? How was it possible, in spite of this, the winter in Germany passed by orderly, without an their betrayal. After these two defeats, attack by Communism or Fascism? Did the will to struggle of the German workthe objective, the economic situation of ers was broken and the question decided Germany improve in this period? No, American comrades, no deceptive pictures were conjured up before you at field of the struggle against Fascism, that time.* No, the objective situation did not improve. If the purely econ omic development were to be considered completely distorted picture of the situation would be the result. Nothing to drive a wedge into the S. P. G. better demonstrates the incorrectness of

all theories of spontaneity and collapse Lacroix is on a propaganda trip. He has than the German development and the gone through Barcelona, Zaragoza, Bil- unshakable truth of the doctrine of the

* To get a clear picture of the situation then and today, we recommend the reader to look once more into the work ministers quit the government. This was of comrade Trotsky, "The Turn in the nothing but a clever, masked retreat. Communist International and the Situa- Only fools, like the ultra radical Fasction in Germany."

The key to the German developmen mer pseudo-Oppositionist, Landau, who lies completely in the subjective attisee in Fascism an anti-capitalist force, tude of the German working class and and therefore ascribe to it a certain in dependent role, could see in this the in the policy of the reformist S. P. G. prologue to a Fascist seizure of power and of the revolutionary C .P. G., which is however misled by the Centrists. There is no other way to introduce an analysis living in reserve, patiently adapting it of the present situation than by a de scription of political history since the September 1930 elections.

The Development of German Fascism same basis, sacred private property, After September 14, which produced leisure hours with the murder of work ers. How lacking in independence and the tremendous election success of the entirely obedient it is to the call of fin-National Socialists (Fascists), the question of the Fascist seizure of power was ance capital, so hated by its supporters, put on the order of the day. The bourgeoisie itself discussed the question in bank crash, when the power was easy to all frankness, it is already obvious from the fact that in certain provinces it party. agreed to coalitions with the Fascists, that it was making serious preparaions in this direction.

It should be remembered in this consumption, we would fall into the error nection that the election results, numof the C. P., which every moment proerically at any rate, were annihilating. claims the decomposition of Fascism on Not only the Fascists, but also the Comthe basis of its objective contradictions. In reality, however. Fascism will colmunists grew tremendously, and even the S. P. G. was drawn into the electoral struggle under the banner of opposition The proletarian members of the reformist party were, besides, in open rebellion, in face of the Fascist danger they called in the next period. for arms.

The S. P. G. it is true soon swung

sent parliament home, and settles all petty bourgeois masses, because its ideo questions by decrees. In this way, it logy is pseudo-revolutionary and not con has cut wages and salaries, diminished servative, like Bruening's its methods unemployment insurance, removed the are terrorist and not pseudo-parliamen-Fascist bloodbath. "A revolutionary party, during the crisis of a regime, is democratic rights (freedom of press, self administration, etc.), and all this stronger in extra-parliamentary mass with the aid of reformists. The reformstruggle than within the framework of ists are today, therefore, the basis of parliamentarism" (Trotsky). Unfortunthe regime, their liquidation constitutes ately, this does not hold for the C. P. G. In the two large strikes, of the the key to power. metal workers in Berlin and the mine The social democrats justify their beworkers/in the Ruhr, as a result of its

ing and MacDonald from those of Hitler trayal of the working class with the and Mussolini. Politicians who set them selves to be stabbed, when they are to be poisoned, can very easily fall victim

against Bruening or against wage reductions, because every struggle today would by the proletariat or of a reaction with relentless sharpness; but the reformists no matter what the price, want no cap social revolution, for they have long ago grown into capitalism. The bourgeoisie for its part, pays the social democracy badly for its services, by humiliating and cruiser, plebiscite). What comrade Trotsky wrote in 1929 about the strategic blessing, nor do they all stay put for y confirmed:

"The bourgeoisie finds that the disciplining of the workers by the social democracy places high expenditures upon it. The bourgeoisie as such needs Fascism in order to hold the social democratic party in check and, if necessary, to push it aside. Fascism wants to capture power and is capable of doing it. After seizing power, Fascism will surrender to finance capital. But this is the path of convulsions, which also places high expenditures upon the bourgeoisie. This explains the vacillations of the bourgeoisie the internal struggle in its ranks; and thereby is determined the policy it will probably pursue in the next period: to force the social democratic party, with the aid of Fascism, to help reconstruct the constitution in such a way as to com-Prussian referendum already mean that bine for the bourgeoisie the advantages of Fascism and democracy, Fascism in essence, democracy in form; in this way it hopes to free itself of the increased expenditures for democratic reforms and if possible also from the increased expenditures of the Fascist upheaval. Will the bourgeoisie be able to take this road? Certainly not to the very end or for a

long period of time." (Trotsky, "The Austrian Crisis, the Social Democracy, and Communism".)

Nitated for the reformists by the fact But then again, the permeation of the only of the feeble-mindedness of Stalin-The Present Method of Domination and Strategy of the Bourgeoisie Communist workers with the illusions ism. In prison, too, they refuse the adpublished in Spain. Up to now, the spite of this, the bourgeoisie made up spanish Communist papers were composed almost exculsively of translations when it was made clear by extra-parlia when it was made clear by Extra-parliamentarily, the bourgeoisie that the C. P. showed itself incapable Federation of Food Industries. By the propagation of the slogan of unity of the D. Expulsion Campaign Begun in New York class trade unions, we have compelled them to accept the unity of the food unions, and we hope that, the forces under our influence being greater, we will obthe party. That we supported the prin-, misled by the "Trotskyist leaders", was we were a "tail to the party", and more (Continued from Page 1) tain-the leadership of the Federation of ciples and ideas of the I. L. D. and joined one of the first party members to join without end. In the meantime, he did Food Industries, which adheres to the his best to discredit us and the move for the purpose of participating in the our ranks, proudly claiming his adherred trade union center. ment in general. The demands he made Party membership. From our contact work of the I. L. D. I then attempted to ence to the views of the Opposition "long upon the Industrial Union, because he answer the slanders made by Malkin but before anybody else". At that time, he with the party membership in the I. L. had served a short term in prison, were was constantly interrupted and preventwas under indictment in the famous Min-D. circles, as well as in the prisons, we literally unspeakable. His shady assoed from speaking. have realized the low intellectual level eola furriers case, but when he announced ciations with S. P. spokesmen like Nor-Malkin then took the floor and started his adherence to Opposition, the I. L. of the party members. They have very The writer demanded the floor and man Thomas became the talk of the D officials embarked upon a disgraceful poor notions of Communism, to say nothto continue his lies and slanders. The needle trades market. Finally, he coming of Marxism. But we have succeedparty fraction ably assisted Malkin in course of sabotag of the case. A meetmitted a crime which not even considerathis noble task, after which the resoluing called to protest the impending imed in getting a hearing and in the tions for his prison service could permit tion and motion were voted on prisonment of Malkin and Franklin was Aegna Island prisons, we started courses anyone to overlook. At the very height deliberately called off by the I. L. D. With the exception of one vote against, which are attended by all of them. In o fthe united agitaion of the labor both the resolution and the motion were so as to keep Malkin from speaking this prison, there are 70 of them and 11 skates and the Lovestoneites to liquidate adopted. there. After Malkin had been in prison of ours. There the views of the Left the Needle Trades Workrs Industrial Opposition and the international pro-The result of the vote can be readily for some time, he kept writing the most Union, when it was under the severest blems are put for discussion. Unfortunbitter letters of complaint, to us and understood, the members present, who fire, Malkin, on his own initiative, went to had had no opportunity to study the difto the I. L. D., for the latter's neglect. ately, the low level of the ranks of see Begun, of the A. F. of L. Furriers' ferences between the C. L. and the party, One or two of his prison letters, printed the party makes it difficult for us to Joint Board, abut getting back into the and on the basis of the statements made in the Militant, knew no bounds in thier get many recruits from them. They bereactionary union, which still has a rule by Malkin which I was prevented from violent criticism of the party and defense lieve in the infallibility of the party like against re-admission of the Communists. answering, voted for my expulsion. It leaders. Suddenly, we were sturned to those ignorant christians who say "credo that he did not understand the differ-The deal Malkin offered to make with was perfectly obvious that they felt read in the Daily Worker a statement by quia absurdum". But we hope that if Begun may be judged from the fact that something was wrong and they voted very Malkin repudiating the Opposition and we are not separated by the prison man-Begun promised to take Malkin, a known reluctantly. It can certainly be said rallying to the party and its policies agement, the results will be good. Communist, back into the union at a low that with such methods it is easy to Mitylene By-Election. At the Mitylene and leadership. Before we could catch initiation rate. understand the sad state of affairs existour breath, Malkin wrote to us, telling by-election, our comrades worked hand in Singularly enough-and yet not so ing in the I. L. D. us that his statement meant nothing, hand with the party. Result: 4,700 strangely—his capitulation to the reac--HARRY MILTON. that he was still with the Left Opposivotes as against 1,300 at the general electionary fakers coincided with a recurrtion, that he wrote it only because he tions in 1928. The government candience of capitulationist moods towards had virtually been blackmailed by the dated obtained 10,600 votes.

GREECE The Opposition and the Party

From August 25, the Pali Ton Takseon Class Struggle, official organ of our Greek Opposition group, the Archio-Marxists .--- Ed.] is to be issued semiweekly, on Tuesdays and Fridays. The Tuesday number will appear for the moment with two pages. We hope, however, with the assistance of our symptahizers, to insure its appearance with four pages.

It is a question here of the special meth-Davlos [The Torch]. Our monthly review is also on the press and we shall not fail to send you a number of copies. It is precisely for our review that we want your collaboration. In the Pali, we frequently reproduce translations to their own mistakes, and are worth from the Militant. But articles especialnothing as strategists of the revolution. ly written for us by foreign comrades would create a good impression on our ranks and discouragement in the party's Should your articles be of interest to the Greek-Americans we could send you a quantity of the paper to be distributed among them.

Persecutions and action. For some time now we have been able to show jail sentences in order to shut the months of the Stalinists. Now, the slanders about "Archio-Fascism", or the provocations, are not believed even by the most ignorant sympathizer of Stalinism. We have ed the influence of large strata of workthis year won other records which gainers in our organization and the International Left Opposition. Our participation in the May Day and August 1 demonstrations, saved the dignity of Communism

from being turned ridiculous by Stalin-One of the recent conquests of the ism. Were it possible to obtain some Jerman Communist Party was the Baron good faith from them and less sabotage von Frankenburg and Proschwitz who, action, the results would have been bettor. In many localities, the initiative thusiasm for national-Bolshevism, was was taken by us. Our organization's victims have been codnemned to 100 years imprisonment and deportation. Sentences of six and seven years are now common in Greek courts.

On August 15, at Salonica, there took place a march of a Black Hundreds organization called the 'Steel Helmets" in Greek. It is only our section at Salonica that collided with them, throwing rotten tomatoes and eggs at them. Several comrades, men and women, were arrested, beaten by the police, and convicted of violating the Special (Anti-Communist) law. The party was absent from this demonstration.

G. and the I. R. A. to Fascism", we do International Labor Defense. Under not know, but we do know that they the press of our activity, the ranks of the party compelled the bureaucracy to open to us the gates of the International Lieutenants and Generals the party will Labor Defense. It is true that they gain by its nationalist capitulation, it make efforts not to permit the entrance of comrades whom they call leaders and is hard to say. In fact, it is easier to say, quite confidently, that at least nine-"cadres" and who, they say, are ocnscious traitors while the members are "detenths of those it wins over on this basis ceived" by their Archio-Fascist leaders. will either poison the life of the party or find their way back to the swamp The aim is to separate the cadres from The swindle of the lesser evil is fac- they came from at the decisive moment. the ranks, but this idea is characteristic

claim that in this way the bourgeoisie ble for it to tear the workers away will not proceed to Fascism that this is from the reformists and thus to prevent the lesser evil. Naturally, the bourgeoisie can forego Fascism if it succeeds in attaining by degrees the same measure of exploitation and oppression that for the time for the bourgeoisie. To Fascism would bring it in one day, but this is to be added, that also on the with a greater risk. In reality, the reformists do not fight everything was lost, for the C. P. G., with its sectarian tactics, did not under stand how to create a united front with raise the question of the capture of powe the social democratic workers and thus We have here a striking proof of the

ture of power by the proletariat, no exposing it on every occasion (armored line of the bourgeoisie is being complete-

from articles of foreign comrades And the workers like to see that in our review, Spanish questions are dealt with by comrades of the country. This gives us a great theoretical prestige.

But Comunismo is not an organ that can reach the masses and is only a theoretical review which is very necessary for the political training of the militants. In addition to Comunismo, we need a fighting paper in which we can deal with all the daily questions of proletarian and peasant life of Spain. And that is what we are going to have from the 25th of this month.

The Spread of Our Literature

Comunismo Publishing House" is getting on magnificently. Our pamphlets meet with a great reception. In this way, we have decided to intensify the publication of pamphlets. We want to publish two a month. Moreover, we want to give the official party an example of how the work should be done. While the party is engaged merely in publishing translated pamphlets on Russia, we are publishing pamphlets on timely subjects of Spanish labor, written by Spanish militants. This also gives us a great prestige.

We are going to publish the following "What Are the Soviets?", "What Are the Factory Committees?", "What Is the end of Trotskyism" by Esteban Bilbao, given the floor for five minutes. munism and Anarcho-yndicalism" by Juan Andrade. -JUAN ANDRADE.

Madrid, September 24, 1931

discussion. Immediately a party member took the floor and said that the question under discussion was of no importance, that there was no need to waste time discussing such a trivial matter, and that we immediately proceed to a vote.

A young worker took the floor and made the following statement: that he did not support the Trotskyists, but that we had a right to join the I. L. D. and that he was in favor of my admittance; that he was against the expulsion of any one because he was a Trotskyist. Another worker took the floor and said

ence between the C. P. and the Trot skyists but he did know that the Trotskyists led the revolution in Russia. Several others took the floor and spoke Left Opposition?" by Forsen, "The Leg- in favor of my admittance. I was then

"Whither the National Conferedation of I declared that the C. L. of A. uncon-Labor" by Henri Lacroix, and "Com- ditionally supported and defended the Soviet Union, that we supported the C. I. and the Communism and that we considered ourselves Communists and were fighting to be reinstated in the ranks of

SPANISH REVOLUTION

The Revolution in Spain . . . 10c

The Spanish Revolution in Danger . . . 15c

These two pamphlets will give the reader an invaluable analysis of the present situation in Spain and the prospects of the further development of the revolution. The standpoint of the Opposition, in contrast to that of all the other groups involved in the present Spanish situation (the official Communist party, the Maurin group, the syndicalists, and others), is presented with the exceptional clarity and pentration for which the author is so well-known.

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pointed out the extreme importance of what was being discussed and that before they come to any decision it would be wise to give me the opportunity to defend myself.



There is no malice-we believe it was Macaulay who wrote it-like the malice of a renegade. Maurice Malkin, who was

recently expelled from the Left Opposition in New York, is now touring the branches of the International Labor Defense as the prosecuting attorney in the new campaign of expulsion of the "Trotskyists" from the organization. He is the specialist for the Engdahls, Fosters with the promise to tell the full story

and Hackers. He knows the "insides" some day. Malkin was finally released from priof the Left Opposition, and pretends to the ignoble role of informer. The ardor son, and the kindest thing that can be of his defense of the I. L. D. bureaucrats said about the release is to say nothing and their sectarian splitting course is about it . . . He rallied to the Opposiexcelled only by his venom against the tion again, and again his condemnations Opposition, his cynicism, his revolting and attacks upon the Stalinists exceeded falsehoods. By their deeds they shall all bounds. He assumed no less, the

be judged. And also by those they choose mantle or the ultra-Leftist. He conductto do their deeds for them. A few words ed a veritable campaign in the New to the expulsion campaign.

Stalinism. The New York branch of the party leaders, who threatened to cut off League decided to expel him as a renerelief from himself and his aged parents gade and a traitor, and to warn the workunless he capitulated; he begged us to

keep it all quiet, lest his relief and ers against him. Our public statement to the workers liberation be endangered. put a spike in Mr. Malkin's plans. The Outraged as we felt, we realized that Malkin, in many respects so irresponsifurriers' union deal did not go through.

Our declaration also prevented the party ble and impressionable, was undoubtedly demoralized by his prison term, and bureaucrats from re-admitting him into rightly or wrongly, we decided to refer the ranks. The Central Control Comto his case ambiguously in the Militant, mission turned down his re-application. The party fraction of the furriers in New Yrk, in May 1931, voted unanimously

against admitting this unprincipled and treacherous person into the party.

This is the individual selected to do the dirty work of informing on the Opposition and directing their expulsion from the I. L. D., doing the work for

the same leaders and policies that Malkin once denounced in such unmeasured terms that were we to reprint some of an extent, must be guided by such inabout who Malkin is will give added point York branch against the leadership and his letters, even he, in whom every spark dividuals-the only ones fit to carry out policy of the Left Opposition because of revolutionary conscience and honor is the disastrous policy which has been de-Malkin, who now claims to have been we "would not fight the party", because extinguished, would burn with shame. creed!

-P. PSAKIS.

Athens, August 28, 1931

Why is he the man chosen for the work? Because that is the way imposed upon him to buy back his membership in the party. When he has sufficiently demonstrated his baseness in character and thorough lack of self-respect, Foster and Co. will consider him fit candidate for the party again.

What a wretched character one must have to carry out the task assigned to Malkin!

What better can be said of those who order him about and sneer in his face, his masters who are worthy of those they hire!

What an infliction upon an organization whose destines, to however small



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.abor's Perspective in the Struggle for a Respite Mobilizing the Labor United Front

American capitalism is endeavoring) to ability of Communist leadership. find its way out of the present crisis.

purposes of determining the general direction and to work out a correct strategy it is necessary to examine the economic and political processes.

While even the "best" of the bourgeois experts have not as yet succeeded in es- when the demand for Labor power bezation" on a lower plane for American capitalism. This is not yet the general direction of the economic and political processes

To be sure, the general declining character of capitalism cannot be overcome. And any respite even for American capitalism will necessarily implies the lowering of the present level of the American workers as well as the reduction of the ration of other capitalist powers in world economy. This process is already in operation in both directions.

The American bourgeoisie is definitely aiming at replacing the bourgeoise of Europe and particularly that of England, primarily, in order to take possession of comrade Trotsky has so aptly pointed out: "It is precisely the international strength of the United States and its unbridled expansion resulting from it, that compels it to include powder magazines throughout the world among the foundation of its structure-the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggles in Old Europe, uprisings of the colnial masses, wars and revolution."

We have witnessed, as ominous signs for the European bourgeoisie, a series of convulsive economic and political crises cupled with direct intervention of American capitalism within the most recent period. Notably so in England and Germany, with France not escaping pressure from both the Amercian colossus which in every instance emerged the victor, further strengthening its hegemony. Behind the apparent international action to assist the financially hard pressed powers, there develops the sharpened antagonisms across the various state borders and keener competition for armaments. There have been rapid, frenzied swings from the rule of social democracy as an instrument of capitalism to that of open reaction, as these powers, each struggling more desperately for their diminishing rations in world economy, attempt to put ever heavier burdens upon their own proletariat and reduce its standard. Unquestionably there has been an immense The objective situation is becoming increasingly revolutionary. These results, which express the contradictions of capitalism in general, are made so much more turbulent by America's ruthless Euro

The process toward the reduction of efforts give eloquent testimony to the ex- motion. That is also one of the signs of the party there are no signs whatever plosive character of the present epoch. of efforts toward an economic revival of other than those belonging to its career To what extent it can gain a respite American capitalism which, of course, from the general crisis period and to holds possibilities of success in so far what extent it can take advantage of as another upward conjuncture is con the possibilities still open for further cerned. But depending as it does in a expansion on the world market should large measure upon the degree of the not be judged a priori. Moreover, it can- reduction of this level, the attacks upon not be judged at all on the mere basis the workers can be expected to reach of such possibilities without regard to yet a much more acute stage. It is therethe problem of class relations. But for fore logical to assume a tenacious growth of resistance in this upward conjuncture, when the workers find more solid ground under their feet, when the threatening clouds of large scale dismissals from factories and shops seems to disperse and

tablishing any concrete evidence of a gins to increase. This is so much logical change in the cycle, there is evidence a- to assume in view of the fact that the plenty of preparations for the shifting of working class has experienced a rude its burden. None of these so far point shaking from its false sense of security, to acceptance of a condition of "stabili- induced by the capitalist "prosperity" alone and, not having exhausted its forces in serious defeats, finds itself compelled to meet attacks formerly not dreamed of. Unquestionably the prospects of such broad economic struggles also holds prospects of new life to the labor movement in general as well as possi

bilities for a rise in the level of class consciousness. Growing resistance of the workers at

their markets. But what this implies the crisis, it proclaimed the "mass radio- ership has shown itself utterly incapable it will be equally as unprepared when the to analyze the crisis, stated: "Its effects ence as against that of the reformists. are broadening and deepening the counter-offensive of the exploited working serted that with each step of development masses." And further to make sure of of present objective conditions, the posiits strategical conclusions for the "conquests of the streets".

> Yet, in this coming period of growing resistance and sharpened economic ing only in the sphere of false evaluastruggles, the workers, despite the false tions of its leadership? This, of course, analysis and conclusions of the leadership, will move at an accelerated tempol labor's ranks as well as the social retoward the Communist party. And while formists and with them, although in a the impact of the struggle may for a different manner, the Right wing leaders time, as far as the masses are concerned, relegate the questions of strategy to the have us believe. For us, however, it is our object, coupled with the most direct backward there will nevertheless be a pertinent to recognize the weakness of intervention. For that we still require growth of the problems of correct lead the party's position despite the growing an immeasurable development and strenership. Moreover, at each decisive turn, favorable objective situation. A false gthening of our forces. of changes of objective conditions, the strategy running counter to the actual

> > Russia

Communist Party

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of false concepts and stupid blunders. Unfortunately, however, the field for mass leadership is not left open exclusively for the Communists. There are yet the social reformists of various types and appearances to be taken into account. While in certain advanced European capitalist countries we witness many strong manifestations of disintegration of the social democracy, that process has not yet reached such a point here. To what extent the workers here will pass

a period of reformist illusions depends largely upon the objective developments and the ability of the Communists. It is therefore no accident that in recent strike struggles, as in the mine fields and in Paterson, where the party leadership failed in its greatest opportunities, the penalty became a strengthening of social reformist influence. It was to be expected that such would first be reflected in the trade union field and in economic struggles of resistance. But it is also a portent of serious consequences for the future. Particularly in the first stages of masses moving Leftward, the reformists also move Leftward, hoping

to lead them. They bring forward their most effective "Left" coverings, but when the beginning of this crisis or during its the masses make more definite demands, first rapid progress downward could not when the tendencies to go beyond the be expected. That was the period of bounds of reform appear and assume bedded. How false was the party lead- tion, in these very first beginnings of alization" of the workers and in its of utilizing the united front policy which masses move Leftward. seventh convention thesis, in attempting would strengthen the Communist influ-

It can therefore not be too often as-

no misunderstanding, it proceeded to list tion of the party and its policy becomes the evidences (?) of "the revolutionary of ever greater importance. Commenupsurge of the working masses of the surate with this grows the importance United States". How equally false were of the role and function of the Left Communist Opposition. Has the party spent itself in its "Third Period" assaults upon a "revolutionary upsurge", existis what all the capitalist agents within of the Lovestone camp would like to

With ever sharper turns and jerks depends decisively upon the extent and questions of strategy will again be posed developments of the working class movein full force-more so at each particular ment milicts a heavy punishment. And mistake and failure recorded. And from all the protestations of the Centrist The convulsions already recorded by its the working class level is definitely in the Centrist bureaucracy now in control leadership of great disproportion between the party's numerical weakness and its large ideological influence to the contrary notwithstanding, the workers have in many respects, since the early part of the crisis, cast an adverse vote in regards to the party. They have voted by their absence from its mass organizations, by their decreasing response to calls for demonstrations; their vote became decisively adverse in the mine fields and in Paterson after the party leadership's failur to become the proponents of a united front struggle.

> Forced by the pressure of objective developments and by pressure of our correct criticism and intervention, the Centrist party leadership has found itself compelled to relinquish its "Third Period" analysis and conclusions. Has it come to a position more in accord with the actual needs of the mass movement? Has it come to a correct understanding of the Lenin policy of united front, which in this developing period will become so particularly essential? There is no such evidence. But there is evidence of the continuation of the zig-zags of the past now turn ing toward the Right. The serious effects of its adventurist position compel it to turn in the opposite direction. This is also expressed first in the trade union field. Above all, the Centrist leadership stifles the party's ideological and political life; its continued tip-tilted position, mass dismissals from the factories with revolutionary implications, they change in the opposite of the objective curves, the prosperity illusions still strongly im- their tune. It is precisely in this situa- keeps it from rapidly advancing the working class ideological level in a revership's analysis when, already prior to such manifestations, that the party lead- olutionary direction. Because of this,

However, there will be new decisive jerks and turns also in the working class movement in the immediate future, per-

haps of a convulsive character. This is clearly indicated in present perspectives, and at such decisive instances the questions of strategy will be posed in a forceful manner.

This imposes heavy obligations upon the Left Opposition. Our strength must first of all become the one of correct Marxian evaluations and conclusions. There will be plenty of decisive issues and situations and in all instances our direction must be the one of all efforts toward the restoration of the party to its revlutionary path. It is our party, and this is our task. A concentration on the decisive issues must first of all be

-ARNE SWABECK.

How the Life of the Y.C.L. Is Strangled

Somehow many a sincere League mem-, would be indeed a very comical specta-, preparations. But lo! the "united front ber begins to ponder over the curious an- cle. The life history of a "three months' conteneuces" are but suadows of confersharpening in existing class relations. omaly we have in the Y. C. L., namely plan" is something like that. The Disa lot of "activity" but no results, nay trict E. C. (always from above, you see) even going backward. Time and again decides upon a plan for the District say exclusive element represented. The Diswe have "discussions" on what is wrong 150 members. The number itself is that will probably give head for neglectwith the Y. C. L. and as yet we are small, but-here is the rub-the em- lug 1. 1. D. work, not understanding that just as stagment as ever.

The "Inner Life" The discussion article of comrade G. tant keeping these new members. But no "not in this country". The D. E. C. Ray on "Education and Young Commungives out the quotas "get so many from ists" drives home a point which is even here, so many from there" and, presto! taboo to discuss in the Y. C. L. namely The Unit Executive concretizes it by the exact conception of what really the deciding upon the places to concentrate. Y. C. L. should be. It is almost axiom-Everything is decided upon and the plan atic that the Y. C. L. should train Communists and not be a Junior Communist Party as it is. At present we have no this lifeless planning, for, let it reject "inner life" nor any life for that matthe plan and form a new one and the ter. Gone into oblivion are the begin-District will promptly reject it on the ners' classes, study circles. Gone are ground that it is not "concrete enough" wall papers, pictorials, etc., as "sheer The result of such a mechanical plan is nonsenses" although it is not said as that after a few meetings where mere much. The inner life of a typical unit reference was made to the plan, it is consists of in a discussion at regular forgotten and plans for a new plan are intervals on our tasks. One wonders being hatched. why not read last year's or last month's When such a disastrous policy is ap-

ences. League units and a rew orangees of I. W. U. and Young Delenders are the phasis should be not on numbers but it is their fault by not explaining what

on method of getting and most impor- club work should be all year round.

Every day brings new indications of antional instincts of the native workers. well prepared attacks against the work- When the native born worker considers, ing class by the leaders of American however, that the percentage of foreign capital, by the socalled "captains of in- born labor in the United States amounts dustry". If attention is given to the to about 15 per cent of the entire indevelopment of this campaign of attacks, dustrial population and more, it becomes the line of boss strategy, will become as clear to him that this whole business clear as daylight before all workers, and of deportations is merely a reactionary the organization of their defensive strug- | ruse. Here are a few figures of the pergle will thereby become more effective centages of foreign born is different inand strike its mark dustries : Iron and Steel manufacturing

The burning need of the hour, in the face of the torrentous onslaught of the old, experienced and crafty bourgeoisie, is the hermetic unity of the working class, which has yet to be achieved. Equally important is the ever watchful alert ness of the party of the class, of the Communists, in directing the forces of the defensive

Double Responsibility

in good, round numbers, a question of vital importance in the resistance of the Incomprehension of the perspectives American working class to the onslaught facing the working class, a false analyof capital. These hard figures are consis of the situation, failure to grasp the vincing enough to drive out primitive tasks involved, faulty preparations, are prejudices from the minds of the Ameibound to prove costly not only to the ican worker. They mean: Hanging to-Communist leaders of the proletariat, but gether or hanging alone. When the Amto the entire working class as a whole. This double responsibility staring us in orican worker understands this, he will the face, these circumstances that conundoubtedly raise his voice against the system of deportation, the cruelty and stantly keep every revolutionist on edge barbarism of which is enough to even today, alone force the Left Opposition make the conservative bourgeois intelto stress before the membership of the lectuals on the Wickersham Commission Communist party, one hundred fold the filled with disgust. importance of the Leninist united front tactic, the necessity of returning to the

principles of the International of Lenin and of Trotsky, and to increase our criticism of the Centrist bureaucrats blindly following the Stalinist apparatus, with all the greater impetus.

A working class divided, is an easy prey in the claws of the capitalist vultures. The fighting unity of the workars spells their end. The struggle for the conciliation of the backward laboring masses with their revolutionary vanguard is a struggle on many fronts.

Aside from the necessity of uniting the reformist with the revolutionary workers, there are a good many other problems involved in constituting the workers' front. We shall deal here with only two aspects of the question of unity.

The bosses aim at breaking up the ranks of the proletariat is being carried on under various forms. One of the most vicious forms is that of pitting the white against the black workers. How they by the Urban League:

"Wherever figures were given, the percentage of the unemployed among the Negroes exceeded their percentage of the total population and in some cases, the disproportion was very marked. Thus, in Baltimore they formed 17 per cent. of the population and 31.5% of the unemployed; in Charleston, S. C. 49% of 38%, etc.

ones to be fired when personnel is rethe Left Opposition should go its wa duced, but very often they are replaced as if nothing had happened. At the time, activity, "full of sound and fury, sign- by white labor. The boss, by playing we criticized this formalistic and lifeon the race instincts of the white workless policy, which had as ias consequence ers, in this manner tries to set up a the fact that the French Ligue missed barrier between white and black, from a situation favorable to the highest dewhich he alone ultimately gains. New gree for approaching the proletarian core the Negroes make up about 10 percent of of the party. Let us hope that this misthe entire population of the United take will not be repeated in Spain. States. In very many industries, their In a brief letter, comrade N. underlines percentage is even far weightier. In retwo facts, having an exceptionally imsisting the attacks of the bosses, who portant significance for the policy of the live from the labor of the white and the Spanish Left for the present period: the black workers alike, the inclusion of the official party has taken, or at any rate, Negro toilers in the ranks of the strughas proclaimed a series of steps directed gle is indispensable. The unity of Negro towards the policy of the Bolshevik-Lenand white workers is a matter of do or inists: on the contrary, the leadership die. The task of the Communists is not of the Catalonian Federation sinks all so much to make the Negro worker race the deeper into the confusion of opporconscious, which all the blabber of the tunism and petty bourgeois nationalism. Stalinists about "national minority" and The official party, heretofore, has done "self-determination" drives at, but much everything to identify the Left Opposirather to expose the class character of tion with the blunders of Maurin. At the oppression against the Negro before the present time, we are offered an exthe Negro himself as well as before the ceptionally favorable possibility to diswhite workers. That is the only way of pel all misunderstanding. . . The Left Opposition should subject the achieving the solidarity of the white and the black workers against the capital- turn of the Spanish Central Committee ist enemy. All the frame-ups, all the to a serious analysis-without naive lynchings, all the massacres of Negro credulity, but also without sectarian preworkers in the street must be explained judices. Whatever is conquered by us and combatted from this angle. The fight should be clearly stated by us and taken against Negro persecution and for the into consideration. Where differences reunity of the white and the Negro work- main, they should be characterized withers can only be carried on under the out any softness and embellishment. The faster and the more decisively the banner of the class struggle. Left Oppositin reacts to the turn in the Foreign-Born Workers direction of an approach to the party, Another method of dividing the workthe more advantageous it will be to the ers against themselves is the campaign Left Opposition, to the party, to the Spanish revolution.

A Letter About the Spanish Revolution

SAM GORDON.

Bituminous coal mining

Cotton goods

Clothing

Woolen and Worsted m'f'r'g

The question of the unity of native

and foreign born labor, is therefore,

when we remember that foreign born

labor amounts to about 9,000,000 workers

According to the information of comrade N., the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party has made a decisive turn in its policy. . .

From the words of comrade N., it follows that the Spanish Central Committee, which formally retaining the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship", changes its policy decisively on two points: first, it takes the road of struggle for democratic slogans; second, it is ready to apply the policy of the united front.

We have here a clear and an indubitable victory of the Left Opposition. How deep and serious is the turn of the Spanish Stalinists, is another question. Morego about this is most easily demonstrated over, any answer to it depends to a conby a few Unemployment statistics. The siderable degree upon our policy. But Monthly Labor Review of the U.S. De- at any rate, the very fate of the turn partment of Labor quotes the following is a direct fruit of the criticism of the from a report on an investigation made Left Opposition . . . Only the faction of the Left Opposition is a progressive force within Communism . . . Upon its successes depend the successes of Communism, and particularly the successes of the Spanish revolution.

But how shall we react to the turn of the Spanish Stalinists? On this score, we already have a serious experience, true, primarily an experience in the population and 70% of the unemploy- mistakes. When the French Stalinists, ed in Chicago, 4% of the population and to a considerable degree under the influ-16% of the unemployed, in Philadelphia, ence of our criticism, decided to retreat 7% and 25%, in Pittsburgh 8% and from the fantastic policy of the "third period", the old leadership of the Ligue

Not only are Negro workers the first declared in advance that adventurism is being replaced by opportunism and that

What are the prospects of development within the United States in this struggle for a respite? While the further ebbs and flows of the economic cycles may take place in strong leaps, some of the important aspects of the course for the immediate period are already indicated. And most likely, within these leaps the attitude and the actions of the working class will become a factor of far greater decisiveness than during the past decades. The sharper and deeper the changes in the future cycles as well as in the general economic and political conditions, the sharper the actions of the masses will be. Its outcome, however,

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speech, since they are so identical. A plied to the so-called "mass work" it typical unit meeting lasts for several plays havoc and certainly injures our hours with tedious reports and bickerwork_ ings on this and that failure. There is

no enthusiasm at the meeting. The com-Paradoxical as it may sound, as a rerades yawn and clamor for adjournment sult of "planned activity" we spread whenever an opportunity occurs. Is there our activities in every possible direction (the "third period", you know), any wonder then, that every unit can tell a tale full of woes about how it restarting something here, something there, cruited such a number of real "Amer- and abridoning it just as quickly for a ican Young Workers" who vanished afnew field of concentrations. This charter two or three meetings. It would acteristic prevails in every phase of our work. Just to take a few examples at have been a miracle if they stayed there listening to boring reports, and bureaurandom, I want to describe how a Y. cratic orders. The unit meeting resounds C. L. unit does factory work. The unit "discovers" a "good factory" and like with the echo of "you must do this tonight, that tomorrow night, etc. No a bolt from a clear sky "shock brigades" provision whatever for a class or a study start "storming" the factory with Young circle. The comrades finding themselves, Workers, Labor Unity leaflets of every

overwhelmed with work grumble until description, etc. Contacts are made and out they go voluntarily or involuntarily. our league comrades are jubiliant, for the rank and filer expects results after his hard work. The contacts are called to a meeting. The young workers come mining the influence of the Y. C. L., it enthused thinking that work will be done but no policy is presented or if it is, it is as clear as mud. The workers get disappointed and after a few meetings they leave us for good. The unit then gets another factory with exactly the same process being repeated. Colonizing comrades in factories and then sel-! ecting one for work, seems to be relegated for the easier and more boister-364 pages. Sold formerly at \$2. Through ous way of "storming". Thus, in many special arrangements with the pub-A section of New York the Y. C. L. relishers can be had from us now at \$1 corded gains and even organized shop organization committees; now they are PART II-The keal Situation in Rus all gone. sia and the Tasks of the

In our Negro work we see Young Liberators formed and disbanded. Scottsboro block committees, with the workers onthusiastic, but after a while we "cool off" and leave it for "better and more urgent work".

Hullabaloo and Noise These cases can be multiplied manyfold. Conferences for Y. I. D. are called. Much hullaboo and noise accompany the

Thus, in every phase of our work this ifying nothing", pervades. The members get ascouraged, phiegmatic, carrying on their work in a forced manner. Really a picture not inspiring to outside young workers. The question for every Y. C. L. with nothing but figures is presented to member to ask is why these endless dethe unit. The unit will of course accept leats? It is certainly not the fault of the young workers but that of our wrong approach in method and tactics.

-A LEAGUE MEMBER.



(Continued from Pafe 1) press great regret and protound disap pointment" (Mattnew Woll)!

Organized the phent!

"It is inconceivable that the workers Will dake this blow without resistance," auus woli, and Sullivan "hopes it will not tenu to summate the growth of raulcalism". It is not hard to agree with won this time. It is just as easy to say that neither won nor any of his cronies will organize this resistence. It will have to be done by those hundreds of mousands of steel workers who showed their mettie in the magnificent steel strike of 1919 which was carried out in spite of the sabotage of Gompers and Company.

That a national steel strike is the only possible answer to the wage cut announcement, is indisputable. But such a step were precipitated artificially, without a previous organization of the necessary pre-requisites for it. (What the situation demands more than ever is a carefully conceived and executed fight against the steel manufatcurers, organized on a united front basis. Should the official Communist party pursue, in this situation, the narrow, sectarian, isolationist course it adopted in the recent miners strike, the results in the steel industry would be even more disastrous. It is the height of idiocy to proceed from the idea that the Communists acn have nothing to do with anybody who does not agree entirely with everything the Stalinist leadership puts forth as gospel

truth. The militancy of the steel workers, nobody can dispute. They proved that once and for all time in 1919. It is necessary to crystallize the bitterness of the workers, organize it carefully, direct it into struggle against the wage-slashers and their agents, and conduct a struggle which has every prospct of arousing the whole working class of the country to a realization of its task in the crisis.

would be prejudiced irremediably if it to deport foreign born workers. The la-

bor faker Doak as secretary of Labor in the Hoover cabinet, announces 20,000 deportations of foreign born workers within the period of a few short months and hopes thereby to arouse the basest

July 30, 1931 -LEON TROTSKY.

. . . .

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Railroads Prepare for Wage Cuts Against National Communism! (Lessons of the 'Red' Referendum

(Continued from Page 1) interurban motor trucks.

Trucks of course cannot compete with do complete effectively in the l. c. l. cut just announced by U. S. Steel and prepared by the whole course of the traffic, which in 1929 contributed only Bethlehem, the way is prepared for an 2 1-2% of the tonnage but took up 25 p. c. intensive drive against living standards ist Party is governed by a sincere and of the total car loadings and supplied throughout American basic industry. over 10% of the revenue. The effect of The pressure will be hardest where low diversion of this valuable 1. c. l. traffic profits, huge fixed capital, developel capifrom the railways is therefore out of talist stagnation and keen competition crush it-of this, it is understood, there all proportion to the volume of such traf- are combined. The militant record of fic that the trucks capture.' Besides, a large part of the total investment of the leadership in past years guarantees effecrailroads in freight houses, terminal facilities, etc., is based on the handling American capitalism against the working rows the colors of its political springof l. c. l. traffic, and the costs of operating these facilities increase dispropor tionately as the relative amount of traffic handled diminishes.

The barge lines, on the other hand, attack the big bulk products such as coal, stone and sand, grain, etc., which accounted respectively for 33 p. c., 8 p. c. and 5 p. c. of the total tonnage handled. Plpe-lines, which have been in use for over fifty years, further compete with the railroads in transporting oil and oil products, which made up nearly 5% of the total tonnage. Railroads cannot compete with pipe-lines in carrying crude oil, but until recently had the carrying of gasoline and other refined oil product to themselves, except for some water competition. Now gasoline pipe-lines are taking away this business rapidly.

This newly intensified competition comes aftr a long slow development which has resulted in slowing up the rate of increase of railroad freight traffic as a whole. In thirty years the amount of railroad mileage in this country has shown no increase. Up to the war, however, the amount of freight by the branch or any other such bother traffic handled doubled every twelve years. From 1912 to 1920 traffic increased at a rate that would have doubled it in 14 years; the high mark of 410 billion ton-miles set in 1920 was not reached again till 1923, when it touched 413 billions; the next peak was 1926, at 444 billions, and the latest and highest was 1929 with 447 billions.

Comparing index numbers of industrial production with similar indexes of railroad freight traffic, with 1923 as 100% the ratio between the two declined until in 1929 the index of freight movement was only 92% of that of industrial out put. This was due in part to the spread ing of population, in part to the migration of industrial plants, eliminating cross-movements of goods (e. g., cotton) that the branch in Malden had no right from the South to New England mills and cotton goods back to the South), but L. S. N. R. is an organization closely also in large part to the effects of competition from other forms of transportation.

Freight Rate Decline

meantime the average freight rate re- before the branch (!) Amidst protest ceived by the railroads per ton-mile has this tool of the bureaucracy proceeded, been going down steadily for ten years, as chairman, to make an amendment to from 1.275 cents in 1921 to 1.063 cents the motion passed invalidating it. Amid in 1930. Rates have been cut partly by further protests, the party fraction rushorders of the I. C. C., partly by railroads ed the amendment through in such a refusing to charge as high rates as they whirlwind fashion that a number of symwere legally permitted to charge in order pathizers who had gathered to hear the to get a particular shipper's business. lecture just stood there dazed. The steady decline further reflects the steady pressure of competitive means of transportation.

| execution of the labor policies of Hoover the railroads took over 75%, 16 p. e. by the ex-brotherhood official Doak, the moved in rivers, canals and the Great united front of "labor" and capital for Lakes, 5% by pipe-lines, 2 1-2 p. c. by higher railroad rates and against competition from other forms of transporta-

tion-will be put to the test whether tive resistance to the next onslaught of and living conditions of the proletariat

-B. J. FIELD.

Party Breaks Meet in Malden BOSTON-

of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, upon the suggestion of comrade Dubin, one of its members and a known member of the Boston Left Opposiiton, voted to have comrade S. Gordon lecture before them on the Negro and Unemployment. As soon as this leaked out to the party district office, orders were immediately issued to mobilize the party fraction of the L. S. N. R. to prevent Gordon from speaking at all costs. The fraction thereuoon instigated the branch secretary to notify the rank and file of the organization that the lecture had been called off, without any previous decision some "bourgeois" procedure.

The meeting was attended by about half a dozen party members of the frac tion and only two non-party Negro com rades, while the organization is supposed to have a membership of more than forty, mainly Negro workers. Immedi ately, the party fraction put through one of its members. Pizer, who had not at tended a single meeting since the forma tion of the branch, but who had been sent down for the special purpose de scribed above, to preside at the meeting. He quickly rattled through the business end, and then, concerning the decision passed previously, he declared brazenly (after the nth turn towards workers democracy in the mass organizations to choose who should speak for it, the affiliated to the Communist party, there is a United Front Scottsboro Committee in Boston, all speakers must be approved by that committee before they can speak

the nother hurespiersf. and

(Continued from last issue) "The People's Revolution" Instead of the Proletarian Revolution

Such an at first sight "sudden" zig-zag railroads in moving trainloads or coal or not the I. C. C. grants the railroads of July 21 did not at all fall like a or bargeloads of iron ore. They can and their rate increase. With a 10% wage thunderbolt from the clear sky, but was past period. That the German Communburning striving to conquer the Fascists to break the masses away from their influence, to overthrow Fascism and to can be no doubt. But the misfortune the railroad workers in spite of their lies in the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy strives ever more to act against Fascism with its own weapon: it borboard and tries to out-yell it at the auction of patriotism. These are not the methods of principled class politics but the methods of petty bourgeois competiwe too have a plebiscite, even a better tion. one, "red" through and through.

It is difficult for one to imagine a more shameful capitulation in principle than the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy has substituted for the slogan of the proletarian revolution the slogan of the people's revolution. No shrewd concoctions, no play on quotations, no histor-At its last meeting, the Malden branch ical falsifications, will alter the fact that this is a betrayal in principle of Marxism, with the object of the best possible imitation of Fascist charlantism. I am compelled here to repeat what I ago: "It is understood that every great tente". It is consequently a matter, revolution is a people's or a national revcreative forces of the nation and reconstructs the nation around a new core. But this is not a slogan, it is a sociological description of the revolution. which requires, moreover, precise and concrete definition. But as a slogan, it is inane and charlatanim, market competition with the Fascists, paid for at the price of injecting confusion into the minds of the workers . . . The Fascist the Entente. This is why-by the way-Strasser says. Ninety-five percent of the people are interested in the revolution, consequently this is not a class revolution but a people's revolution. Thaelmann of the European continent. sings in chorus. In reality, the worekr. Communists should say to the Fascist worker: Of course, ninety-five percent of the population, if not ninety-eight percent, is exploited by finance capital. But his exploitation is organized hierarchsub-exploiters, sub-sub-exploiters, etc. Only thanks to this hierarchy do the super-exploiters keep in subjection the majority of the nation. In order that Liebknecht taught at one time. Or perthe nation should indeed be able to re haps you have forgotten this, friends? construct itself around a new class core, it must be reconstructed ideologically and this can be achieved only if the proltearait does not dissolve itself into the 'people', into the 'nation', but on the contray develops a program of its proletarian revolution and compels the petty bourgeoisie to choose between two regimes. The slogan of the people's revolution lulls the petty bourgeoisie as well as the broad masses of the workers, reconciles them to the bourgeois-hierarchical structure of the 'people' and retards, their liberation. But under present conditons in Germany, the slogan of a 'peo-Comrade Dubin, after some difficulty, ple's revolution' wipes away the ideolo-Fascism, reconciles part of the workers

By LEON TROTSKY

crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy-yes, mdependent road, the Stalinists drove an outright crime—consists, however, of them into the bourgeois Kuo Min Trang. ple of revolutionary war, the government the fact that it solidarizes itself with This enumeration can be continued end these elements, identifies their voice with lessly. In big as well as in small ques- the most onerous Brest-Litovsk peace. the voice of the party, refuses to lay tions, we see one and the same spirit Why? Because the peasants and the bare their nationalistic and militaristic of mimicry, constant imitation of the workers, with the exception of a small tendencies, transforming the thoroughly enemy, a striving to utilize against the advanced section, did not want any war. petty bourgeois reactionary-utopian and enemy not their own weapons-which Later, the same peasants and workers chauvinist pamphlet of Scheringer into alas! they do not possess-but the weaa new testament of the revolutionary pons stolen from the arsenal of the enproletariat. It is precisely from this emy.

base competition with Fascism that the The present party regime acts in the apaprently sudden decision of July 21 same direction. We have written and sky into an offensive, we suffered a dearose: You have a people's revolution spoken more than once that the absoluand we have one too; you have national tism of the apparatus, demoralizing the liberation as the highest criterion, and leading stratum of the Comintern. humiliating and depriving of individuality of the revolution. we have the same; you have a war against Western capitalism and we prothe advanced workers, crushing and dis mise the same; you have a plebiscite

torting revolutionary character, inevitably weakens the proletarian vanguard fists." But why does the Soviet governin the face of the enemy. Whoever bows his head submissively before every command from above, is a good-foronthing

revolutionary fighter! with all his strength not to be outdone The Centrist functionaries were Zinby Count Stenbook-Fermor. The report oviev, Bucharinists under Bucharin, of the meeting of party workers at which Thaelmann proclaimed the turn towards Stalinists and Molotovists when Stalin's not enough to be for revolutioanry war and Molotov's time came. They even in principle. One must, in addition to the plebiscite, is printed in Rote Fahne bowed their heads before Manuilsky, that, have a head upon his shoulders. under teh pretentious title, "Under the Kuusinen and Losovsky. At every one One must take into consideration the cir Banner of Marxism". However, at the of the stages passed, they repeated the cumstances, the relation of forces, and most prominent place in his conclusion, words, the intenations and the gestures the moods of the masses. Thaelmann put the idea that "Germany wrote on this question several months is today a ball in the hands of the En- of the alternating "leader" according to command, they rejected today what they primarily, of national liberation. But swore by yesterday, and having two fin- powerful state apparatus of compulsion. olution, in the sense that it unites around in a certain sense, France and Italy also, gers in the mouth, whistled at the re- then all the more attentively must a the revolutionary class all the virile and and even England, are "balls" in the tiring chief, whom they had borne on revolutionary party, which can act only hands of the United States. The de- their hands only yesterday. Under this by convincing and not by compelling, take pendence of Europe upon America, which disastrous regime, revolutionary courage into consideration the moods of the workhas once more been revealed so clearly is emasculated, theoretical consciousness ers and of the toilers in general. The in connection with Hoover's proposal is emptied, the backbone is softened. (tomorrow this dependence will be re- Only bureaucrats who have gone through means for war against the West, but vealed still more sharply and brutally), the Zinovievist-Stalinist school could so has a far deeper significance for the de- easily substitute the people's revolution velopment of the European revolution for the proletarian, and having proclaimthan the dependence of Germany upon ed the Bolshevik-Leninists as renegades, raise upon their shoulders chauvinists the slogan of the Soviet United States of of the Scheringer type. Europe, and not the single bare slogan,

"Revolutionary War" and Pacifism The Scheringers and the Stenbook Fermors look favorably upon the cause

of the Communist party as the direct continuation of the Hohenzollern war. occupy second place. Our policy is de- To them, the victims of the hideous imtermined not by the fact that Germany perialist slaughter remain heroes who is a "ball" in the hands of the Entente, have fallen for the freedom of but primarily by the fact that the Ger- [the German people. They are ready ically: there are exploiters, there are man proletariat, which is split-up, ren- to call a new war for Alasce-Lordered powerless and degraded, is a ball raine and for Eastern Prussia a "rev in the hands of the German bourgeoisie. olutionary" war. They agree to accept. "The main enemy-is at home!" Karl -so far, in words-"the people's revolution", if it can serve as a means of mobilizing the workers for their "rev-Or perhaps this teaching is no longer olutionary" war. Their whole program any good? For Thaelmann, it is very lies in the idea of revanche [revenge]: if tomorrow it will seem to them that the same aim can be achieved by another road, they will shoot the revolutionary proletariat in the back. This should

not be passed over in silence, but revealed. The vigilance of the workers should not be lulled, but aroused. How does the party proceed?

In the Communist Fanfare of August Several years ago, the Left Opposition 1, in the very heat of the agitation for warned that the "truly Russian" theory of socialism in one country would in- the referendum, along with the picture all become the point of departure for a evitably lead to the development of socof Scheringer, is printed one of his new apostolic messages. Here is what is ial patriotic tendencies in all the sections of the Comintern. At that time, said there literally: "The cause of the obtained the floor, denounced the man- gical demarcation between Marxism and it seemed to be a fantasy, a base invendead of the World War, who have given With its aid, the party succeeded in intion, a "slander". But ideas have not their life for a free Germany, is betraye only their own logic, but also their ex- by everyone who comes out today against plosive force. The German Communist the people's revolution against the rev-Party, in a brief period, has been drawn olutionary war of liberation." You do not into the sphere of social patriotism be- believe your own eyes, reading these re velations on the pages of the press callfore our very eyes, that is, into those moods and slogans, on the mortal hos- ing itself Communist. And all this is covered up with the names of Liebknecht tility towards which the Comintern was founded. Is it not startling? No, it is and Lenin! What a long whip Lenin endum, considerably weaker than it was would have taken into his hands for the polemical castigation of such Commun-The method of pideological imitation ism. And he would not stop at polemof the opponent and of the class enemy ical articles. He would strive for the -a method which is thoroughly contraconvocation of a special international congress in order mercilessly to purge the ranks of the proletarian vanguard from the essence of Centrism, from its from the gangrene of chauvinism. "We are not pacifists", the Thaelmans, pre-requisites for the revolution are in-Remmeles and othes retort proudly. "We sufficient by themselves. The political are for revolutionary war in principle." the ground from under the feet of the As proof, they are prepared to produce some quotations from Marx and Lenin, assure victory in advance-there are no selected for them in Moscow by some ignortant "Red Professor". One might it possible and probale. Strategical cal-Black Hundreds who have, in recent ulatform bit by bit. In order to win the really think that Marx and Lenin were the spokesmen of national wars and not form the probable into the reality. But Communism. The party, of course, could trade unionism, the Stalinists conducted of proletarian revolutions! As if the no strategy can turn the impossible into utilize even such individual metamor- a trade unionist instead of a Marxian conception of revolutionary war of Marx the possible. and Lenin has anything in common with the nationalist ideology of the Fascist officers and the Centrist corporals. By ing situation", the Central Committee the cheap phrase of revolutionary war, the Stalinist bureaucracy attracts dozens what the relation of forces is at the of adventurists, but repulses hundreds of thousands, and millions of social democratic, christian and non-party workers. I no words in declaring that the greedy -This means that you recommend to us to imitate the pacifism of the social seizure of the Japanese militarists is in democracy? some particularly profound theoretician of the new course will object. No, we are least of all inclined to weigh all the elements of the political imitation, even the moods of the workin the face of its vassals by American ing class; but we must take them into to the conclusion: In spite of the monconsideration. Only by correctly estimaimperialism, is revealed in glaring light. tion the moods of the broad masses of the considerable growth of Communism the proletariat can they be brought to in the past period, the party is still too the revolution. But the bureaucracy, im- weak to strive to force a revolutionary The events in Manchuria and their repercussions, fore-shadow a new and itating the phraseology of petty bourgeois solution. On the contrary, it is the nationalism, ignores the actual moods of Fascists who strive towards this aim. sharpened attack of international imper the workers who do not want war, who All the bourgeois parties are ready to cannot want it, and who are repelled by assist them in this, the social democratic den of the crisis on the shoulders of the military fan-farronades of the new party included. For they all fear the the enslaved and oppressed. The workfirm: Thaelmann, Scheringer, Count troops, supposedly "without the consent" ing class of the world must be awakened Stenbock-Fermor, Heinz Neumann and of the Tokio authorities, is therefore less to the new war danger. The solidarity of - Co. all the toiling masses, the solidarity of in the event of the seizure of power by the workers of the capitalist countries the proletariat, Marxism, of course, cannot fall to take into consideration. But this is far removed from converting an of a bloody judgment over the workers. historical probability, which may be For us to assist the Fascists would be forced upon us by the course of events the greatest stupidity. This is why we after the seizure of power, into a fighting are against the Fascist plebiscito-this political slogan prior to the seizure if is how Thaelmann should have concluded power. A revolutionary war, as some- his report, if he had a grain of Marxian thing forced upon us, under certain con- conscience left in him. ditions, as a consequence of the prole-

tarian victory-is one thing. A "people's" revolution, as a means for revolutionary war, is something altogether different, even the direct opposite.

In spite of the recogniton in princiof Soviet Russia signed, as is known, heroically defended the Soviet revolution from innumerable enemies. But when we attempted to transform the harsh defensive war forced upon us by Pilsudfeat, and this mistake, which grew out of an incorrect estimation of the forces, struck very heavily at the development

The Red Army has been in existence for fourteen years. "We are not paciment declare on every occsaion its peaceful policy? Why does it propose disarmament and conclude non-aggression pacts? Why doesn't it set into motion the Red Army as a weapon of the world proletarian revolution? Evidently, it is

If it is imperative for the workers' government, having in its hands the revolution to us-is not a subordinate on the contrary, a means for avoiding wars, in order to end them once and for all. We fight the social democracy not by ridiculing its striving for peace, which inherent in every toiler, but by revealing the falsehood of its pacifism, because capitalist society, which is saved every day by the social democracy, is inconceivable without wars. The "national liberation" of Germany lies, to our mind. not in a war with the West, but in a proletarian revolution embracing Central as well as Western Europe, which would unite it with Eastern Europe in the form of the Soviet United States. Only such a way of putting the question can weld the working class and make it the center of atraction for the despairing petty bourgeois masses. In order for the proletariat to be able to dictate its will to modern society, its party must not be ashamed of being a proletarian party and of speaking its own language, not the language of national revanche, but the language of international revolution.

How Marxists Should Deliberate

The red referendum did not fall from the skies: it grew out of an advanced ideological degeneration of the party. But because of this, it does not cease to be the most malicious adventure imaginable. The referendum did not at revolutionary struggle for nower. It remained fully within the frame-work of an auxiliary parliamentary maneuver. flicting upon itself a combined defeat: having strengthened the social democracy and consequently the Bruening government, having covered up the defeat of the Fascists, having repelled the social democratic workers and a considerable portion of its own electorate, the party became, on the day following the referon the eve of it. One could not do a better service to German and world capitalism Capitalist society, particularly in Germany, has been on the eve of collapse several times in the last decade and a half. But each time it emerged from the catastrophe. Economic and social pre-requisites are required, that is, such a relation of forces which, if it does not such situations in history-at least makes culation, boldness, resolution, later trans-Instead of general phrases about the deepening of the crisis and the "changwas duty bound to point out precisely present time in the German proletariat, in the trade unions, in the factory committees; what the contacts of the party are with the agricultural workers. etc. These data are open to precise investigation and are not a secret. If Thaelmann had the courage to enumerate openly and situation, he would be compelled to come strous crisis of the capitalist system and Communists more than they do he Faseists. With the aid of the Prussian plebiscite, the National Socialists want to The possibility of revolutionary war force the collapse of the extremely unstable state balance, so as to force the vacillating strata of the bourgeoisie to support them, the Fascists, in the cause

obviously antiquated, Liebknecht is sub stituted by Scheringer. This is why the title "Under the Banner of Marxism" rings with such bitter irony! The School of Bureaucratic Centrism As the School of Capitulations

The fact is that the former revolu-

tionary worker. Thaelmann, today strives

"Down with the Versailles Peace", is

the proletarian answer to the convulsions

But all these questions nevertheless

In the face of all this, it is the rankest hypocrisy for the railroads to state their case as, "Give us a rate increase or we will have to cut wages, as we are not earning the 5 1-2% on our investment promised to us by law".

Actually, a 15% rate income for the railroads is a 15% subsidy ot all their competitors-trucks, busses and bargelines, which can either raise their rates to meet those of the railroads, or use the 15% difference to solicit traffic competitively with even greater success by keeping their old rates. Even here the railroads as a group have no outside competitor, competition among railroad themselves would prevent them from taking full advantage of any permitted rate increase, in the same way as it has kept the railroads up to now cutting rates among themselves.

Already one small road, the Louisiana and Arkansas Railway, has attempted to cut shopmen's wages, and was slapped over the wrist in July of this year by an "emergency board" appointed by Hoover, for refusing to submit to arbi- calling out loud that we leave all fight tration as duly provided for by law. It ing to be turned against the bosses is even whispered that the president of among the workers we demand only dis the road, Harvey C. Couch, an electric cussion, and we'll get it yet! It is quite power magnate and banker as well as clear that the only achievement of the railroad reorganizer, was summoned to the White House for a talking-to by ther discreditment, further isolation from Hoover.

making the speed-up take the place of incident is very typical. Our answer, outright wage-cuts. In 1924, when the the answer of the Opposition, to such railroads hauled 48,534,000 carloads of wretchedness, must be: a tenfold infreight, they employed an average of crease in our activities, a powerful con- the way, also offers very telling proof 1,77,391 men; in 1929, hauling 52,828,- centration of our efforts to penetrate 000 carloads, or 9% more, they employed 1,686,769 men, or 5% fewer; last year this suicidal policy which is leading the they employed 1,510,688, and this year about 300,000 less. Wage rates, however, were kept relatively stable, averaging \$1,743 per man in 1929 and \$1,715 in 1930.

Class collaboration-the Baltimore and Ohio company union the capitalist ventures of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers under the Stone regime, the

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demanded that Gordon be allowed to and the petty bourgeoisie to the idoelogy the indignation of a non-party Negro comrade present, by the name of Hindon, ter of a people's revolution." who got up, expressed the purpose of

the organization as a united front organization to be a struggle against the capitalists and not a fight aganist others who want to participate in this united front, and also demanded that Gordon be given the right to make a statement This comrade too was shouted down by the chairman, and councilled in a threat ening manner "not to allow his senti mets to get the better" of him (!). The pretty trick of the bureaucrats had been carried through, disruption and confusion had been thrown into another "non' party "mass" organization, with the sole end in view of preventing the Opposition from making its voice heard before the workers.

Some of the party fraction tried to provoke the comrades. We interfered whole tactic pursued by the party, is fur-

the masses, further confusion of the The railroads in recent years have been | ranks of the revolutionary workers. The the ranks of the party, to put a stop to party and the revolutionary movement to nese revolution, and all the probelms it tion of the brand of pacifism flourished destruction. Many and heavy tasks are facing us, the objective situation presents enormous possibilities for real and rapid advance to the revolutionary goal. We must not allow this petty violence, this dissipation of the forces of the revolutionary vanguard to go on. The life of the movement depends on this. We must gather our forces quickly and act soon ----S. G. and effectively.

... NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Militant will contain, besides the regular material, a full report of the second National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition), which is now taking Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for- place in New York. In addition, the conclusion of comrade Trotsky's article on Germany will appear.

make a statement before leaving. The of Fascism, allowing them to think that chairman shouted him down, arousing they are not compelled to make a choice, because in both camps it is all a mat-

"People's Revolution' as a Method of National Liberation

Idea have their own logic. The peo only a natural censequence! ple's revolution is put forth as a sub ordinate method of "national liberation". Such a way of putting the question opened an approach to the party for purely dictory to the theory and the psychology chauvinistic tendencies. It is underof Bolshevism--flows quite organically stood that ther is nothing bad about the fact that despairing patriots approach the party of the proletariat, from the camp unprincipledness, inconsistency, ideoloof petty bourgeois chauvinism: various gical hollowness. Thus, for several years elements ocme to Communism along dif- the Stalinist bureaucracy carried out the ferent roads and paths. Sincere and Thermidorean policy in order to take honest elements-along with arch-careerists and irresponsible failures-are un- Thermidoreans. Having been frightened doubtedly to be found in the ranks of by the Left Opposition, the Stalinist bur those officers of the White Guardists and eaucracy started to imitate the Left months, apparently turned their face to Buglish workers from the domination of phoses as an auxiliary method for the policy. In order to help the Chinese disruption of the Fascist camp. The workers and peasants to emerge upon an

War Clouds in Manchuria

(Continued from Page 1)

for the contention that only under the no way under the jurisdiction of this leadership of the proletariat can the Chi-| pact. The whole hypocrisy and decepinvolves, be successfully concluded.

Japanese imperialism, on the other hand, has been hit, together with the rest of the capitalist world, by the deepest economic crisis since the war. Under the strain of the crisis it is only natural ialism, a new attempt to cast the burthat its concern over markets should be made all the more anxious. The occupation of Southern Manchuria by Japanese surprising than the bourgeois press would have us believe.

Even more significant than the act with the oppressed colonial peoples must alone, is the general sanction it is given be renewed and strengthened a thousand by capitalist spokesmen the world over. fold. This can best be done by the ab-When, in their confusion and panic, the sorption of the lessons of the Chinese leaders of the servile Chinese bourge- revolution of 1925-1927, by a thorough oisie, appeal-as if hanging on to a last understanding of the theory of the Perstraw-to the justice of the Kellogg Pact. manent Revolution, which has so long Stimson and the state department of the been abused, and of the concrete tasks American imperialist government, mince it implies.

(To Be Concluded)