

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 29, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

VOLUME V, NO. 5 [WHOLE NO. 101]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

On the German Situation

An Appeal to all the Communist Workers by the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

The danger of Fascism in Germany has not diminished. On the contrary, while the Communist have registered a number of important advances, they have failed to absorb even those social democratic workers who have left the standard of their party, and the Fascists have been striding forward with seven league boots. It should now be clear to all that the Hitlerite hordes are deliberately preparing themselves for the seizure of the state power. Their strength multiplies. All the recent elections show a distinct and threatening shift to the Right from all the bourgeois parties. The bourgeoisie is staking upon the victory of Fascism as the counter-revolutionary issue from the terrific crisis in which it finds itself. The big bourgeoisie press of the countries bordering upon Germany, like France, is already preparing to "reconcile" itself to a Hitler regime.

WHAT WILL DECIDE?

But Hitler's march to power has not yet been crowned with success. His victory or his annihilation will be decided by the relationship of forces, and primarily by the course which the German Communists will pursue in the coming months.

The German Communist Party, to this day, has followed a false policy. It has not yet adopted the course which would successfully exterminate the Fascist danger.

Following the last Reichstag elections and for many precious months thereafter, the party leadership lulled the masses into a false security with its baseless assurances that Fascism had reached the height of its power. The events that followed every such boastful assertion brought new proofs of the advances of the Hitlerites.

Instead of steering firmly towards winning the socialist workers, the Stalinists engaged in a vulgar and reactionary competition with the Fascists, servilely copying their slogans, seeking to outbid Hitler in nationalist demagoguery, and sinking to the most abysmal depths of "National-Bolshevism".

Then, when the reactionary monster had grown to a size which compelled the whole working class to look at the situation with alarm, the party leaders dragged the Communist masses through the mud of "red referendum" in Prussia, which not only heightened the wall between us and the socialist workers, but added new fuel to the fires of Fascism.

To all this, the confusion was worse confounded by the theory finally developed, in blatant contrast to yesterday's boasting, that the victory of Fascism was inevitable. The fact that in the October 1923 crisis, Stalin himself declared that the seizure of power by Fascism was even preferable to an attempt at power by the workers, does not justify the policy of Thaelmann and Co., but serves to illuminate the source of its inspiration.

THE RUINOUS THEORY OF STALINISM

Under the pressure of the increasingly acute crisis, of the discontentment of the masses with the party policy, and of the hammer-blows dealt this theory by the Left Opposition, the theory of "inevitability" is now being formally and hypocritically thrown overboard, the scapegoats found for its advocacy in the approved bureaucratic manner and the traces thus covered up. But unfortunately, in all their practices, in all their "subsidiary" theories, and by the personal conduct and preparations being made by the party leaders, it is clear that the party course is still directed towards a capitulation before the advance of Hitler. We still hear that the Bruening regime is practically Fascism; that Bruening is no different from Hitler. With the thoroughly false dictum of Stalin that the "social democracy is a moderate wing of Fascism", with the equally disastrous theory and practice of "social Fascism", the party leaders still contend that for the crushing of Fascism, it is first necessary to liquidate the social democracy. Such a standpoint means that Fascism is to be allowed to come to power while the Stalinists are engaged in "liquidating the social democracy"—an aim which they will not attain with their present course.

Not daring to defend publicly the theory of capitulation, and incapable of meeting the criticisms of the Left Opposition, the Stalinists, beginning with Stalin himself, are laying a smoke screen to cover up their indefensible standpoint and to divert attention from the real needs of the hour. Instead of dealing objectively with the proposals made by comrade

Trotsky, supported by the international Left Opposition, for a united front to prevent Fascism from coming to power, a new campaign of calumny and falsehood has been launched, initiated and approved by the central Stalinist bureaucracy. "Trotskyism", killed a hundred times, has now been "re-discovered" in the highest instances of the Russian party. "Semi-Trotskyist" deviations are being revealed in the German and French parties. From Moscow itself, the flat lie is being circulated throughout the bourgeois and Stalinist press that "Trotsky has gone over to the German social democracy"; that "Bruening, by the intermediary of Kautsky, is going to give Trotsky a visa to Germany".

We warn the Communist workers that these lies, these criminal and light-minded diversions, are desperate maneuvers of a bankrupt bureaucracy which can discuss and argue on Marxian-Leninist strategy and tactics only by slanders and police concoctions. The issue cannot be settled in this way. Fascism will not be destroyed by lying about the Left Opposition and its leader, comrade Trotsky.

WHAT A FASCIST VICTORY MEANS

A victory of Fascism, which threatens in Germany, means—if Italy teaches us anything—the crushing of the Communists, the social democratic workers, their trade unions, their press, their centers—in a word, the complete and bloody extermination of the whole working class movement.

A victory of Fascism would mean the reactionary, counter-revolutionary solution of the present crisis, not merely for the German bourgeoisie but also for the bourgeoisie in other countries, including the United States.

A victory for Fascism would break the spinal column of the Communist International at its strongest point outside the Soviet Union—Germany. It would be a direct and immediate threat to the very existence of the Russian workers' republic.

The Left Opposition, contemptuously rejecting the liquidators' standpoint, does not believe in the inevitability of the Fascist victory in Germany. On the contrary, we are deeply convinced that the united strength of the German proletariat, assisted by the international working class, can smash the Fascists without great difficulty and prevent them from coming to power.

But for this, the Communists must have a correct policy, which means, in Germany, a radical and genuine change of the present course of the party. Not bureaucratic maneuvers which leave nothing essentially unchanged, but a breaking of the strangulating chains of the theory of "social Fascism" and a turn towards the real united front as Lenin's Comintern taught it.

The German social democratic workers, who number millions and who hate Fascism with all their heart, who will not reconcile themselves with Hitlerism as their leaders will in a crisis, must be won for the united front against Fascism. The Communist party, as comrade Trotsky, and the Left Opposition have advocated, must put to the German social democracy and to the reformist trade unions the proposals for a united front to resist the advance of Fascism. Only in this way, which puts their leaders to the wall on a concrete, burning issue, will the masses realize that the Communists alone can lead them in the struggle for liberation and for the defeat of reaction.

ACT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

If the official party leaders miss the opportunity which is still before them, if they persist obstinately in their perilous course, if they allow Fascism to come to power without organized resistance, the revolutionary workers the world over will hold the Stalinists directly responsible for the inevitable catastrophe that will ensue.

The times are pregnant with great events, with victory or defeat. The right road may still be chosen. The Communist workers in the ranks, here as well as in Germany, must speak out. They cannot arrange their passports to flee to safety from the consequences of a Fascist victory. It is up to them alone to act and to turn the course of the Comintern in the right direction. The Left Opposition, conscious of its duties, is ready one more to join with the party to arouse the proletariat to action, and in Germany it must act before it is too late. Let every Communist worker reflect carefully. Do not permit yourselves to be swayed by slander and falsehood. Demand an accounting now. Today, the decision is still in your hands for it is not yet too late. Tomorrow, it may have passed into the historical records of a great catastrophe!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (Opposition)

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by
ALBERT GLOTZER

Germany-Fascism or Communism

at the
Labor Temple
14th Street and Second Avenue

Friday, February 5, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

Unemployed Workers Admitted Free

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

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE:

1. "The 'Armed' Uprising of November 7, 1927" by Leon Trotsky
2. The Second Article in the Series on Spain by Max Shachtman

Japanese Invade Shanghai!

War Threatens in the Far East and against the Soviet Union

As we go to press, the wires are still humming with the latest dispatches of the Japanese seizure of Shanghai. Battles between Nipponese and Chinese troops are in full blast all over Chapel, the native part of the town, and Japanese reinforcements keep on marching toward the scene of the fighting. After 13 hours of fierce skirmishes and air raids, one report says, the occupation is not yet completed. But one thing is certain: The crux of the Sino-Japanese conflict is already here.

Undeclared Open War

The minions of the Mikado have been steadily proceeding southward for weeks ever since their first easy successes in Manchuria. This time, China proper is the object of the imperialists' operations. The game of the Japanese has been to lop off one territory after another, while protesting against breaches of the treaty of 1915, while declaring the absolute altruism of their motives. At this rate, the official declaration of war ought to come just about at the time when the Nippon capitalists are ready to sign the peace treaty.

So far, the other imperialist powers have shown extreme restraint and cau-

tion in dealing with the hardly detectable demarches of their Oriental competitor. In such a heated atmosphere as the present, even the fact that several American workshops have been ordered to Shanghai, appears to be a mild form of indignation. But it would be foolish to think that this has been so because of their good will, or because of pacifist scruples. Nothing is further removed from that.

The reason why the Western powers are refraining from prompt and drastic action to curb their yellow brother-under-the-skin is that the present world situation is as combustible as a powder magazine. Unemployment driving millions to a choice between extermination and bitter, uncompromising struggle. Germany on the verge of social eruption. Unrest in Poland, class fighting in Spain, turmoil in Austria, Hungary and the other central European states. That is what the capitalist world is faced with today. A "working agreement" for the time being, or at least an "entente" is the most natural thing to expect among the various national master classes. The throttling of a social conflagration and the victorious subjugation of the fortress

of the world revolution—Workers' Russia—is the immediate and common objective of all the powers that be.

Anti-Soviet Advances

The Rengo News Agency (Japanese) reports the seizure and operation of the branch line between Harbin and Changchun of the Chinese Eastern Railway by Japanese train troops! Add to this the planned invasion of Jehol valley and Mongolia by the notorious Russian White Guard general, Ataman Semonov, an adventurer definitely known to be in the pay of the Mikado's government, and you have as arrogant a provocation against the Soviet Union as can possibly be hatched up. The signal for an attack against the light-house of the international proletariat is being given in the East.

The government of the Soviets is watchful and cautious. And in a situation such as this, it must be. But, if we are to believe quotations from *Pravda* and *Isvestia* in the capitalist press, the stress is being put altogether and exclusively—for the present, at least—on the danger at the Eastern frontier of the U. S. S. R. That danger is hardly to be underestimated. It can and probably will serve as the spark of an round attack.

But, for a revolutionist with open eyes it cannot help being clear that the real and the main danger is in the West. Developments in the Far East generally drag, must drag, because of the physical character of the land, because of the lack and inadequacy of transportation facilities, because of natural difficulties. Should Fascism, however, succeed in crushing the German proletariat, and thereby pave the way for a combined effort of imperialist reaction, this menace would in crease at a furious tempo. On the Western frontier, the position is entirely the reverse. A few weeks of successful military operations by the European imperialists would place in their hands the Ukrainian granary and the heart of Soviet industry. Not to speak of depriving the Soviets of the aid of its most powerful and most valuable ally, the European and more immediately, the German proletariat.

Chinese Experiences Not Forgotten

That is what every Communist worker to whom proletarian Russia, to whom the world revolution is dear, must keep in mind. This is what the Russian worker, especially, must keep in mind. And it is precisely for this reason that the policy of passivity and inaction of the Stalinist leadership of the Russian Communist Party and of the Communist International in this situation is criminal and treacherous.

It was these same people, onw masquerading as intransigent doctrinaires whose principles do not allow them to force struggle agreements against German Fascism upon the social democrats (the "social-Fascists")—who were responsible for the slaughter of the flower of the Chinese proletariat by Chiang Kai-Shek in 1926-1927. Then—under the banner of the Martynovist bloc of four classes. All the futile and empty shouts of the Stalinist press about the "Chinese Red Army" and the "powerful Chinese Soviet Republic" (Daily Worker 1-29-1931) cannot cover up the fact that the impotence of the oppressed Chinese masses in the face of the imperialist aggressors today is the retribution for the crime of 1925-1927.

All Out On February 4!

The Left Opposition, under the leadership of comrade Trotsky issued its warning then. It is warning the party now. Only an acute turn of policy in the Communist International, only an immediate reorientation toward the old Leninist line of international proletarian action can save Soviet Russia, can prevent the pillage of the downtrodden of China, liberate the working class and the oppressed colonial peoples from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism. Enormous dangers are facing the workers of the world and tremendous possibilities for successful action are opening up for them. Every day, every hour, every minute was/wed—can bring unforeseen consequences at this stage of developments.

The official party is calling upon all workers to voice their protests against the Japanese invasion of China at the nation-wide demonstrations on February 4. Let all workers, all revolutionists turn out in mass at these demonstrations. Let every Communist bring pressure upon the party leadership to wake it up to the danger in Germany as well as to that in the Far East. Let every sincere revolutionist help the Left Opposition bring back the Communist party, the vanguard of the working class, to the Leninist path, to the path of proletarian victory.

—SAM GORDON.

Utilize Feb. 4 Meets to Build Jobless Movement

There will be another unemployment day with nation-wide demonstrations for unemployment relief on February 4th. It should receive the undivided support of the working class everywhere. But it is imperative that it become more than just one other demonstration.

Can it become more than that? We believe it can. There can hardly be any question that with a real substantial section of the millions of unemployed workers actually and seriously participating in a movement for relief it can. But that is essential. Under all conditions the workers will obtain nothing more than they can take themselves and certainly not more than they are seriously ready to fight for.

All the demands—and the pleas—so far made by the army of unemployed have been rejected with scorn by the Hoover administration and similarly by the state and municipal governments throughout the country. Whether the governments were Republican or Democratic made no difference whatever. The capitalist class as a whole feels itself sufficiently strong to confine the unemployed millions to the charity crumbs which they have seen fit to set aside. And sufficiently strong to overcome their fears of a rebellion from those they so haughtily scorn. Maybe, though, they are wrong in this feeling of security. It is certain at least that a real serious and determined movement would soon make them change their mind. It would soon bring the unemployed masses within reach of obtaining actual relief.

Possibilities for Movement Growing

But there is not yet such a serious movement. It would be foolish for Communists to close their eyes to this fact. It is precisely because of this that such mountebanks, official dispensers of dope, as the Pittsburgh Catholic priest, Father Cox, can step on the scene and rally thousands of unemployed upon a program of pleas to congress. The purpose of his appearing is, of course, to act as a preventive for a real movement by leading the attention off into such futile channels. But a movement learning to know that the workers will get only what they are prepared to fight for would leave no room for such quacks.

Failures Should Be Recognized

The Communists lead whatever fighting unemployment movement there is. The official Communist party is by far the

main factor in this. It therefore also carries the main responsibility for the opportunities not being utilized. As the objective conditions mature further this responsibility becomes heavier and the party failures become real obstacles in the way. Its failures have been apparent in the slogans presented in its attitude of approaching the unemployment situation mainly as a field for maneuvers and advertising stunts. Its failure has been apparent in the utter lack of efforts for a class education, in the bureaucratic methods of restricting the movement as well as in pursuing a course opposite to the one of uniting the workers in action. This, of course, is all inherent in the policy and methodology of the Stalin agents everywhere.

The direct results to the organized unemployment movement, whatever there is of it, have been that the councils lead a precarious existence out of proportion to the possibilities available. Their scope is restricted by bureaucratic division of the workers and elimination of all who do not submit to the mechanical party control which is imposed upon them. They do not sufficiently attract the workers and those who join, come and go.

Some Practical Steps Proposed

It would be a good beginning for the party to consider rounding out its demands for unemployment relief by adding the practical slogans which can appeal to the broad strata of the workers, including those now employed. We have in mind, as we have often emphasized, to add to the slogan for unemployment insurance also the ones of "six hour work-day without reduction in pay" as well as the slogan for "extension of long term credits to the Soviet Union." That it would offer better possibilities for the building of an actual

movement can hardly be disputed.

It might also be appropriate to propose to the party that the unemployment demonstrations be no longer conceived purely as objectives and means of advertising but on the contrary to be conceived primarily as an integral part of agitation and organization activities to build a movement. The demonstrations themselves will not become effective unless actually sponsored by a serious movement. Not until then will the capitalist class and its government pay serious heed to the demands made.

It certainly should be in order now also to really begin to remove all the bureaucratic restrictions from the unemployed organizations. At present there is no broader appeal to the working class than the one concerning the various measures for unemployment relief. Around this the greatest extension of elementary class unity could be attained. It should ring out to all workers organizations regardless of how reactionary their leadership, as well as to those entirely unorganized. On this basis serious efforts could be made for working class unity of action.

But above all it should be necessary to pursue a thorough method of class education. That is not to be content with merely what directly and immediately concerns the spontaneous movement but rather to proceed from that to teach the workers in regards to the far more serious problems they must face to reach their revolutionary goal.

None of these proposals, however, can be approached with the method of bureaucratic maneuvering and playing with a movement. They require first of all the attitude of serious minded revolutionists.

—A. S.

The Recent Outbreaks in Spain

"The old world is burning at both ends." In the Far East, the imperialist lust has mounted to the head of a Japan rendered desperate by the crisis that has eaten into its vitals and it has plunged into so violent and unashamed a conquest of prostrated China that only a spark is needed to set off an international conflagration. In Germany, the death rattle of capitalist mingles with the noise of Fascism's sabres and the

distant rumble of a proletarian reply.

Now in Spain, the workers—headless and unled though they are—are again displaying a fighting disposition, a vigor and a resourcefulness that offer magnificent possibilities for shortening the interlude between the democratic and the proletarian revolutions. The resurgence of the strike movement, particularly in Catalonia, Andalusia and Vizcaya, is especially heartening in view of the preceding period of depression that set in the working class right after last year's series of heavily defeated strikes led and mismanaged in classic syndicalist style by the head of the National Confederation of labor (C. N. T.). At the same time, the events which have just occurred, during which a number of municipalities were apparently taken over by the workers and the Red flag hoisted, give ground for some concern for the immediate future of the movement in Spain: the silver lining has a cloud.

The distance that separates us from Spain and the thoroughly unreliable reports of the bourgeois press make it difficult to evaluate and to analyze last week's events in proper detail. But a general knowledge of the Spanish situation and the most recent copies of the revolutionary press that have arrived, make it possible to give a momentarily adequate picture of what is going on, (Continued on page 4)

Off the Press Today!

GERMANY

The Key to the International Situation

by LEON TROTSKY

Single copies — 10 Cents

In bundles of 5 or more—7 Cents

Order Now

Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th St. N. Y. C.

Bureaucracy in the R. R. Brotherhoods

This is the second of a series of articles on the conditions of the Railroad workers. The first appeared in the *Militant* of January 16, 1931. Further articles will appear in subsequent issues.—Ed.

In our first and previous article on the Railroad Brotherhoods, we pointed out that the railroad workers in this country were kept divided into twenty-one separate craft organizations by swarms of overpaid craft officials who kept themselves in control of the unions in typical bureaucratic fashion. In the articles to follow we will take up more in detail the results which naturally flow from such an arrangement and point out to the railroad workers, and workers in general, that under present industrial conditions the craft form of organization is not only useless but extremely expensive to its members.

At the conclusion of this series of articles we will submit a few recommendations which, we hope at least, will furnish some material for a program, around which to organize that growing minority in the railroad unions who believe that Labor Unions were instituted for an entirely different purpose than to merely furnish a fat meal ticket for a lot of unnecessary officials.

The Brotherhood Bureaucracy

The Labor bureaucrat and the craft union are closely related and both of them are products of the times through which we have been passing, namely, the era of capitalistic expansion and development. Workers can only learn through experience and the railroad workers are no exception to this rule. The experience which the railroad workers have had up

to the present time has not been able to produce anything but a craft system honeycombed with overpaid officials.

For the past seventy years, a period through which all of the present twenty-one railroad unions were developed, railroad transportation has gone through an almost unbroken era of expansion. Through this period of railroad development the workers, although always poor, were generally kept busy. They worked seven days a week as a general rule and also overtime. As a matter of fact, about 1913, a law was passed to prevent them from working more than sixteen hours per day. During this period the craft system and the craft officials filled all the needs the workers required of them. Because the workers are kept busy, although their hours are long and their wages low and their demands of the capitalists through their unions are usually very modest. And also during the periods of industrial expansion, employers are able to give the workers a concession now and then to keep them fairly satisfied. But these "good old" times of steady work and overtime are practically gone. Problems are piling up before the railroad workers, as well as before workers in general, which the craft union and the craft bureaucrat cannot solve for them.

Unemployment, wage-cuts, speed-up and loss of working conditions are now staring the railroad workers in the face. And as we are now dealing with the Brotherhood bureaucrats we will look into what they have done or rather failed to do to meet these conditions which the railroad workers are now confronted.

Since 1921, when the railroad work-

ers took their first pay cut after the war, the role of its leadership has been an unbroken process of betrayals. In 1921, in spite of a nearly 100% strike vote to resist the cut, the leaders accepted it with the excuse, "that we cannot strike against the government" and this in spite of the fact that the Roads had already been returned to private management. In 1922, eight of the lowest paid crafts received a second pay cut. Seven of those crafts forced their officials to resist the cut with a strike. Grable, the \$14,000 a year leader of the section men was able to hold his organization in check regardless of its vote to strike. So Grable together with the bureaucrats at the head of the other eight higher paid crafts kept their membership from interfering with the smashing of the Shop Crafts by their employing of the Shop Crafts by their employers

Nothing Done to Rebuild the Unions

Since 1922 practically nothing has been done by the Brotherhood officials to rebuild the unions. In spite of the millions collected in dues, in spite of the thousands of salaried officials on the Brotherhoods' payroll, regardless of the fact that the leaders were well provided with both men and money, they have done nothing in a concerted way to organize and educate the railroad workers. Instead of rebuilding the unions and getting them to amalgamate towards an industrial union the leaders tried to build Banks and Investment Companies. The net results of these financial ventures were to the effect, that the members paid for a costly lesson to learn that their leaders knew as little about successful investments as they knew successful labor leadership.

In the next article we will deal further with the condition in which the railroad workers find themselves in the face of unemployment and wage cuts as a result of a bankrupt leadership.

—A. E.

Lovestone Splitters Call for Unity

The Lovestone faction has once more put forward an appeal for the "unity of the Communist movement", in a letter addressed to the official party, to itself, and to the Left Opposition. Such an appeal costs the Right wingers nothing. To Lovestone and Co. it is a purely journalistic gesture which obligates them to no retreat from the positions to which they have been advancing for the past two years and more, but with the aid of which they hope to cover up or excuse the course they have followed up to now.

The solemn hypocrisy of the Lovestone appeal is unexcusable. The leaders of the Right wing, who expelled the Left Opposition from the party without the remotest pretense at a democratic discussion, who sought to train their followers in the art of the blackjack and brass knuckles as the sole means of dealing with the "counter-revolutionists", who violently disrupted our meetings by thuggery, assaulted our comrades physically, and even burglarized our offices, whose sole contribution to date to the discussion between us and them has been to lie and misrepresent them blithely call upon us to join hands with them to "achieve unity in order that all the Communist forces may be united in one powerful Communist party".

Furthermore, what sort of horse-play is it with the highly important and serious problem and slogan of Communist unity when the Right wing chiefs invite the Left Opposition to "achieve unity" on the basis which they very "cleverly" calculate will automatically exclude us from a united party? At the meeting to celebrate their unity appeal, Gitlow, speaking in their name, set down the bases upon which Communist unity was to be attained, and included in them one which called for the unconditional defense of the workers' fatherland. Without wasting a moment on Gitlow's deliberate falsification of our standpoint, on what basis then do the Lovestonites conceive that we are to be invited to join in a "re-united Communist party", particularly when they have not, to this day, repudiated their action in expelling us from the party which they at one time controlled?

The whole affair smacks of that cheap and pettyfogging kind of maneuver which is so characteristic of Lovestonian high politics, which is neither conceived nor executed with any spirit of responsibility or seriousness. Matters become even clearer when the "appeal" is examined in the light of the recent past and the relationships between the Right wing liquidators and the Communist movement as a whole.

At just what moment was Lovestone struck with the burning need of unity of "all the Communist forces"? Up to the present time, the course that he and his colleagues have pursued, has been one of the unity of all the anti-Communist and reformist forces against the Communist party. It is precisely this course, which has become a stench in the nostrils of every honest revolutionist in the country and has lost Lovestone whatever little support he ever had in the Communist ranks, which the recent "appeal" is intended to cover up. But the trick will not work.

Were Lovestone and Co. working to "bring about Communist unity" by proposing and actively working for the liquidation of the National Miners Union, the National Textile Workers Union, and the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union, working for this end in collaboration with all shades of reformism? Was it for "Communist unity" that Gitlow, Zimmerman and Co. went to Paterson as the agents of Muste, and the fakers of the United Textile Workers Union in order to smash the Left wing movement—a job which was facilitated for them, as we pointed out, by the criminal blunders of the Stalinists? Is it for "Communist unity" that Zimmerman, the Right wing spokesman in the reactionary needle trades unions, unites with such notorious labor skates as Levy and reactionary anarchists as Bluestein—to mention but two cases—for the purpose of combatting the Communists? In a word, do the Lovestonites expect the Communist workers to take their "Communist unity" appeals seriously when they have demonstrated so incessantly that their conception of it is a united

front to liquidate the ideas of Communism and the Communist movement itself? Hardly; the Lovestone appeal is just an elaborate and solemn farce at the expense of the genuine sentiment for revolutionary unity which exists in the ranks of the Communist workers.

The whole appeal of the Lovestone group is based upon falsehood and a mis-translation of the actual state of affairs. As for ourselves, we want no part of any movement for "unity" against the Communist party. Towards the Right wing liquidators, the Left Opposition has an unchangeable attitude of intransigent hostility. We have no cause for concealing our aim of liquidating the liquidators—not by the stupid and ineffectual methods pursued by the Stalinist incompetents, but by an intense ideological and political struggle. The interest of workers in the disputes inside the Communist movement exists and should be gratified. Not by Lovestone's burlesques upon "unity", but by an open and free discussion of the contentious issues. That is our position towards the Right wing. Such an end is best served by a public debating of the questions that divide us. About a year ago, we presented the Lovestone group a challenge to debate these questions publicly. To this day, the Lovestone faction, which now coos so softly about unity, has not even replied to this challenge. We reiterate the challenge here. Our letter is still in their hands. Let them answer it.

—M. S.

Young Spartacus Out

The third issue of *Young Spartacus*, official organ of the Opposition youth is off the press. In this issue are featured reports on the Anti-War Youth Conference, and the convention of the Young People's Socialist League. In addition the youth section of the thesis of the Russian Opposition is reproduced, also, an article on Trotsky and the youth.

Subscription rates are 50c a year, and 5c the single copy. All comrades and sympathizers are asked to subscribe and order bundles of *Spartacus* for distribution and sales. Send in all orders to: **YOUNG SPARTACUS** 84 East 10th Street New York, N. Y.

Unemployment and the Party

(Continued from last issue)

For us, it is axiomatic that we must continue to fight. What we must do, is to add to the slogans of Unemployment Insurance and relief those practical slogans which, while answering to the needs of the workers will appeal to them in terms of work. Such slogans exist. They are principally: the slogan of the Six Hour Day, Five Day Week with no reduction in pay and the slogan of large scale, long term credits to the Soviet Union. In addition to their applicability to the present condition of the working class both at home and abroad, which has been elaborated in the columns of the *Militant* and by comrade Trotsky, these slogans have precisely that quality which is so necessary in the present circumstances.

The Six Hour Day, Five Day Week, entirely possible with the high development of American industry is slowly winning the approval of sections of the American working class. It appears reasonable to them and a means of relieving unemployment, by cutting down the working day and week and putting men to work. It is urged even by sections of the capitalist class. These gentlemen intend, of course, that the six hour day shall be accompanied by a corresponding cut in pay. We propose that there should be no wage cut. The workers will decide. If the party were to take up this slogan and launch a movement around it, it would penetrate all sections of the working class and stir them into motion to realize it.

The "work" aspect, so to speak, of the slogan of credits to the Soviet Union is no less valid. Increased trade relations with the Soviet Union as a result of a movement led by the party organized along the line elaborated by comrade Trotsky in his pamphlet "World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan", would result in concretizing the interest of the American workers for the socialist solution as expressed in the Soviet economy, and would alleviate unemployment here by opening factories now closed. For these slogans the workers will fight.

All these considerations together lead to the conclusion that the Six Hour Day should be the central slogan and that together, these three slogans constitute the essentials of a program on which the masses, both employed and unemployed can be united in a powerful movement. This is the program of the Opposition.

Unfortunately, the party does not see the problem in this light. The Dec. 3rd resolution of the T. U. U. L. Executive Committee affirms again that unemployment insurance must be the central slogan: "We must strive to organize the unemployed into the Unemployed Councils—with the demand for unemployment insurance in the center." Although the demands for a seven hour day and trade relations with the Soviet Union are included they are not conceived as levers to unite the masses and set them in motion. This is obvious from the method laid down to overcome the separation of the "unemployed movement" from "the red union movement".

This unity is to be affected as follows: "In order to abolish these weaknesses it is important during times of strikes to draw the unemployed into the strike committees, into the mass picket lines,—and on the other side, to place in specific shops concrete demands regarding the unemployed. For example,

the re-hiring of laid-off workers, etc." But what if there are no strikes; are the movements not to be united? On this question the resolution is silent.

It is apparent that the party still conceives the fight for unemployed insurance as a movement primarily of the unemployed. This is borne out by the organizational forms by which the resolution proposes to carry out the party program on unemployment. On this subject the resolution says, "The basic form of organization of the unemployed council is the neighborhood council, elected by the workers in the neighborhood, unemployment agencies, soup kitchens, etc." Thus, no doubt, will be the purest form of the united front from below. There is no mention here of uniting the employed and unemployed. This makes a mockery of the resolution's declaration that, "These organizations (of the unemployed) must be organized on the united front basis". Nor is this distorted conception of the united front redeemed by adding at the very end of the section dealing with this question, the sentence, "All the unemployed councils have representatives of employed workers." It is not explained in the resolution how the employed workers who have already signified their refusal to enter the existing mechanically controlled, narrow councils are to be brought into them.

The program of the Opposition proposes that the unemployed councils be genuine, broad united fronts consisting of representatives of organizations of workers of all political or no political tendencies, as well as unemployed workers from agencies, etc. This, of course, is possible upon the basis of a correct program and a regime of working class democracy in the councils. The Stalinist version is now too well known. It is anathema to workers in the A. F. of L. and out of it. On this score, the resolution is silent too. This silence is an ominous sign. It signifies that the policy of expulsion for holding non-Communist and anti-Stalinist views will continue. On such a basis there can be no united front.

It is plain that the party's program on unemployment and the organizational forms it proposes are essentially the same as those with which it has failed to unite the masses for unemployment insurance. There is, therefore, no need to repudiate the opportunism of Browder and his former policy. On the contrary, it whitewashes them. "The present developments do not require a change in policy—"

The Stalinists are preparing another defeat for the fight for unemployment insurance. The results will be disastrous. The despicable demagoguery of the Pittsburgh Reverend, Cox, is a warning that if the Communists do not learn how to lead the fight for unemployment insurance, all sorts of rif-raff will divert movement into channels harmless to the capitalist class.

Against this danger and for the correct policy, the Opposition will continue to fight. For this, it has been created. It calls upon its comrades in the party to fight shoulder to shoulder with it for the six-hour day, unemployment insurance, credits to Soviet Union; for genuine united front unemployed councils; against bureaucracy, for working class democracy in the councils; for the unity of the Communist vanguard.

T. STAMM.

'Father' Cox Gets Free Hand in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Pittsburgh, the center of three of the greatest basic industries: coal, iron and steel, has yielded to the masters fabulous profit wrung from the sweat and blood of the toilers exploited in these mines, mills and factories. Pittsburgh was always considered "the barometer of capitalist economic conditions. To-day this great industrial city still continues to be a barometer but a barometer of an entirely different nature. It now gauges the revolutionary perspectives of this country. The mines are shut down, workers striking, mills and factories practically silent, and thousands upon thousands of unemployed workers idly roams the streets, driven by desperation of hunger and fear of eviction, to resort to begging, charity, petty larceny, suicides, and—Father Cox. All this in the "land of Mellon", a city synonymous with wealth and prosperity and,—the "Coal and Iron Police".

It is appalling to note the number of men, women and children who come to the door begging for food and clothing. They tramp in from the near-by mining and mill towns surrounding Pittsburgh, driven by the pangs of hunger and destitution, abandoned by the coal and iron barons since there are no more profits to grind out of them. What more fertile soil could the holy, flag-waving Father Cox find in which to fulfill his "sacred" mission as a Messiah for the workers? This man whose breast is filled with "pure altruism" for the victims of this capitalist brutality and who is prepared for ever greater and unselfish and un-sparing efforts in the interests of the unemployed, even if the reward be but—a presidential candidacy. His popularity continues on the increase daily with his public soup kitchens where hundreds and hundreds of helpless, discarded workers are fed soup, coffee and bread, his "Hunger March to Washington", his "Shanty Town", speeches over the radio and on January 16th as a climax, the mass demonstration at Pitt Stadium in which 70,000 workers, men, women and children assembled to voice their protests against their miserable conditions.

The sight of a soup kitchen is quite familiar to all of us these days but a "Shanty Town" such as exists in Pittsburgh, "the workshop of the world", is a new kind of home for scrapped workers of industry, a real eye sore and a rotten ulcer upon this decaying society. Upon an open lot, in the rear of Father Cox's church, located at Liberty and 17th St., is found this modern mode of living for unemployed workers when the bosses can no more use them to extract profits. Little shacks, the size of out-houses, slapped together from every conceivable kind of refuse material, from a piano box to old chicken crates, and rusty old iron beds as weights to keep the roofs from flying away when a wind blows. Gas pipes, sewer pipes, etc., act as chimneys. The workers roam about idly, insufficiently clad, half starved and on their faces an expression of complete abandonment. They look forward only to the pitiful handout that may come through this benevolent underhanded politician whose only object is to beat political capital out of the misery of these jobless workers.

In the face of such scenes of working class misery it is only natural to want to know how the Communist Party of Pittsburgh, the vanguard of the working class here, is handling the situation with regards to Father Cox and unemployment.

In contacts with some of the unemployed under Father Cox's leadership, which by the way is the only unemployed movement noticeable in the city, it was easy to detect that not all of his followers are convinced that Father Cox

is the workers' Messiah. The workers are approachable and show a willingness to listen to anyone who discusses with them their real conditions and problems. They show an eagerness for a program of unemployment activities and fight against their masters. Yet it is hard to recollect a single instance where the Party made the slightest effort either by fraternization or by leaflet to gain the confidence of these workers, to explain to them the real source of their miseries and the practical revolutionary way out.

On Saturday, January 16th, the day designated for the unemployment demonstration of jobless women, some 70,000 workers—men, women and children, turned out under Father Cox's leadership, at the Pitt Stadium, to demonstrate and demand relief. The general character of this mass demonstration presented all the earmarks of a political campaign,—several brass bands, patriotic music, flying flags, presentation of flowers and medals, and numerous speakers, all trying to out-do each other in their eulogies of Father Cox, proclaiming him the national hero of the day. It was the usual demagoguery of the church and not at all surprising. What was striking, however, was the absence of the Communist party membership. They had evidently thought it much wiser to stay away and not interfere with such a "great and important" event as the assembling of 70,000 workers demonstrating for unemployment relief under the leadership of the boss class. Not a single effort was made by the Stalinist leadership to approach these workers or explain by leaflet the breakdown of the capitalist system causing their unemployment and misery, and to present to them acceptable slogans such as the struggle for the 6 hour day without reduction of pay, the 5 day week and extension of long term credit to the Soviet Union,—slogans which are momentary, realistic enough for the workers to respond to in the immediate. Not even the "constructive" plan of physical attack of the jobless and break-up of the demonstration came to pass. Whether the workers who were to carry out such strategy, saw through the folly of this hooliganism, it is hard to say, but not unlikely.

It is important to note, however, that the maximum of activities on the part of the vanguard of the working class here under the Stalinist regime amounts to standing up within their own little sect, talking about means of breaking up workers unemployed demonstrations, instead of lending them real Communist leadership in their daily struggles on to the proletarian revolution.

I. ARCY.

Unser Kampf off Press

We are sure that *Unser Kampf* will delight our comrades: for the first time, comrade Trotsky's article on the situation in Germany will be printed in the Jewish language. Greetings from our French comrades, who hope to spread *Unser Kampf* among hundreds of Jewish speaking workers in France. Letters from our comrades relating to the struggles in their localities and in the particular industries from all over the country.

Every Jewish-speaking worker a subscriber to *Unser Kampf* should become your motto. **DO YOUR SHARE TO MAKE THIS SLOGAN A REALITY.**

If you are unemployed send your name and address to us and we will mail you the paper, while you are unemployed. Rush your subs to:

UNSER KAMF

84 East 10th Street
New York City

Chicago Stalinists Disrupt Conference

A "broad mass United Front Conference to fight against Criminal Syndicalist Laws" was held here in Peoples' Auditorium by the I. L. D. last Sunday.

It was in every respect a "united front" of the present day Stalinist variety. All the I. W. O., I. L. D., Unemployed Councils and sundry organizations of the Communist party were there. There was also present comrade Frank Buckley, delegate representing the Communist League of America (Opposition).

Joe Tash was chosen by the bureaucrats to deliver the main report to the Conference. He talked. He told the audience that the bosses are fighting the workers. He admits at the same time that he does not know so much about the Criminal Syndicalist laws themselves. He also warns the audience against the "Trotskyites" whom his keen eye perceives in the hall. He said that this small group of "renegades" was sure to advance a project for a united front with the fakers of the A. F. of L.

Comrade Buckley immediately took the floor and attempted to refute the lies of Tash, stating correctly the Leninist united front principle that workers organizations, irrespective of political tendency, must be organized into a fight against the capitalist class on such specific issues like Criminal Syndicalism, which could undoubtedly rally behind it large sections of workers, even those who for the present may even be against Communism.

No sooner did comrade Buckley sit down when Bill Gebert, D. O. of the party takes the floor. His face was red and blue. His eyes rolled violently in their orbit. The gleaming white of his eyes could be seen in the back of the hall and might have furnished an excellent target for Colonel Prescott's men at the battle of Bunker Hill. He fumed and stormed and the froth dripped from his

mouth.

While ordinarily it is difficult to understand Gebert when he talks, under this pathological condition it was almost impossible. However, piecing his words together here and there, we heard such choice bits of slander as "Ray Edmundson, Illinois mine faker, ally of the Trotskyites". He also attacked Gerry Allard as stool-pigeon. Saying that he appeared as witness against him in the Benton, Ill., hearing and testified that the National Miners' Union in Illinois was a strike-breaking organization.

From this he generalized the term stool-pigeon to apply to the whole Left Opposition. Pointing with his finger at comrade Joseph Giganti, delegate from the Italian Workers' Club, he called for mob action. Without even a chance to utter a word in answer to the cowardly attack, Giganti was pounced upon by a bunch of hoodlums and forcibly ejected from the hall. He pointed also to Buckley in the same manner, but out of respect for his huge size, the hoodlums were more cautious in handling him.

The meeting then dragged on for several more hours. It was a successful Stalinist united front and the delegates all went home deeply imbued with an object lesson in the "ideological" methods of the present party leadership.

—J.

STATEMENT OF THE CHICAGO LEFT OPPOSITION

The crying need of the hour is unity of our class forces to fight the bosses' offensive, but once again the criminal action of the Stalinist bureaucrats scatters our forces. They again demonstrated their deadening influence upon our Communist party at the Sunday conference to fight the Criminal Syndicalist Laws.

They not only ejected comrade Frank Buckley, delegate from the Communist League after he spoke out the Leninist

United Front but also forcefully ejected comrade Joe Giganti delegate from the Italian Workers' Club. This action came after Bill Gebert, the D. O., stirred up the lesser bureaucrats with a speech in which he said there are stool-pigeons and counter-revolutionists in the hall and pointed to these two comrades. Much resentment and protest was shown to this action but the well oiled machine moved on and a dead and dry conference of about 200 went on.

The membership must resist such anti-working class action by the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats cannot throw out the representatives of the most revolutionary wing of Communism without at the same time closing the door to the broad strata of workers moving in the direction of Communism. Scores of such examples can easily be pointed out but one of the latest in Chicago is the Mooney-Harlan Conference of two months ago which promised a bigger and broader one in December. It is long past due and nothing has been done to mobilize the workers for Mooney who still rots in jail while the reformers and politicians are taking advantage and making a football out of the case.

The unseating of the Left Opposition through fear and inability to withstand anti-Marxian criticism at the same time carried with it the construction of a huge unnatural wall between the class. Morgenstern and Goodman are sentenced in Pennsylvania for Sedition and their representative in Chicago is denied the right to speak, when he calls on all to unite to fight the Criminal Syndicalist Laws and for its victims.

We call upon the workers and sympathizers to work for a broad united front movement, to fight for the release of class war prisoners and against the Criminal Syndicalist laws and support the I. L. D. in this work as far as it will go.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

In Spain

The Fascist Danger and the Need for a United Front of the Proletariat

(Continued from last issue)

What is missing are mass organizations, such as the Soviets, which assemble the whole working class and become the instrument of the insurrection and of the seizure of power. Above all, there is missing a strong Communist party, without which victory is impossible. If the working class is conquered without a battle or after a heroic but ineffectual putsch, its defeat, its passivity will favor the evolution of the petty bourgeoisie to the Right and will permit the bourgeoisie to lean upon it in striking a death-blow against the proletariat. Under these circumstances, Fascism will find a magnificent basis for its development.

This perspective is possible, but not inevitable, far from it. The working class must keep it in mind in order to foresee all the dangers, and to attack the enemy more surely and more decisively. The situation is clearly a revolutionary one. The capitalist crisis is more aggravated from day to day. There is no solution. The bourgeoisie keeps consolidating its position in a desperate effort, but stumbles over unheard of difficulties in trying to consolidate them definitely.

It tries to gain time by constituting a government presided over by socialists. The working class must take account of this and not give the bourgeoisie a moment's breathing spell. In revolutionary periods such as those in which we are living, events develop with extraordinary speed. The revolutionary consciousness of the masses progresses similarly in geometric ratio. What is missing is a party to concretize this revolutionary consciousness into precise formulas and organize the masses for action. This party does not even exist, although there is potentially an intense Communist spirit in the country. The working class must be given this indispensable instrument for its emancipation. A great revolutionary proletarian party must be forged, uniting all the Communist forces which exist in the country, and giving it a clear and precise program. Only in this way can the Fascist danger be averted; and the Spanish proletariat, allied with the peasants, can advance with a firm and sure step on the road which leads to victory.

The possibilities of success in the struggle against the Fascist danger and in the constitution of a strong Communist party will depend principally on the ability to put an end to the trade union split which has torn apart the working class of our country.

In this sense, the Communist party is called upon to fulfill a role of the very first importance, by struggling implacably against the chronic splitters among the anarchists and the U. G. T., by proving in practice to the proletariat that it desires unity, and by an ardent struggle to attain unity.

Unfortunately, the Party in this field has followed a fundamentally false policy, which culminated in the famous Seville Conference and in the constitution of the Reconstruction Committee, which created a deserved unpopularity for the Communists in the C. N. T., and strangling of the revolution.

has deepened the split still further. Three or four months ago the Party, faced with the open collapse of its trade union policy, announced a "turn". It gave up the splitting tactics, which had produced such miserable results, and announced the transformation of the Reconstruction Committee into a Unity Committee.

The Spanish Communist Opposition greeted this "turn" with satisfaction, as it was the same thing as an implied recognition of the accuracy of its criticism; at the same time, it encouraged the Communists to prevent the turn announced by the party from remaining on paper, which there was reason to fear from the persistency with which the party stuck to some of its fundamental mistakes.

"As far as the trade union policy is concerned", said the Central Committee of the Opposition in the open letter addressed, with this purpose, to all members of the party, "the symptoms are even more disturbing. Concrete propositions for a united front have been made to the C. N. T., but the Reconstruction Committee continues to function, and even after the circular of the Political Secretariat announcing the turn in the policies of the party, has published various manifestoes over its signatures. If the wishes of the Executive Committee are sincere, it must prove it in practice. The members of the party must impose their will in this direction on the leaders".

Our fears were more than justified. The party, far from orientating itself sincerely toward unity, emphasized its policy of division. This is the reality, the more so as it tries to present itself on the outside, formally, as the most resolute defender of unity.

Its decision to call a so-called "Trade Union Unity Conference", using as in 1925 (!) the Federation of Working Class Organizations of San Sebastian, can only lead to a second edition, revised and enlarged, of the Seville Reconstruction Committee, that is to say, to the creation of a third central body.

It is evident beyond a doubt that only an insignificant minority of trade unionists will participate in this conference, and that the great organizations of the C. N. T. and the U. G. T. will not send delegates. Under these circumstances, can the conference produce any other result than a new split?

The experience of the last few years shows that this road is not the most desirable one to reach the unity so ardently desired; that with unity conferences and proposals for fusion congresses, absolutely nothing is accomplished. Unity must be achieved from below, after passing through the phase of the united front. The struggle against the bosses' offensive, the problems presented by the revolution, have shown clearly before the eyes of the working class the necessity of coordinating and unifying its forces. Otherwise, it will be hopelessly crushed by the enemy, and the bourgeoisie, allied with the landlords, will accomplish once and for all the for the Communists in the C. N. T., and strangling of the revolution.

There is not a single worker, no matter how little conscious he is, who does not understand the necessity of forming a single front with the comrades who work with him in the same factory, in the same shop, in the same mine. The Factory Committee, elected by all workers of the same class without exception, whether or not organized in trade unions, or belonging to the C. N. T., or the U. G. T., or whatever their political affiliation may be, offers them the effective possibility of realizing their unity in action. The struggle for unity must therefore be begun from below, by undertaking an energetic campaign in favor of the constitution of Factory Committees throughout the country.

Once unity has been achieved in this way from below, the working class, impelled by the very logic of the struggle, will reach the conclusion that it needs, not yet, the united front, but unity from the viewpoint of organization, on a national scale. This road is apparently slower than that of the fusion congress which is favored as the first and last step, but in reality it is much faster, and above all, infinitely more effective.

The struggle for unity has, besides, other invaluable advantages pointed out already by us in the past. In the first place, it offers the proletariat a magnificent occasion to counterpose the revolutionary control of production, exercised by these Committees, to the project for so-called "workers' control" worked out by Largo Caballero, which is only a concealed form of class collaboration.

In the second place, in the course of development of revolutionary events in our country, the Factory Committees can serve as a powerful stimulus to the appearance of Soviets, those irreplaceable organs of the proletarian insurrection.

Let us therefore abandon the empty propaganda for trade union unity and those efforts which, like the conference planned by the party, only deepen the split, and let us work actively and resolutely for real and immediate unity in action of the working class, by driving forward with the greatest energy the creation of Factory Committees.

Barcelona, Nov. 27, 1931

—ANDRÉS NIN.

In Bulgaria

On the afternoon of October 11, 1931, a bloody dispute took place in the courtyard of Philippopol Prison among the political prisoners—all of them comrades who have fought and suffered for the cause of the proletariat. This quarrel, called forth by factional differences, of opinion and by reciprocal insults deeply shook the sentiments of the working-class circles.

The press of Stalin's tools—*Echo, Workers' Action*, etc.—was filled with declarations and protests of prisoners of the Stalinist faction. Our excellent comrades, at the head of whom stands the noble and steadfast D. Gatchev, sentenced to death like so many other Oppositionists, were treated in these declarations as a herd of bandits, as a gang of fascists, enjoying the approval of the prison warden, against whom punishment and removal were demanded. The followers of Stalin, who has not desisted from shooting, imprisonment and deportation of people of the rank of Leon Trotsky and Christian Rakovsky, are all alarmed over the incidents in the Philippopol Prison. They are calling for the intervention of bourgeois justice and are confiding to it the decisions of inner-party disputes.

In this, just as all the other lackeys in the rest of the world, they are treating their opponents of the Opposition as traitors, or as tools of the bourgeoisie and of Fascism. They have neither the courage nor the ability for a free and honest struggle to compare both methods; that of Lenin and that of Trotsky which assured the proclamation and the entrenchment of the revolution in Russia, and on the other hand, that of Stalin and Molotov, who are subjecting all the acquisitions of the great Russian revolution, both the ideological as well as the organizational ones, to an international danger by enfeeblement, destruction and demoralization.

More than that; the political prisoners, poisoned by the Stalinist opium, who are nevertheless our comrades, in the same class and in the same struggle, go as far as to issue—before the whole working class of the country, before the entire world proletariat—in the Stalinist press, which could find not a single word of fraternal conciliation, and reciprocal toleration, this declaration: "It will be impossible to prevent new attacks upon us, bloody conflicts are inevitable." And since the Stalinists are in the majority, it is quite apparent that a new bloody attack is being organized against our comrades, which is already now prepared psychologically and justified in advance.

Whom do these tragic quarrels serve? Comrades on both sides, come to your senses! Can't you sum up sufficient moral strength to rise above these altogether too primitive methods of struggle, of application for a judgment from the authorities of our class enemies? Are you going to show yourselves incapable of rising to the level of proletarian ethics? Can you not find the strength for this by respecting the views of your

A Letter to a Comrade by Leon Trotsky

Left Opposition and the Brandlerites

Dear comrade:

I will try to express my views on the questions raised by you as briefly as possible. From the first, I had considered the disintegration of the Brandlerist faction as something absolutely inevitable. A revolutionary faction which has no doctrine, no general conception of the world situation, no elaborated strategic principles, is doomed, as a cross between Communism and social democracy, to a hand to mouth vegetation and cannot withstand the convulsions of the present epoch. Brandler and Thälheimer, the "leaders" of the international Right wing opposition called us "sectarians". Now, when we do possess a certain amount of cadres and begin slowly to grow, these alleged representatives of mass action find themselves in the midst of complete disintegration. Half of the leaders want to join Stalin, the other half Seydewitz. When Messrs. Brandler and Thälheimer take the part of yes-men with regard to everything that goes on in the Soviet Union, that does not prove at all, that they are blind by nature or that they have been dazzled

by the wisdom of the Stalinists, but much rather, that they do not care a snap what happens in the country of the October revolution. Up to February 15, 1928 Brandler and Thälheimer repeatedly said: The Opposition's program of industrialization and collectivization is a utopia. Beginning with February 16, they immediately approved the new program of Stalin which was only a caricature of our own. One can more readily understand why it is that the Stalinists, under the immediate pressure of difficulties and contradictions which they are incapable either of overcoming or even of understanding, are engaged in changing their position sharply and in taking refuge behind lies, but it is really repulsive to see these two Berlin peewees constantly saying yes and yes, without taking any part at all in the affair outside of their fervent desire to be appointed to high functions. And the fact that the Right wing opposition tolerates the likes of them in its midst, nay, at its head, is in my eyes very characteristic of that organization.

We, the Left Opposition, are weak. We are growing slowly. But we are patient. The cadres of the Comintern consist either of completely used up, formerly revolutionary, elements or of neutral hirelings. The Marxist tradition has been broken. What is sailing now under the flag of Leninism, is only a mishmash of the most heterogeneous elements, cemented by blunt Stalinist ignorance. The authority of the October revolution has become an obstacle to revolutionary development. That is the dialectic of history: reason becomes nonsense, October revolution becomes Kaganovich. Under such conditions, how can the Marxist tendency be expected to move forward at express speed? In order to master the international situation, its turns, changes, etc., a certain theoretical level is required, or at least, a certain amount of political experience. The masses can only approve of us, insofar as our views withstand the test of events and are confirmed by them. Example: Our small German organization is making a serious step forward precisely because it is holding its own in this eventful situation, while the Brandlerites are forced into bankruptcy.

Com. St. believes, according to what you say, that there are unreliable, confused and even discrediting Cantonists among us, especially in Austria. It is true, in Austria there exist, to be sure, not four but—insofar as I have been informed—two groups who count themselves as members of the Left Opposition, both of which we are, however, for the time being, allowing to take their course outside of the framework of our organization because just now we lay more weight on quality than on numbers. Numbers only make up the real mass, when the cadres maintain themselves by their quality, that is, by their ideas, and methods. When will the great successes come? That I cannot tell you. The Left Radicals remained a small minority in the German social democracy for years. The Zimmerwald Left consisted of single comrades from various countries, and they were not—as comrade St. very well knows—among the best: a young Norwegian poet, the confused Hoeglund from Sweden, Julius Borchardt, etc. But the doctrine was solid, the orientation firm, the methods correct, that is, appropriate for the epoch. And out of this small group, the Third International arose. To be sure, through the intermediary of the October revolution. Great revolutions always consume whole generations, and that is just the case now. To a certain, but only to a certain degree, it is necessary to begin anew at present. In this, the most important task is to preserve the continuity of the revolutionary-Marxist, that is—in our epoch, of the Bolshevik idea and to transmit it to the younger generation. The confused Cantonists, who "discredit" us will be hurled aside. One should choose one's path according to the fundamental, determining, objective factors and not according to the subjective impressions of one group or another of followers of the revolutionary tendency. Engels once wrote to Bernstein somewhat along these lines: "We (i. e. Marx and Engels, naturally) remained in the minority all our life and were quite comfortable at that". I do not mean to say by this, that we should make this our aim. In my life, it also happened that I was among the majority. But all those who constantly rave about the "masses" and the "majority" never actually attain it, at least not for revolutionary ends. The masses are not won over by a special mass technique, as Brandler and Thälheimer conceive of it—in this field, the trade union fakery is sky-high superior to them—the masses are won over in our epoch, full of events and crises, only by a clear revolutionary, social conception.

The further development of the German situation will be decisive for the international labor movement, and in the first instance, for the Comintern. Should the German proletariat be victorious—this can only happen by the greatest tension of all the creative forces latent in it—then the dictatorship of the empty and brutal Stalinist bureaucracy will immediately fall, great ideological struggles will be solved, the Left Opposition will have a fruitifying effect on the renovation of the labor movement in Germany and in the entire world. Should the German proletariat be defeated by the Fascists, then all will be over with the Comintern and possibly also with the Soviet Union. For the world proletariat, that will mean a set-back for long years to come. Under these tragic conditions, the Left Opposition will take over the task of continuing to expand the Marxist idea, but certainly no longer within the formal framework of the Third International. We have a long run perspective. The events can accelerate our development, even give it a feverish pace. All the better! We are, however, also prepared to carry on propagandistic and educational work for long years as "sectarians", in order to prepare the yeast for the future.

With best Communist regards,

E. BAUER.

L. TROTSKY.

FOR YOUR LIBRARY

Books by Leon Trotsky

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

86 pages, two-colored paper cover 25c
Introduction by Max Shachtman

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL A Criticism of Fundamentals Introduction by J. P. Cannon

140 pages hard paper cover 35c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

30 pages, paper cover 10c

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

208 page book—cloth bound 1.00
paper bound .50

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA

Introduction by Max Eastman
364 page book formerly \$2 now 1.00

MY LIFE—600 pages

5.00

COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM

The Trade Union Question
Introduction by James P. Cannon
64 pages, paper cover 15c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

IN DANGER

64 pages paper cover 15c

PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.

48 pages, paper cover 15c
Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more

SINCE LENIN DIED

By Max Eastman
1924

158 page book printed in London

Pioneer Publishers

84 East 10th Street
New York City

EDITORIAL NOTES

FATHER COX

While unemployment increases daily and the suffering and misery accumulates to the explosive point the militant movement of the workers around the issue completely fails to keep pace. The unemployment movement shows many signs of regression, or at best marks time. This is the price of false and inadequate policies and bankrupt leadership. In the face of such a contradiction the way is opened for all kinds of charlatans to get the attention of the hungry masses. The situation is made to order for them, and those who show skill in the work of deception have the capitalist press for a publicity machine. The most conspicuous and successful of these traffickers in human misery that has yet appeared on the scene is the Catholic priest of Pittsburgh, Father Cox.

The exploits of this clever sky-pilot are crowding the legitimate workers movement out of the daily news. While this can be attributed, in part, to a more or less deliberate policy of the capitalist press, it must be admitted that his methods and program have a superficial attraction for many workers. He stole the thunder of the Communists with his "hunger march" to Washington and, from all reports, made just as good a showing. He demands "immediate relief," government appropriations and similar measures, which have a practical sound and make a certain appeal to the desperate workers who are staggering under the heavy blows of the crisis. This is indicated by the attendance of fifty thousand at his Pittsburgh mass meeting. It is not altogether out of question that his project for a national convention at St. Louis should arouse widespread hopes and attain a measure of success.

One thing is incontestable: The intolerable burdens of unemployment are arousing millions who can no longer bear them in silence. They are moving with irresistible force toward some form of expression. Whether it will be a fighting program or a compound of reformist and religious illusions, whether it will be led by revolutionists or demagogues—this remains undecided. It is not written anywhere that the workers, in the first stages of their awakening, will take the road of militant struggle. Neither is it precluded. The policy and methods of the party are the deciding factor in this question. The conditions work in a progressive direction, but the leadership fumbles every time and turns the movement back.

Time is vitally important. Every error and every delay increases the danger that the course of the movement will be turned aside. The spectacular successes of Father Cox are a sharp warning of the reality of this danger.

ATTACKING THE MARINE WORKERS' DEFENSE

The attack on the Marine Workers' Defense Committee in the *Daily Worker* of January 25th is a continuation, under a new form, of the policy of the party and the I. L. D. in this case since its inception. The attack is shifted from the prisoners to their defense committee, but at bottom the attitude remains the same—treacherous disregard for the fate of the prisoners and concern only for the factional interests of this corrupt and degenerated clique. The attempt to disrupt the defense on the very eve of the trial is an act of collaboration with the prosecution no less than was the statement of the *Daily Worker* on the day after the arrest more than two months ago. If the conspiracy to railroad these workers is defeated—as we trust it will be—it will also be a defeat for scoundrels who, in the name of Communism, have done and are doing their best to deprive the prisoners of the solidarity, support and defense that is their due. When the Communist workers finally call these scavengers to judgment their reckless sport with the lives of labor prisoners will not be the least count in the indictment that will condemn them forever.

When Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer were first arrested their friends appealed to the I. L. D. for aid. This appeal was rejected; this organization, which is maintained by the revolutionary workers for such purposes, refused even to send a lawyer to visit them in jail, to hear their story and to inquire whether they were being mistreated. The *Daily Worker* on November 15th disavowed the men and denounced them as they lay helpless in the hands of the third-degree torturers. Said the *Daily Worker* on that date: "Soderberg, secretary of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, whom the capitalist press calls a 'Red', was expelled from the Communist party for being a suspicious element and also from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union for disruptive and anti-working class activities. Trajer, Reilly and Bunker were expelled from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union as bad elements." And to this, the *Young Worker* added: "Soderberg is a stool pigeon."

Now, when the case is already on the calendar for trial they come forward and offer a "class struggle defense." (What kind of a defense did they offer in the days after the arrest when defense was desperately needed? Nobody stood in their way. The initiative was taken by others only because they would do nothing—nothing but denounce the prisoners and leave them to their fate. For this reason also the Marine Workers' Defense Committee was formed at the request of the defendants. The I. L. D. and the Party were invited to participate, to send speakers to the mass meeting, to

help in the organization of a united front of labor for the defense. All this they refused, and the work went on without them. Now they come forward to protect the prisoners from the "betrayal" of the defense committee which did the necessary work which they refused to do or help in doing.

This eleventh hour discovery of the merits of the case by the *Daily Worker* has not occurred without reason. It bears testimony to the effective work of the defense committee in popularizing the issue and it indicates the pressure brought against the bureaucrats by the Communist workers who were ashamed of the things done in their name. But the new approach to the case shows a cynical contempt for the intelligence of these workers. They will stand for a great deal—as the continued existence of the Stalinist bureaucracy demonstrates—but they have not forgotten the record this bureaucracy has made in the case of the marine workers, and they will not forget it.

In order to refresh their memory and to put all the issues clearly before the workers the defense committee has decided to issue a statement giving an account of its work and policy. This statement, which will adduce documents and facts on every point, will deal another blow to the disrupters and thereby strengthen the defense of the persecuted workers facing trial.

A PROGRESSIVE TENDENCY

The draft of a program published by the Opposition group of the Proletarian Party gives further confirmation of the progressive tendency represented by the new group. The document leaves a number of the most decisive questions unanswered, but in spite of this limitation—which is easily understandable in a group that has only recently taken shape—the programmatic statement of the Opposition gives a fairly clear impression of the nature of the revolt against Proletarian Party leaders who lived too long in peace. The faction fight—or, more correctly, the split—in the Keracher organization is a fight of revolutionary workers against a sterile and conservative clique.

The sections of the program dealing with unemployment and the trade union question show the strong sides of the opposition as compared with the Keracher official faction. On both these points, so vitally connected with the daily work in the class struggle, the opposition group shows the impulse to break out of the sectarian passivity, garnished with high-sounding pseudo-Marxist talk, which has characterized the Proletarian Party from the beginning. The progressive and revolutionary tendency of the opposition in this regard is undoubted.

It must be noted however that this characterization applies mainly to its program on these points as compared to the official policy and practice. The formulations of the opposition are by no means adequate, and they are lacking somewhat in theoretical motivation. From this the danger can arise of an uncritical plunge into "mass work" for its own sake and the ending of the whole movement in a swamp. If this is defended as a necessary reaction to the "pure theory" of the Keracher group, it must be remembered that it was not the preoccupation of the Proletarian Party with theoretical questions, but the shallowness and falsity of its theories, that determined its isolation and its futility.

The paramount problem of the American labor movement—the prerequisite for its development on the revolutionary path in the next period—is the consolidation of a firm cadre of political vanguard fighters, that is, of revolutionary Marxists. In this task the clarification of theory takes first place. The specific weight of even a small group of this character will be far greater, and its influence on events in a rising wave of class struggles incomparable more decisive, than a hundred amorphous "mass movements" which leave aside the fundamental problems for future consideration.

The formation of the cadres of the vanguard need not be contrasted to the mass movements, but their formation is the condition for the revolutionary effectiveness of the latter. If the opposition group of the Proletarian Party sees the thing this way its revolt against the dead routine of Keracherism can become the starting point for an important contribution to the Communist movement. We hope for a fruitful collaboration with them on this line. The best way to begin this collaboration is to conduct a frank discussion of all the important questions.

J. P. C.

THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the Communist League of America [Opposition] at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swaback

Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.

Volume V, No. 5 Whole No. 101
Saturday, JANUARY 30, 1932
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy.
Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy

(Continued from page 1)
which will surely be amplified and confirmed by later information.

"Law for Defense of Republic"

The republican-socialist coalition which took over the government with such elaborate promises for the welfare of the masses and took such deliberate pains to proclaim Spain a "democratic republic of the workers," has not failed to reveal in action its brutally anti-labor character. Not only has it not succeeded in solving a single one of the problems posed by the democratic revolution, but it has steadily instituted regulations and procedures which have steadily increased the discontentment of the workers. The focal point of the rift between the masses and the ruling class it has brought to power has become, to a great extent, the infamous "law for the defense of the republic" and the existence of the equally infamous "Guardia Civil" which is maintained to enforce the Draconian measures of the law.

Before the adoption of the law, and now "legally" under the law, hundreds upon hundreds of active militants have been arbitrarily arrested and detained without trial or indictment. The system of "desenciones gubernativas" (arbitrary government detentions), instituted by Primo de Rivera, has been carried over under the Republic. Characteristically, under the dictatorship this vicious system was proclaimed against by such present-day authorities as Azana, Prieto, Marcelino Domingo; one of its most ardent opponents under Primo was Galarraza, who today perpetrates it just as ardently in the capacity of Director General of Security in Madrid. Just as under Primo and Berenguer, working class papers are now administratively suppressed by the minister of the interior or his representatives. Frente Unico and Mundo Obrero, organs of the Communist party, have been suppressed or harassed. In Catalonia, the civil governor, Anguera de Sojo, completely suppressed the weekly paper of the Left Opposition, El Soviet. The powerful daily paper of the C. N. T., Solidaridad Obrera, has been seized regularly, particularly since it passed into the hands of the anarchists.

Trade union and political centers of all sorts have been closed by the authorities in the most high-handed manner. Just in the short period of the writer's visit to Spain, the press reported the shutting down of the C. N. T. (anarcho-syndicalist) unions in Cadiz; the illegalization of the anarchist-controlled railroad workers' union in Malaga; the outlawry of the autonomous building trades union in Bilbao, led by the Communist party and the Left Opposition; and—with the tacit consent of the three socialist leaders who are in the coalition cabinet!—the closing up of U. G. T. (socialist unions) and even Socialist party centers in their stronghold, Estremadura.

In one strike after another, the government—the Madrid center as well as the Catalan Generalitat, has intervened openly on the side of the employers. The Civil Guard, cordially despised and hated virtually the entire population, has been used time and again to crush strikes, to beat up demonstrators, and even to fire point-blank into workers' meetings. All these measures and acts are now elevated to the plane of constitutional law by the new "law for the defense of the republic," voted by reactionaries, socialists and even Macia adherents, which puts more arbitrary and dictatorial power into the hands of the minister of the interior than Primo ever presumed to take! All this by the grace of the socialist ministers and with their benediction.

The Arnedo Massacre

The flames of resentment in the ranks of the working class, which were reduced to a smoldering for a while back, now seem to have flared up again. From what can be gathered by reading the most recent periodicals, the recent strike outbreaks were precipitated by a horrible massacre of workers in Arnedo, province of Vizecaya. Right into a crowd of defenseless workers came the rifle fire of the Guardia Civil, with the result that besides the many wounded, there is now a toll of ten dead men, women and children, among whom the latter a fifteen years old boy.

Throughout the country it appears that this was the final straw.

The accumulated hatred of the Civil Guard, which symbolizes oppression, arbitrariness and police brutality to the Spanish workers and peasants, spilled over in all parts of the country. In one section after another, general strikes of protest against the Arnedo butchery were called some for 24 hours some for two days, some for an "indefinite period": in San Sebastian, later throughout Vizcaya, and, as recent press dispatches in-

dicating, throughout Andalusia and Catalonia. Everywhere, the popular demand was raised for the dissolution of the Civil Guard. The republicans and socialists in power, cavalierly oblivious of their solemn promises before the fall of the monarchy to abolish the black-hatted bandits of the Guard, promptly proceeded to send comrades of the same Guards to suppress the strikes with all the ferocity for which they are notorious.

Despite the militancy of the strike movement, which sporadically and spontaneously went so far as to take over control of local municipalities, it is clear from even the meager press reports that it has been driven back by the concen-geousie. And, with the present state of the movement, nothing else could be expected.

The fatal weakness of the movement is its leadership and outlook. Practically everywhere, it is under the domination of the C. N. T. leaders, either of the "pure" syndicalist brand or of the "pure" anarchist brand. Practically everywhere, the actions are consequently precipitated without genuine preparation, with the vaguest, least practical, most "idealistic" aims, without national coordination, without foresight as to the results or the means provided for resisting an agile, mobile, well-directed and centralized bourgeoisie and its apparatus of suppression. The inevitable result is that the anarcho-syndicalists, contempt for the state, are completely discomfited and checkmated when the "social myth" of the state turns up at every corner and confronts the heroically confused workers with serried ranks of trained Civil Guard bayonets fixed and rifles leveled.

The concern which every revolutionist must feel over these events is over the fact that the petty-bourgeois ignorance and prejudices of the anarcho-syndicalist leaders resulted in dress parades of an unprepared and undirected working class against a thoroughly fortified bourgeoisie, unnecessarily exhausting the forces of the workers, bleeding them slowly in futile skirmishes, preaching the superiority of primitive guerrilla warfare when only the strategy of centralized war is applicable, practicing the theory of sporadic advances and disorganized retreats under the fatally erroneous impression that it is the bourgeoisie which will thereby be weakened. The continued precipitation of premature and unprospective mosquito attacks, accomplished by taking unwise advantage of the just resentment and militancy of the masses, means that the anarcho-syndicalists are stretching out Spain's "July days" into weeks and perhaps months. It constitutes a terrific threat to the real progress of the Spanish proletarian movement.

The other side of this situation is the "blunders in permanence" of the Spanish Communist Party. We have often pointed out the veritable crimes against the revolution which the Stalinist bureaucrats have committed in the Spanish situation. Each acute situation only reveals this horrible fact more glaringly.

In K. C. Opposition

Our first open forum held Monday, January 18 marked a real success for the Kansas City Left Opposition and speaks well for our future work. About sixty workers, among whom were a dozen or so party members, participated in a very lively and interesting meeting on "Why Trotsky was Deported from Russia." The speaker, George Clarke, elaborated on the basic difference between the Left Opposition and the Stalinists; told of the ruinous consequences of the centrist zigzag in the Soviet Union and described the fatal disasters in the International resultant from the non-Marxian theory of "socialism in one country."

The talk was well received by the audience. During the question period the party members were quick to seize the opportunity for questions and discussion. But as usual most of the time of their discussion was occupied with easily refutable slanders. The only half-way serious arguments were old ones, viz: "Trotsky wants to rob the peasantry" and "Neither Stalin nor Kalinin could be centrists since they had been in jail and Siberia for their activities." To these the speaker's replies appeared to satisfy most of the listeners.

On Sunday, January 17, at the Negro Progressive Club comrade Clarke spoke to an audience of approximately 100 Negro workers on the "Economic crisis, Communism and the Negro." The remarks on this subject seemed to have struck a sympathetic chord among the Negroes gathered, for the hall fairly rang with applause at the conclusion of his speech. This is the second Negro meeting in Kansas City in which the Left Opposition has explained the revolutionary idea. We hope to continue propagandizing Communist theory and practice among the black workers of Kansas City.

—C.

KANSAS CITY

The Left Opposition Program for America

Speaker. GEORGE CLARKE
MONDAY, FEB. 8th at 8 P. M.
914 Grand Avenue
Second Floor

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

The light-hearted gambling with the problems of the movement, ignorance and ineptness, the stage juggling with the burning trade union question which results in the absence of any decisive Communist influence in the powerful C. N. T.—or the U. G. T., for that matter—has made it possible for the anarcho-syndicalists to debilitate the working class without encountering effective resistance from the Communist forces in the principal mass organizations. So much invaluable, irreplaceable time has been lost by the antics of Stalinism! So much more time threatens to be lost unless a turn is made!

The pitiful attempts of the Stalinist press to cover up the bankruptcy of Bullejos, Adame, Trilla and Co. in Spain, deserve a word. Taken completely unawares, the *Daily Worker* clamored for days about "eight towns" having "declared the establishment of a Soviet Republic!" Such abysmal ignorance about "establishing Soviet Republics" is to be expected from the bourgeois press... and from Stalinist dunderheads. Then we learn that "the workers of Spain are turning in masses to the revolutionary leadership of the Communist party!"

Book Review:

Lassalle. By Arno Schirokauer. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. The Century Co.

Of all the figures in the labor movement since the beginning of the era of scientific socialism, none stands out so romantically and haughtily as does the figure of Ferdinand Lassalle. He has not only been biographed by so eminent a critic as Georg Brandes; but he has even been transplanted into the fictional pages of no less a novelist than the great Victorian, George Meredith, who painted Lassalle with the cellophane coating of fiction around him as Alvan, the Jewish firebrand and reformer. In his novel "The Tragic Comedians." And as a "tragic comedian" he has been admired and parlor-gamed over by ever so many well meaning intellectuals, liberals and romantic socialists.

That he should have been taken up by bourgeois intellectuals of his time and after is hardly to be marvelled at. Consider a boy born of Jewish parents—with decided semitic features—rising to the point of confounding the aristocracy, and what's more, the rising bourgeoisie (whom he evidently hated more) up to the great Bismarck, himself. With ingenious argumentation that resembled more the haggling of some ancient Talmudists than the Dialectics of anybody, he stands up in court and defends the notorious Countess Hatfield. A defense which lasts well on to a decade and culminates in making him the darling of the "haute monde"

The turbulent days of '48 find in Lassalle a noisy and forceful, if at times, illogical leader. He electrifies with his speeches. He crushes with his denunciations. He even writes a book and a pretentious drama in blank verse. The book is on the Greek philosopher, Heraclitus and it is written not so much to enlighten anybody as to lay a philosophic background for his aggressive behavior. Nothing is too much for him. He is the eagle. (He says so, himself). All the time he is making love to one woman or another. Love and action are inscribed in letters of fire on his spiritual coat-of-arms. He is as helpless without the one as the other. And so the draft caused by his running from the political scene to the bed-room never ceases until the bullet from a pistol shot in a duel over his lady-love, the comely Helen von Donneges, (would he have loved her a week hence?) lays him low.

Now in the sense that the book deals with these situations which are by now a legend in the ranks of the radical intelligentsia, it is a better book than any that has gone before. Certainly the Donneges affair which has been made so much of by other commentators has here been minimized to its proper proportions. The book in general is written with a gusty savor that somehow does manage to recapture the personality that was Lassalle. The style is rapid—hectic—and in keeping with its subject. So much for the formal aspects.

But the social democratic bias from which the author writes can never for a moment be mistaken. With all the painful efforts to be objective the bias stands out like a pair of bow-legs in a Ziegfeld chorus. The Marx-Lassalle disagreements are explained from the personal point of view. To a bourgeois intellectual or social democrat, a disagreement between two people of different political opinions is always personal. If Marx differs with Bakunin and Lassalle, it is placed directly to personal jealousy, by these gentry, or to some disease. If Lenin differs with Plechanov and Martov—he is jealous. If Trotsky disagrees with Stalin—it's a personal issue for power. These creatures see everything through the refraction mirror of their own petty-bourgeois souls. And so Marx's and Engels' dislike and distrust of Lassalle is placed right at the door of personal jealousy. It need not of course be stressed here that the political differences between Marx and Lassalle are barely skimmed over or entirely neglected. Marx's criticism of Lassalle's Gotha Program is not even mentioned. But then, what can you expect of a social democrat, and a social democratic intellectual, at that!

One more point. In the concluding remarks of his biography, Mr. Schirokauer gives himself over to reflecting upon the career of a man who not only died once but three times. Lassalle is dead. His work is dead. His (?) International (the first) is dead. But our biographer sees a faint light—a gleaming. He argues thus: The chief bone of contention between Marx and Lassalle was the matter of National vs. International Socialism. To put it in modern terms, between Socialism-in-one-country and the Permanent Revolution. Now the spirit of Lassalle, the spirit of the first International (a good international is a dead international nowadays) is coming up over the horizon. For have we not got Socialism in one country in Russia? And are we not instituting a variation of National Socialism right here in Germany, now?

Thus we find, at last, another forerunner of Stalin and Stalinism. Action—no matter how wrong so long as you're doing something; as against action through theory when the opportune moment arrives.

—M. GTN.

A Communication

We have received the following statement for publication. It is of especial interest because it expresses a growing resentment among class conscious workers against the habit of making the defense of class war prisoners a factional football, whether this be done by the Stalinists, or as in this case, by the I. W. W.—Ed.)

New York, N. Y.
January 15, 1932

The Militant

84 East 10th St.,
New York City
Comrades:

The following is a resolution unanimously passed at our last meeting: "At our Special Meeting held on Jan. 15th, 1932, at Aristocrat Hall, 69 St. Marks Place, our Delegates reported about the Conference for the Defense of the Kentucky Miners, called by the General Defense Committee held on Jan. 6th, 1932 at Labor Temple, 14th St., and Second Ave., New York, N. Y.

"We endorse the stand taken by our delegates to invite all other Labor organizations, regardless of their political beliefs, to join in the defense of the Kentucky Miners as well as of all political prisoners. We believe—as our delegates,—that in order to make the struggle really effective, labor must unite all its forces in the struggle against the oppression by the ruling class.

We express our hope that the Conference for the Kentucky Miners Defense will make an honest attempt in that direction"

We hope that you will give publicity to this resolution.

Fraternal yours,
Secretary (Signed)
Bielotzerkover Br. 417, W. C.

ST. LOUIS OPEN FORUM

"LENIN, TROTSKY, and the WORLD REVOLUTION".
Speaker: Martin Payer
Friday, FEBRUARY 5, 1931
14th and Cass Avenues
Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

BANQUET

Greetings on the appearance of Semi-Monthly Jewish Organ of Left Opposition and to celebrate the Return of Comrades Swaback, Shachtman and Glotzer

Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place
Saturday Evening, Feb. 6, 1932 at 8 P. M.

ADMISSION: 50 CENTS

Auspices: N. Y. Branch—Communist League of America (Opposition).