



The Railroad Wage Cut

From the protracted negotiations for a new railway wage agreement, the millionaire magnates have emerged victorious. But that they accomplished only by the cunning servility of those with whom they negotiated—the union leaders. These rogues accepted the 10 per cent wage-cut while the 1,500,000 railroad workers were not consulted.

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

The New York Times says, in commenting editorially upon the great good which is to accrue—not to the workers—but to business in general, to the life insurance companies and to the banks which have more than \$4,500,000,000 invested in railway issues: "Union leadership has sacrificed an immediate advantage in order to obtain a larger objective." No, the leaders sacrificed nothing, not even their honor for such they never had as long as they occupied their official positions. The sacrifice is all on the part of the workers. To them it will mean a lower standard below the \$2.88 per day which is now reported to be the average earning of all railroad workers, counting both employed and unemployed. The railroad owners on the other hand will receive an additional plum of \$215,000,000 to further line their pockets during the coming year, during which this reduction is to remain in effect. These servile, cringing union officials served them well indeed.

The railroad magnates could easily give glib promises of "reciprocity" to the demand for the so-called employment stabilization advanced by the union officials. This promise is just as meaningless as the manner in which the demand was proposed was futile. The promise offers only to endeavor to increase employment whenever practicable. And, of course, with the magnates now pleading inability to meet the payroll because of diminishing returns, this will never be practicable. But after all, as far as the union leaders are concerned they never intended their proposed "stabilization" schemes to be taken seriously. For them it served only as a smoke screen to hide their failure to heed the need of fighting workers—namely to secure the six hour day. A serious fight for this proposal would at least have served as a warning upon the railroad magnates that the workers are deeply concerned about finding some means of alleviating the ravages of unemployment and heavy lay-offs due to the advance of labor saving machine technique.

The railroad companies won this skirmish; but their real objective is a far greater one. They have now begun definitely to come to grips with the railroad unions and they will be certain to lose no opportunity to continue in pursuit of their objective to impose more wage cuts, to gradually undermine the position of the unions in preparation for their final destruction—if possible. This present wage cut was imposed even without the employers having to stop to utilize the rignaroles of the arbitration machinery provided by the railway labor act. If it had been the case of a wage increase the workers would surely have been at least compelled first to run the whole gamut of this complicated machinery. But that is what it is for. To function as a brake upon the workers; to be at the service of the employers and to be entirely set aside or ignored when the employers feel themselves sufficiently strong to do so.

To the workers one important lesson should remain in respect to this phase

of the matter. There should never again be any reliance placed upon arbitration machinery or proceedings. The workers can obtain only what they can actually take; what their position of organized strength will force the employers to give into.

What were the heavy compelling arguments which the railroad magnates marshaled to convince all and sundry? It was primarily their plea of inability to maintain earnings in face of the heavy competition from bus passenger transportation and from freight haulage by trucking. It is very true that new modern, and in many respects more competitive means of transportation is to a large extent superseding railroad service. But this does not in the least supersede the dividends collected by the investors in railroad securities because it is the same bondholders in each case. As a matter of fact the existing bus lines are practically all owned by the railroad companies, as for example the Greyhound owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Union Pacific system and the Chicago and Northwestern having their net of bus lines in the Western territory and so forth. The truck hauling is also rapidly being gobbled up by the roads.

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

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

A Class Approach Necessary
The railroad workers are being reduced from their exclusive craft position. They are now in a more direct sense on an actual class level. Their problems are ever more becoming bound up with that of their class. Only an approach, no longer from the exclusive craft position, but from a class position can hope to begin to approximate a solution. In this sense there is a gigantic change in perspective.

It means new and enormous tasks for their unions and to this we will again return in a future issue. One may say there is some slight ray of hope for future prospects in the fact that in these recent negotiations representatives of all of the unions were brought together and acted together despite the fact of the sell-out by the officials. These latter are, of course, not only still wrapped up in the exclusive craft position of the past, but as much as ever functioning purely and simply as agents of capitalism within the ranks of labor. Hence in any consideration by the railroad workers of future problems one thing at least remains axiomatic. A struggle for conditions, a struggle to maintain or to improve their standard of living, can be carried on only hand in hand with the most determined struggle against all traces of domination by these capitalist agents.

The capitalist offensive against the working class is still in full blast all along the line. It calls for the most determined resistance. Meek submission will only bring new and more ferocious attacks. The railroad workers have an organization, divided and split up along craft lines, repeatedly betrayed by their leaders, but nevertheless a powerful organization if brought into action. It is certainly incumbent upon the railroad workers to endeavor to lead in this resistance. But this requires a fighting program.

—A. S.

- STATEMENT OF THE MARINE WORKERS DEFENSE -

The case of Soderberg' Bunker and Trajer, the marine workers indicted in the New York "dynamite plot", is on the calendar for trial and the whole conspiracy will soon be unfolded before the court. At this moment of deepest peril for the indicted workers, when the question of their liberty or imprisonment is about to be decided for many years to come, the defense committee, which was formed at their request and which has conducted the struggle from the beginning in their behalf, turns again to the working class with an appeal for solidarity and support.

All the work of the committee has been carried on under the slogan of unity and solidarity, for we have been convinced that the united support of the workers is the best defense of the men on trial and the strongest safeguard against another frame-up tragedy. For the same reason the committee, which is comprised of delegates representing various organizations and many diverse views, has refrained from all controversy and has endeavored to concentrate attention on the single issue of the defense of persecuted workers in the court of the class enemy.

Through no fault of design of the committee the whole public discussion of the case has not been maintained on "this level". Attempts have been made to disrupt the defense movement on the eve of the trial by the International Labor Defense. These attempts at disruption have been furthered by an article in the Daily Worker of January 25th, which fulfills facts and jeopardizes the interests of the defendants at the time of their greatest need.

It becomes imperative, therefore, to reply to these attacks and bring out the truth of the situation with facts and documents. An exposure of these disruptive attempts, as a form of assistance to the prosecution is at present a nec-

essary means of defense. From this point of view, a chronological statement of the facts of the case is herewith submitted. This bare statement of the case as it really stands will suffice to enable the honest workers of all camps to judge the disrupters and call them to order.

THE WORK OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The first and most important answer to the accusations against the Marine Workers Defense Committee is the record of its work. Coming together for the defense of persecuted workers, who were deserted and without any other means of defense, the committee succeeded in securing able counsel to look after

the legal interests of the defendants; it brought the case to the attention of the labor movement through systematic publicity work, distribution of leaflets, speakers before organizations and a public mass meeting. It succeeded in uniting in a common fight, organizations and groups of conflicting tendencies and views on a broader basis than has been seen for many years.

In harmony with the wishes of the defendants, the committee dedicated itself from the very beginning to the principle of the united front of labor against the frame-up system. On that basis it invited every important labor organiza-

(Continued on page 4)

BUILD OPPOSITION PRESS!

By April 1, an important addition to the Left Opposition press in America will make its appearance. That is to be the publication of the first issue of our theoretical organ, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST REVIEW.

Undoubtedly this will be greeted with genuine enthusiasm by our sympathizers and supporters everywhere.

We have already made some valuable additions to the Left Opposition Press. The beginning was made with the Youth organ, the Young Spartacus, next followed in rapid succession the Left Opposition organ in the Greek language, Kommunistes and the Jewish language paper, Unser Kampf. These are here to stay. We can now announce the most important addition to our coming theoretical organ. With that, our press will receive its necessary rounded character and equip us with a powerful instrument for the regeneration and rebuilding of the Communist movement as originally conceived and founded by Marx and En-

gels and again restored by Lenin and Trotsky in common with their Bolshevik co-workers.

Never before in the history of the world revolutionary movement, we can say with emphasis, have there been such fateful and deep-going problems facing it as just now. We are entering a truly decisive phase of the epoch of capitalist decline and world revolution. The part the Left Opposition must play is extremely important.

But this effort to more fully equip ourselves for the task imposes a very serious duty upon us. Before us yet remains the job of building the Left Opposition press into the powerful and effective instrument it should be. Our platform is unassailable, but it must be translated into reality. The first step is to further build our press. However, we condition the appearance of our theoretical organ on the date set upon the support to be given by our comrades and sympathizers. We expect you to help build the Left Opposition Press!

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Organization Notes

Active Militant builders we have but entirely too few. If there were more, it would soon tell in a serious way on our subscription list. As it is, only the efforts of the few keeps it growing, but growing very slowly. Yet we have no doubt that there will soon be more comrades joining the ranks of the Militant builders.

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

V. R. Dunne, Minneapolis	2
A. Konikow, Boston	1
C. Shechet, Boston	1
C. R. Hedlund, Minneapolis	5
Leon Goodman, Philadelphia	2

BUFFALO P. P. OPPOSITION INDORSERS LEFT

By invitation of the Buffalo Proletarian Party Opposition, comrade Swaback spoke at a Lenin memorial meeting arranged by 15 members on Jan. 24th. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Workers League of Buffalo. It had a fairly good attendance, listening attentively to the speaker's elucidation of the historical role of the great world revolutionary leader. Quite a few members of the official Communist party were among the audience.

As could be expected, this latter fact very much helped to enliven the discussion which followed the lecture. Not so much by virtue of the arguments presented by the party members who took the floor, as they presented only the old-time slanders and condemnation of the

Left Opposition with the Workers' League coming in for a good share. No, the enlivening part was attained rather in the opportunity this gave to the speaker to further clarify for the audience many of the disputed issues within the Communist movement.

On the following evening comrade Swaback spoke before the branch membership. Due to its recent expulsion from the Proletarian Party, it naturally faces a number of problems in common with the rest of their expelled Opposition comrades. On these problems, the whole of the discussion centered until late in the night. The members present asked numerous questions from comrade Swaback which together with the answers given helped considerably in making the Left Opposition views clear to them. From the inception of their opposition to the Proletarian Party regime these Buffalo comrades have recognized that they cannot remain isolated or independent of the main currents of the Communist movement today. Their sympathies very early and pronouncedly turned toward the Left wing. They are now making a serious effort to get away from the state sectarian attitude which prevailed in the Proletarian Party, but they have no illusions that the mere orientation toward mass work can substitute for the real task of building of the revolutionary cadres. While they have taken active part in common with the efforts of their opposition center to help in the creation of an unemployment movement, it is their intention to press on for a definite orientation of revolutionary views. They fully recognize the validity of the question: "Whose views—Left, Center or Right—will the Proletarian Party Opposition accept and to which of these currents will it adhere? They agree that this question must be put first on the agenda and their answer was already given unequivocally in this meeting—to the Left Opposition.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

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

Last Thursday comrade Clarke also spoke on invitation, before one of the unemployment councils. He was very favorably received—in fact he has been invited to another council. It appears that the local Stalinists, through blundering negligence and arrogant bureaucracy have alienated and antagonized these councils in which there are several party members, who feel the same way about the abuse of the bureaucrats. There seem to be excellent opportunities for us, but nothing can be said definitely about the outcome.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

On Sunday, January 31, comrade Albert Glotzer spoke at an open meeting held by the Philadelphia branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), on his visit to Trotsky, and the present international situation.

There were fifty workers present who listened to an account of Trotsky's exile and illegal deportation, and his exile in Turkey. Comrade Glotzer spoke at some length on the present international political situation. He dealt par-

For A Fighting Unity of the New York Food Workers

What is the situation in the Food Workers' Industrial Union? Was it in the interest of the Left wing movement to split away from the A. F. W. U.? Are there any results in organizing the union? All the same time the membership of the union must ask themselves why the third year of the crisis the union finds itself totally incapable of defending the interests of the starving unemployed of the industry. Why the union is unable to give any advice as to what to do with those hundreds who are coming here for it? Why it is equally

incapable of defending even those insignificant few who accept its leadership and go on strike, as in the Crusader Cafeteria? At the last convention of the union, Obermeyer, its national secretary, said: "We must recognize the fact that we should not have been so much in a hurry to split away from A. F. W. U."

What he meant is that the Left wing should organize itself better before it undertook the split. Therefore recognizing the mistake, so to say, organizationally. The officials of the union still refuse to recognize its suicidal stupidity for the movement in the industry as a whole. The half-truth becomes still more criminal because it keeps the awakening workers from a correct estimation of the real situation and thereby from a possibility to exert their pressure on their adventurist leadership.

THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST

Once for all it must be stated, not in a half way confession, but in a real Communist manner, that the split was a mistake, that without full recognition of the fact and all the devastation it has brought, no correct policy can be adopted, and do away out of an unbearable situation can be found. The truth allowed on the organizational facts only leaves a rat hole for sneaking back into the "company unions" (A. F. W. U.) so that those who are there shall not be called "social fascists" any more, but it is certainly not a starting point for the adoption of a correct policy as to how to reach the unorganized, how to fight for the unemployed. At the same time that policy certainly cannot point out the way how to reach such a unity of action for the workers in the food industry, which would give prestige to the Communist party and Left wing movement. And if the bureaucrats high pressure of the "third period" brought with it the split of the food workers' organization; if that split together in the "united front from below" played havoc with the Left wing movement and at the same time crippled those unions who remained entirely at the mercy of reformist misleaders; then it is all the more the duty of the C. P. and F. W. I. U. to issue the slogan of trade union unity.

Comrade Trotsky, in his article on the question of trade union unity, writes in relation to the united front that this

is the only way that one can prevent the reformists and above all their Left wing agents from opposing to the practical task of the class struggle, the formal slogan of unity. And precisely if the policy of the genuine united front is one of the means of liberating the workers from reformist influence by confronting the reformist leadership with concrete task of struggle for immediate demands, then the revolutionary significance of that struggle if initiated by the Communists and Left wing under their influence can serve at the same time as a basis for the slogan of unity, for amalgamation, for creating one union in the industry. As comrade Trotsky in the same article points out "it would be a thorough mistake to oppose the policy of the united front to that of the unity of the trade union organizations".

Without such a revolutionary, Communist policy, all the talk of the bureaucrats of the F. W. I. U. of organizing the hundreds of thousands of slaves in the packing industry, in the food factories' restaurants, bakeries, the grocery clerks—will remain futile talk. And the active members of the union must begin to understand that all the good work that they are trying to do: making the union function according to the departmental system, improving the function of the grievance committee leading small but militant strikes etc., cannot be anything in itself. That alone will not extricate the union from the position it was forced to by the "third period" bureaucrats and by the policy of "united front from below". These activities can only be a necessary improvement of the organization in preparation for the policy advanced by the Left Opposition in the trade union movement as a whole.

There must be put an end to all that kind of stupid talk as that of the representative of the Central Executive Committee at the convention about using two fists, one of the united front of the rank and file, (the "united front from below"), a distortion denying the genuine united front), and the other fist, of organizing the unorganized. Objectively, it means a continuous playing into the hands of all kinds and species of reformists together with the harm that kind of policy brings with it.

—A FOODWORKER

I. L. D. In Boston

BOSTON, MASS.

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

Without a doubt, the significance of the case together with its recent developments presented the Left wing with golden opportunities. Has the Left wing availed itself of these opportunities? So far as Boston is concerned we can say emphatically, no.

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

Despite the fact that a number of the delegates pledged their utmost activity which, if carried on with the sincere cooperation from the leaders, could have developed a strong movement, the "leaders" found no time to call meetings for several weeks after the conference. In all the three months of its existence only three meetings were called and those were very poorly attended. At each meeting, the delegate of the Boston Left Opposition stressed the importance of reaching the workers and organizing them, of visiting organizations on behalf of Mooney. A number of organizations were visited by our delegate. But what was the result? After the third meeting of our committee one had no organization to bring a report to.

Weeks have passed since the last meeting of the Mooney Committee. The executive committee does not function at all, or at least the present writer, who is a member of the executive, does not know of its activity. Not a single mass meeting was called to organize the masses for the release of Mooney. Not a leaflet was printed to bring Mooney before the eyes of the masses. And all this in the face of the greatest opportunities presented!

With the significance of the case, with the latest developments in the case, with the Walkers and Rolphs once again unmasking the face of the master class, the Left wing should be able to rally the workers to its banner. Yet when an official of the I. L. D. is asked why no meetings are being called, she tries to get out of a difficulty by answering that no one can be gotten to come to meetings. Such an answer, however, calls for another question. Why?—The answer is that the true reason for this lamentable situation is that the I. L. D. instead of carrying on as a mass organization, has isolated itself from the masses. The Stalinist machine is satisfied to limit the I. L. D. to a handful of selected Stalinists and blind followers who, right or wrong, will carry out their master's will. The next must follow. The few "true" worthy I. L. D. members are already so overburdened with the many tasks of the other Left wing organizations that they simply cannot attend all of the meetings—with the results described above.

How much longer can this go on? Is Tom Mooney to suffer the consequences of Stalinist stupidity practiced by the I. L. D. or are its leaders going to wake up to the sense of genuine united action for his release? Can the leaders of the I. L. D. who called the conference be satisfied that they have now fulfilled their duty to Mooney as representatives of the revolutionary movement? If there is a red spark in their hearts and minds these leaders will say with determination, "No, not until we have organized a genuine united front as called for by Mooney in his August 20th appeal will we have fulfilled our revolutionary duty and carried out the will of Tom Mooney!"

—C. SHECHET.

Amter Speaks on the Radio

What can be done by a revolutionary working class leader to develop class consciousness when the capitalist class places its press at his disposal was taught us by Marx—"as contributor on the leading Anglo-American newspaper, the 'New York Tribune', at which I have now been engaged for eight years—" (author's preface to Critique of Political Economy); by Lenin on numerous occasions; and more recently by Trotsky, particularly in his statement in the Manchester Guardian, reprinted in part in the N. Y. Times of April 13, 1931 under the title "TROTSKY SAYS SOVIET POINTS WORLD PATH." How a working class "leader" can misuse the same opportunity to sow confusion in the working class was demonstrated by Stalin in two interviews he gave to representatives of the New York Telegram and New York Times toward the end of 1930.

A FATAL INTERVIEW

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

The occasion of the broadcast was a dinner given by the Association for Better Citizenship, Inc. attended and addressed in addition to Amter by Rudolph Spreckles, the financier, Chas. Solomon, of the Socialist Party, and Wickersham of the commission bearing his name. To this strange position had life brought Amter; from directing gangs to break up Opposition meetings to speaking over the radio at a patriotic dinner together with financiers and a social Fascist! We do not wish to be misunderstood. We believe that it is correct to utilize such opportunities to speak to sections of the working class. We have nothing in common with those party supporters, misguided by Amter and Co., who call Trotsky a "counter revolutionary" because he writes for the capitalist press. We base our judgment of the speech or writing not upon the place of its appearance but upon its content. From this point of view Amter's speech spelled confusion.

THE CAPITALIST SOLUTION

Spreckles as his contribution to the Association's program of "systematic enlightenment of better citizenship" proposed, among other things, as a solution for the misery of the working class, a tax on short sales on the stock exchange, a tax on the export of capital to provide an unemployment insurance fund; and prohibition! Solomon gave a polite, innocuous and abstract exposition from the socialist point of view of the class struggle. It could have been given in toto ten years ago so little relation did it have to the realities of the present international and national situation. Nor did Solomon offer any solution except a description of what Socialism is! Wickersham who followed Amter and was the last speaker launched into an eulogy of the physical grandeur of "our country". As he was completing his lyric of pa-

riotism the entire broadcast, having exhausted its allotted time, was cut off. We are therefore unable to comment on Wickersham's proposals for a way out of the crisis.

Against the bankruptcy of Spreckles and the empty abstractions of Solomon, a Communist presentation would have been a clarion call on a dark night. In our opinion Amter should have made a short statement of the extent and depth of the workers' misery in the present crisis, followed by a brief explanation of its causes and a concise outline of the Communist solution. He should have mentioned the various capitalist attempts to solve their crises by wars (what about the war danger and the U. S. S. R.) And then he should have emphasized that the only solution was an international proletarian revolution, that in preparation for it we must fight unitedly against the sweeping capitalist offensive, for immediate demands such as the six-hour day, credits to the Soviet Union, unemployment insurance. His conclusion should have explained the role of the Communist party in this struggle for immediate demands today, and for the overthrow of capitalism tomorrow and how it is distinguished from the socialist party.

AMTER FAILS MISERABLY

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

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

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

—T. STAMM.

The Struggle of the Railroad Workers

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

Already in the early part of 1931, it was becoming clear to even the casual observer of the developments on the railroads that wage cuts were looming up on the industrial horizon for the railroad workers.

Wage cuts always follow in the wake of industrial depressions, which result from the inherent defects in the profit system of production. Even in 1930, production was slowing up and many roads were reducing their working forces. But at any rate, with the beginning of 1931, it should have been clear to any one calling himself a labor leader that unless certain energetic organizational steps were taken to strengthen and solidify the railroad workers, wage reductions and further loss of working conditions would soon be knocking at their doors.

However, the best time to build and strengthen the labor unions is under so-called capitalist "prosperity" or when workers are not losing their jobs by the millions through lack of work. The Brotherhood leaders had a splendid opportunity to do this from 1923 to 1929. During this period there were nearly one million men and women employed on railroads, who did not belong to the Brotherhoods. And, in spite of the enormous resources which these leaders had at their command, practically nothing was done to get these workers into the unions. There were millions of dollars available in the Brotherhood treasury for the printing of handbills, leaflets and circulars, to put periodically into the hands of every railroad worker in the United States and Canada, telling him or her of the importance and necessity of joining the unions. In addition, the leaders had the Brotherhood Journals and the weekly paper, "Labor", for their use and control. These publications reach many railroad workers in every railroad terminal in the country.

Brotherhood Officials Too Busy Enjoying their Big Salaries to Organize the Workers

In addition to the printed page with which to reach the workers, the Brotherhood officials had literally thousands of individuals on the Brotherhood payroll, such as assistant presidents, vice presidents, general and special organizers, general chairmen, (several thousands of them) business agents and legislative representatives who managed to hang on to the payroll most of the time. Then we have B. M. Jewell at the head of the railway department of the A. F. of L., a department which does not exist except on paper.

With all this money and personnel at their disposal, the Brotherhood leaders could have put on a real organizing campaign in every railroad terminal within the jurisdiction of the Brotherhoods. They could have coupled up the organizing campaign with a concentrated wage movement to shorten the day without a cut in wages and to raise the minimum wage level in the railroad industry to the Five Dollar a Day mark. This program would have attracted thousands of lowly paid workers and also many of

the higher paid workers who were beginning to lose their jobs on account of labor-saving machinery installed by the railroads.

The Brotherhood officialdom have had and have now at their disposal enough money and men on permanent salaries, to hold union meetings at every railroad center, on a united and concerted scale for the purpose of organizing and amalgamating the railroad workers. The necessity of One Union of railroad workers, instead of twenty-one should be explained and advocated at every meeting. And if the leaders would do this, instead of fighting and obstructing amalgamation at every turn, it would become possible to hold an Amalgamation Convention within one year and there to launch an Industrial Union of Railroad Workers.

But instead of using the Brotherhood's money and press to put on an organization and amalgamation campaign, the Brotherhood bureaucracy has been busy "selling" the useless and expensive Craft System, with its useless and overpaid leadership to the railroad workers. The "Grand" Chiefs have been assiduously to see to it that nothing took place at local or union meetings which would be against the interests of the bureaucrats. "Lame ducks" have been appointed as special organizers at \$10 per day (the usual rate) to serve mostly as administrative henchmen and stool-pigeons and to help keep the "Reds" out of the unions. Both men in the locomotive cab are now engineers. The man on the left side has been an engineer for years. Still, two organizations are maintained in the Engineers and general organizers are kept on the job by both unions to pull members from one union into the other. As a matter of fact, the only interest that these \$15,000 a year labor skates have in working men is to collect dues from them and to keep them satisfied with things as they are.

While this article is being written, January 25, an extra is appearing in the streets announcing that "Rail Workers Accept Slash for One Year", as a headline. Although it may require one or more special articles to properly discuss and explain this gross betrayal of the leadership we wish to point out right here and now, that the railroad workers were never given an opportunity to either accept or reject the wage cut. The Brotherhood officials decided this for them. The excuse the bureaucrats advance for accepting this wage cut is as foolish and silly as the one they gave for accepting the last wage cut in 1921.

—A. E.

The Recent Wage Cut

The railroad workers have taken a 10% cut and once more the folly of the bosses is paid for by the workers. Already the effect upon other industries has been felt; wage cuts are the order of the day in all parts of the country. The railroads through their committee informed the workers that the only way out of the impasse was a wage cut, and properly so—from their standpoint, if it is the path of least resistance. And up to the present, with the labor funkies of

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

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

Mr. Willard, in the Chicago conference, said that despite the reduction of operating expenses many roads face bankruptcy because they cannot meet the fixed charges of 1931. He says the fixed charges for 1931 are 695 million dollars, but only 784 million dollars is available, which only leaves \$9 million total net income. Because of this, the interest on the founded debt alone was 495 million. This is just some more statistical fakery to whom does the interest go if it does not go to the capitalist class, no matter what section it is. Is not this 49 million, to say nothing of the 784 million, obtained, part of the capitalist surplus robbed from the railroad workers? And further how do they figure this? In relation to the variable capital? No, of course not, they figure their profits in relation to the total watered stock. It is true that in times of crisis much water is squeezed out but this is only partially the case with the big roads.

So long as the workers are not organized properly, are not under class struggle ideology and have the type of railroad leaders they do, the capitalist will find easy pickings. We know the capitalist can sell below value and still make profit and we know the capitalist class in their offensive against us, in the crisis, have been striking at strategic points: the steel workers, the railroad workers, the increase of the number of political prisoners and of deportations. These moves and particularly the railroad workers' wage cut are of vital importance for the living standard of the whole class. The capitalists of America are tightening up on the home base in order to prepare for greater onslaughts on the world market against rival imperialists, in the struggle for the revision of the earth. Are we going to stand by idly while this tremendous international conflict is in the making. No, all signs point to an increase of class battles in the United States. —HUGO OEHLE.

MINNEAPOLIS

WORKERS FORUM

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Speaker: GEOGE ROBERTS. Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Terror against the Greek Opposition

ATHENS, GREECE

The capitalist regime of Greece is carrying a reign of terror against all revolutionary workers and is concentrating its efforts especially to exterminate by all means at its disposal, the comrades of the Opposition (Archio-Marxist-Bolsheviks) on account of their valiant activities in the front ranks of the class struggle.

Now that the edifice of the capitalist system of Greece is enfeebled by the acute economic crisis, the bourgeoisie of Greece are desperately trying to suppress every workers' resistance by exterminating the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communists. They imprison them for many years in dark cells, and they deport them to desert islands, and very often apply terrorist measures, as in the case of our comrade Theodore Baboucoupos.

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

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

We bring his letter in full below:

"To the Communist Organization of Bolsheviks-Leninists (Archio-Marxists)."

"Comrades,

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

"They threw me and 7 other Archio-Marxist youths into the cave that the bourgeoisie calls 'reformatory' and they began our extermination by applying the archaic methods of the 'Holy Inquisition.' What to describe most, I don't know... the more I try to think of it the dizzier I get. Later on, when I'll overcome the danger hanging over me, I'll write you in detail.

"The last 'scene' took place because we protested against the suppressed measures as a means of punishment, they forced us to run like horses around the prison-yard.

"When we refused to run, the bestial guards knocked us down unconscious and then they placed our feet into the iron bars, beating us for hours at a time until our feet began to bleed of the wounds and only fatigue exhausted our hangmen. I was left within the prison without a doctor's care for ten days and my

foot became sore. When my comrades and myself protested we were told: 'I have not got anything' and when the pollution progressed and the gangrene rotted my foot and threatened my very life they brought me here and cut off my foot and at present I am struggling with death.

"Another question that I wish to pose is this: The Rizospastis attempts to present me as their own comrade. I declare that I denounce the Rizospastis and the Stalinists and that I was and I'll always be a Bolshevik-Leninist (Archio-Marxist).

"The life of our comrades in the prisons is in danger. The state is planning assassinations. Fight for general amnesty! Fight to save them!

With comradely greetings,
Theodoros Baboucoupos,
Municipal Hospital!

The Crimes of the Capitalist prisons must be brought to light!

Our comrade Baboucoupos is struggling with death. This horrible crime shall not be left without consequences

for the bourgeois class. All the horrible tortures, all the crimes which Greek capitalism pursues in order to exterminate the victims of the proletarian struggle must be brought to light. A committee of workers and intellectuals must be formed to visit all the prisons in which revolutionary workers are detained and undertake a broad and thorough investigation and bring to light all the criminal activities of the capitalist organs against the imprisoned and deported revolutionary workers.

The Victims of Capitalist Atrocities Are In Danger

The assassins of comrade Baboucoupos refuse to give even medicines. Comrade Baboucoupos is the victim of the cannibalism of the watch-dogs of the capitalist regime, and is in a critical condition. The fever fluctuates between 30 to 40 degrees centigrade.

Following the amputation of his foot, two wounds were opened up on his shoulders and one on his arm.

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

is possible that they may have to open this, too. Our comrade is passing grave moments and the doctors openly express their fears.

Characteristic of the bestiality of the capitalist regime is the criminal indifference that the administration of the Municipal Hospital shows toward the condition of our comrade.

His food is miserable, medicine are refused him. The comrades collected money among themselves for the purchase of medicines. The Labor Defence does not follow at all the condition of our comrade and has neglected to meet his needs.

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

Many workers' organizations have protested vigorously against the Czarist methods.

The Leather Workers, the Cigarette boxmakers and Lithographers, Stevedores, Hotel Workers, I. L. D. branches of Thessalonica, Neapoleos, etc., Needle Workers Union, and Cafe and Confectionery Workers Union, are among these.

—PALI TON TAXEON.

German Opposition Documents

False Strategy -- False Tactics

Dangerous Perspectives

Just as a proletarian revolution in Germany would open up a new epoch for the revolutionary proletariat, Fascism in Germany will open up a new epoch of reaction in Europe. A victory for Fascism would lead to the last attempt of capitalism to postpone its impending downfall for decades through the destruction of the proletarian movement.

A victory for German Fascism means war against the Soviet Union. An alliance between a Fascist Germany and the other imperialistic countries, France not excepted, in a campaign for the annihilation of the Soviet Union is more than probable. Should it come to that, it would mean that the social revolution would be made impossible for an entire epoch.

Does that mean, that there is no way out of this situation? To maintain this, would be pessimism and would signify a complete surrender of the faith in the inner forces of the proletariat. Should the Comintern and the party change their strategy and tactic, were the Soviet Union and the Red Army to actively take their stand as the organizing forces of the German revolution, Fascism will not even reach the threshold of power.

To allow Fascism to get as far as the threshold of power, that is to permit them to enter a coalition government, means to clear the road for the full seizure of power by Fascism. To believe that the right moment for an action against Fascism is the time of its "exposure" in a coalition government with Bruening—only people who are planning to dodge the enemy and to capitulate are capable of. At the moment Fascism enters the government, the signal will be given for a struggle against the proletariat. The only answer to that is the proclamation of the General Strike. That is the point of time at which the defensive of the working class begins, which is transformed in the course of struggle into the offensive. The General Strike will deal the Fascist bands their first blows and open up the mass struggle against the bourgeoisie. Its outcome will be neither Fascism nor a Bruening.

The moment the united front of the proletarian class is established in the course of struggle, the real disintegration of Fascism begins.

"Nearer to the social democratic and trade union masses!" is the burning slogan of the moment, if the struggle is not to end in a defeat United front with the S. P. G. and A. D. G. B. (Trade Union) organizations is the command of the hour.

—PERMANENTE REVOLUTION
(January 1932)
(To Be Continued)

A Letter from Germany

HAMBURG, GERMANY

As you probably know, I have joined the party in Germany and they are beginning to suspect that I am a "Trotskyite". At the last meeting, I defended the line of the united front and denounced the "Red Referendum". I asked why it was that we (the C. P. G.) are not gaining all the S. P. G. votes that they are losing. There was a leading comrade

from Hamburg present. He said: "We definitely do not use the united front from above, for only opportunists will go into a united front with the social Fascist leaders; we make only a red united front from below."

NO UNITED FRONT!

On my objection that I did not mean the kind of united front made in England at the time of the General Strike or in China with Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuo Min Tang, but to officially offer the S. P. G. and the trade union, without blinding our hands in any way, a fighting united front, side by side, against the Fascists, as the Bolsheviks did in 1917 against Kornilov's cossacks, he replied very weakly: "This is a different situation; there was an immediate demand of crushing Kornilov's army. Our main enemy is now the S. P. G., who tolerate everything that Bruening or the capitalists did at." He wanted to talk with me alone later on, but never said a word about it again. He admitted that they had a big fight in the Central Committee about the "Red Referendum" but he said it was from a tactical point of view, a question regarding the moment they will be able to mobilize the masses and that they had to take such a vital issue out of the hands of the nationalists and Fascists, to make it a red one (sic!)

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

The activity of the party group here is very low, they have not had a membership meeting for more than two months. Theoretically they are so backward that they don't even know the most fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin.

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

WINNING S. P. WORKERS

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

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

—BILL (V. B.)

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

HISTORY MADE TO ORDER—ala STALIN

We must come back once more to the article by Stalin in the revue *Proletarian Revolution*, in which the General Secretary of the Russian Communist Party violently attacks the "rotten liberalism" which exists among the Communists with regard to "Trotskyism."

What is the reason for all this wrath of Stalin's? The "chief of the world revolution", proclaimed as such by all the bureaucrats, who dare not deny their master anything, and celebrated as such at all official occasions and by the entire Stalinist international press—what has he to fear from "Trotskyism" which has been crushed and annihilated for years? And moreover, who are those rotten liberals who have introduced the Trotskyist poison into the history of the Russian party without his knowledge?

STALIN CREATES A HISTORY OF APOLOGUES

In his leisure time, whatever of it is granted to him by the affairs of state, Stalin has taken the trouble to go over the history of the revolution and the Russian party. Imagine his surprise to see that in almost all the publications conducted by people who are loyal to his own person, his role as leader of the Russian party ever since the first weeks of the February revolution (before Lenin's arrival in Russia), he has not been presented in sufficiently laudatory terms. Certain historians said, for example, that immediately upon his arrival in Petrograd, Lenin found it necessary to radically change the orientation of the Bolshevik party led by Stalin and Kamenev up to that time.

Others, like Slutsky, even went so far as to employ the term "rearming" of the party used by comrade Trotsky in his history of the Russian revolution, to designate the April Theses of Lenin and the

tremendous activity he unfolded in spite of the resistance of the so-called "old Bolsheviks" to get his theses adopted by the entire party.

But the reading of these passages of the history of the party was not yet the height of his chagrin. He mobilized a whole legion of censors and obedient functionaries who reported that the "Trotskyist" ideas have not only slipped into the historical article of some party candidate, some Slutsky, but that in the complete works of Lenin, the "smugglers" have introduced monstrous distortions of history which have to be rectified immediately. It was discovered, for example, that a certain Ovsiannikov, working under the personal supervision of Kamenev, wrote in Note 79 to Volume XIV of the Complete Works of Lenin that (1) "Trotsky published in Vienna a popular working class paper, the *Pravda* destined for Russia" and that "Trotsky broke with the Mensheviks"; (2) that Trotsky "at the beginning of the imperialist war adopted a clearly internationalist position". In this same Note the author dared "repeat" the Trotskyist legend according to which it appears that he led the insurrection of October 25 (*Pravda* of December 15, 1931). Is it possible to tolerate such "Trotskyist smuggling"?

A RED HISTORIAN DARES QUOTE LENIN

Another historian, Volosovitch, did not merely content himself with narrating the historical events already known universally from the testimony of John Reed (*Ten Days That Shook The World*) or from the memoirs of Shlapnikov on the February revolution and the shameful role of Stalin in that period. Volosovitch also attempted to analyze the facts and the political positions adopted in the past by the Bolshevik party, to draw the logical conclusions flowing therefrom. Here is what the *Pravda* (12-17-1931) says about him: "The 'historian' Volosovitch 'proves' (this plethora of quotation marks is the *Pravda's* own brand of irony—M. M.) that Lenin in 1915 did not pose the question of building socialism in one country. Volosovitch distorts the history of the party in the Trotskyist manner by opposing the tasks of the world revolution to the question of the complete possibility of building socialism in one country, as it was posed by Lenin (our emphasis—M. M.). In falsifying history and in slandering Lenin, Volosovitch writes that for Lenin 'the question is not posed from the point of view of the growing over of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution but solely from the angle of the fundamental Bolshevik slogan of the given period, notably, that of the transformation of the imperialist world war into a civil world war. Consequently the question of building socialism in our country does not even enter' (Third Edition, page 64). Volosovitch even goes further. He declares that 'even when this growing over (mentioned above) becomes an established fact, the question of building socialism in our country alone' while the other countries remain capitalist, is not a question for the present'. (Page 65)."

THROUGH TEN EDITIONS

And Sm'kh, the author of the article in the *Pravda*, cannot contain his wrath any longer, concluding: "And it is these smuggled Trotskyist gods that Volosovitch offers to the reader under the cloak of quotations from Lenin, 'profound' meditations, etc." This unhappy censor will still have to affirm with great bitterness later on in the same article that what is most revolting about the whole affair is the fact that "these smuggled goods have gone through ten editions."

Stalin's article in the *Proletarian Revolution* was not only a manifestation of impotent wrath in the face of historical truth, it was also a decree for all the state publishing houses to make a complete revision of everything relating to the history of the Bolshevik party and

the revolution. The effects of this decree have not failed to become evident. We read in the entire Soviet press, that Yaroslavsky, one of the unfortunate blamed for the "Trotskyist smuggling" in his "History of the Party" has recognized his mistakes and has promised to "go ahead energetically with the correction of all the books already published on the history of the party" in order to root out Trotskyism. Radek who was mentioned very indirectly in the Stalin article, has also repented... by renouncing for the 10th time, his former mistakes and by denouncing these... Luxemburgist errors "which have led, as it fatally, to the Trotskyist opposition".

STALIN DOES A BIT OF "REARMING"

Thus, the history of the Russian revolutionary movement and its relationships with the revolutionary movement of the West, is going to be recast. Stalin is going to make his history "to order", just as he has made his apparatus to order. Already in depriving D. B. Riazanov of his functions as director of the Marx-Engels Institute, Stalin began a well-prepared "scientific Marxist" basis for an apology of his policy. Now, he wants the History of the Party (Institute) and that of History as a whole, to play the same servile and unworthy role. But just as socialism cannot be constructed in one country, history cannot be made in one country. Stalin may, perhaps, succeed in suppressing all the publications of the "History of the Party" and the complete works of Lenin in the U. S. S. R. and replace them with his own history of apologies. In this manner, he will undoubtedly be able to derail, for a certain time, the young Communists in the Soviet Union. But the history of the revolution, which is unique and universal, and which, for a Marxist, ought to be "not an apology of political positions, but a concrete and coherent image of the actual process of the revolution" (Trotsky: *The History of the Russian Revolution*—Russian edition), is a history written on the basis of documents and living testimony of the epoch by revolutionary Marxists in the various countries. The *History of the Russian Revolution* by L. D. Trotsky written on the basis of historical documents and numerous testimonies by active participants in the revolution, will permit the younger revolutionary generations of all countries to reestablish the image "of the actual process of the revolution".

—M. MILLL
(Paris)

Left Opposition in Toronto

TORONTO—

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

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

The Toronto group is also involved right in the midst of the struggle against the government reprisals against the Communist Party of Canada, which goes under the name of the "Repeal Section 98 Movement". Delegates from the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) were seated at the conference called by the party's defense committee and the Opposition's proposals and views for carrying on this work are gaining a ready ear, some of them already adopted and bringing good response. Articles dealing with the exceptionally interesting developments in the "Repeal Section 98 Movement" will shortly appear in the *Militant*.

The "Uprising" of Nov. 7th. 1927

(Continued from page 1)

WHAT REALLY HAPPENS?

What really happened on November 7, 1927? Naturally, the Opposition also participated in the demonstration of the Tenth Anniversary. Its representatives marched together with their shops, factories, institutions of learning and Soviet institutions. Many Opposition groups carried their banners in the general parade. It was with these banners that they left their shops and other institutions. What sort of counter-revolutionary banners were they? Let us recall them once more:

1. "Carry out the testament of Lenin!"
2. "Direct the fire toward the Right—against Nepman, Kulak and bureaucracy!"
3. "For genuine workers' democracy!"
4. "Against opportunism, against a split for the unity of the Leninist party!"
5. "For a Leninist Central Committee!"

Workers, employees, soldiers of the Red Army, students and pupils walking side by side with the Oppositionists who were carrying their banners. There were no clashes. Not a single worker with a sound mind could interpret these banners as banners directed against the Soviet power and the party. Only after several individual factories had joined the general current of the demonstration, did the G. P. U. send out special divisions upon instructions from the Stalinist secretariat to assault the demonstrators who were carrying their banners peacefully! After that several clashes took place, consisting entirely of attacks by the divisions of the G. P. U., who tore their banners away and heaped blows upon them. A selected group of Red Army commanders broke down the door of Smilga's quarters and forced their way in, on the balcony there were hanging the banners of the Opposition and the portraits of Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev. This, then, was the uprising of November 7, 1927.

The slogans: "For workers' democracy", "Against Nepman, Kulak and Bureaucracy!", "For the unity of the party!", were considered—naturally not by the working masses—but by the Stalinist apparatus as counter-revolutionary. Nevertheless, at that time no one of the apparatus people dared as yet to speak of an armed uprising. Such an invention would have seemed altogether too shameless and insolent in the eyes of the participants in the demonstration. When more than a year after Trotsky had been exiled by Stalin, the G. P. U. accused him of preparing an armed uprising, it was not with regard to the demonstration of November 7, but something quite new, which the G. P. U. could not, however, refer to by name. After the exiling of Trotsky, this accusation was not repeated by anybody. Stalin did not dare introduce it into the press. The very memory of it disappeared, went up like smoke.

Only when the facts began to fade from memory, did the Stalinist school of falsifications begin to spread the legend of the attempted uprising of November 7. The fact that this legend has, to a certain degree, become the central point of the campaign, is politically significant. That proves that the real actions of the Bolshevik-Leninists do not appear to be "crimes" in the eyes of the masses of workers and party members. Stalin actually complains that despite the eight-years long campaign Trotskyism is still being regarded as a Communist tendency inside of the party! For his policy of reprisals, Stalin needs some basis of support that lies outside of the real activity of the Left Opposition. This basis of support, he tries to find in the police myth of the rising of November 7, 1927. Even if we had no other signs, this fact alone would suffice for us to say: the personal dictatorship of Stalin and his plebiscitary regime are in a bad way, in a very bad way!

—L. TROTSKY.

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by LEON TROTSKY

Translated from the original Russian

BY MAX EASTMAN

Volume I--The Overthrow of Tsarism

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A STATEMENT OF THE MARINE WORKERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 1)

tion, party, group and tendency to participate in the common work on an equal basis. The committee now contains representatives of two Communist groups, the C. P. U. A., the I. W. W., the Young People's Socialist League, trade unions, Anarchist groups and other organizations. The I. L. D. and the Communist Party are absent only because they refused specific and repeated invitations to participate.

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

HOW THE DISRUPTERS ACTED AT THE TIME OF THE ARREST

When the *Daily Worker* comes forward in its issue of January 25th with the statement that the defense committee has a policy of "betrayal of the class struggle and of the defendants particularly" it invokes a reminder of its own policy and conduct, and that of the I. L. D. in the case. The people who now proclaim themselves the only champions of the defendants, who offer to "defend" them even against their own committee spoke in a slightly different manner in the days following the arrest—when Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer were helpless in the hands of the police without influential friends' money, attorneys or any means of defense. Here is what the *Daily Worker* wrote on November 18th, two days after the arrest:

"Soderberg, secretary of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union, whom the capitalist 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 activities. Trajer, Reilly, and Bunker were expelled from the Marine Workers Industrial Union as bad elements." At the same time the *Young Worker* stated: "Soderberg is a stool pigeon."

Then, when personal friends of the accused men went to the I. L. D. for aid, it was refused. The I. L. D. refused to have anything to do with the "renegades", the "suspicious elements", the "stool pigeon", the people who had been "expelled from the Communist party". And from Nov. 18th until Jan. 25th, the *Daily Worker* never mentioned the case by a single word. It requires a supreme cynicism and an unbounded contempt for the intelligence of the workers for the case who made such a record in the case to come now two and one-half months later, on the very eve of the trial and pose as the only real friends of the prisoners. They come too late!

THE UNITED FRONT POLICY OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Marine Workers' Defense Committee was formed only after the I. L. D. and all other defense agencies had refused or failed to intervene. It was formed at the express written request of all three defendants who had no other means of defense and nowhere else to turn. The first nucleus of the committee, at its first meeting, adopted a policy of united front and invited all elements in the labor movement to join and cooperate. In its broadcasted statement on the case, published in various papers and in leaflet form, it stated: "It is the aim of the committee to broaden its membership to include representatives of all tendencies in the labor movement." On that line it sent invitations to the Communist party and the I. L. D. On December 5th, on December 18th, and again on December 20th, it addressed letters to the I. L. D. asking for cooperation in the struggle to arouse the whole labor movement for a united fight. All these invitations were ignored. The request for a speaker to represent the I. L. D. at the public mass meeting was unanswered.

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

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

When the nature and seriousness of the charges against the marine workers is taken into consideration—charges of hav-

ing committed specific crimes which carry a penalty on conviction of as much as forty years in prison, with an agent provocateur and perjured evidence to combat which requires the most thorough and skillful legal preparation—one must be appalled at such a criminal maneuver. To propose the discharge of able counsel, thoroughly familiar with the case and prepared by weeks of patient work to conduct the trial, and substitute new lawyers whose specialty is minor cases in the Magistrates' Court—is that not playing with the lives of men? Is it any wonder that the prisoners who would be glad to have their help if it were given in good faith, recoiled again, this infamous proposal with the bitter indignation and refused to talk with them any further?

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

THE FRAUDULENT ISSUE OF "CLASS STRUGGLE DEFENSE"

Condemned by their record in the case from its inception, their dishonest maneuvers repulsed by the prisoners, and their own rank and file members protesting against their policy—the disrupters seek to justify themselves with a final argument. They want "all workers and workers' organizations to fight this case along class lines, along the lines of mass defense." This argument against the Defense Committee is just as false, just as dishonest, as all they have said and done in the case. The Defense Committee has worked from the beginning to convince the workers that this case is an issue of the class struggle, and by no means an ordinary criminal case. Its chief activity has been to organize the united front of labor to protest against the frame-up and defeat it. It was for this aim that the cooperation of the I. L. D. was requested in written form three different times. But instead of cooperation to build a united mass movement of the workers' the I. L. D. offered unqualified lawyers to replace the counsel already retained. At the eleventh hour they promise a workers' mass movement, and begin with an attempt to disrupt the movement that has already been organized while they kept silent. Their own statement in the *Daily Worker* testifies to the effectiveness of this movement. When they say in this statement that the "International Labor Defense considers this case as a direct attack upon the workers in the marine industry" they are only repeating what they learned from the publicity material of the Defense Committee. What they have yet to learn is that all workers have a common interest in repulsing the attack and that they must fight unitedly to that end.

The Defense Committee appeals to the honest workers of all sections of the labor movement to join and support this united fight and condemn the attempts to disrupt it. If Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer do not stand alone before the court, as they stood in the first days after their arrest, it is due to the principle of labor solidarity which called the Defense Committee into existence. Labor solidarity is the best, and—in the final analysis—the only real defense of persecuted workers who fall into the hands of the class enemy. Those who violate this principle, who put narrow factional interests above it, who seek to disrupt the movement, organized on that basis, are acting against the interests of the class. A defeat of these disrupters will be a victory for the class and for all class war prisoners, now and in the future.

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

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

MARINE WORKERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE
82 East 10th St.,
New York City

DANCE

For the Benefit of the Imprisoned Marine Workers

Bunker — Soderberg — Trajer
at the

STUYVESANT CASINO
Second Avenue and 9th St.
Friday Evening, February 12th.

Auspices of the
Marine Workers' Defense Committee
Show your solidarity with these victims of the frame-up system. Come and bring your friends.

ADMISSION: 35 CENTS

The R. F. C. Ruse

(Continued from page 1)

three billion would have to stand a loss of approximately 42%; two and one-half billion losses of 18%. The merchant and worker unable to pay the high rents of 1928 and 1929, the real estate owner unable to pay the interest on the mortgage and the same with the farmer; the bank unable to pay its depositors. This is the picture presented.

In the field of railroad bonds the situation is exactly as serious. More than 70% of all railroad bonds are held by banking and similar institutions. The severe decline in the net income of railroads, dropping from \$1,284,000,000 in 1929 to the low of \$534,000,000 for 1931, brought about a consequent decline in the railroad bonds. In 1931 alone to say nothing of the sharp decline of the last few months of 1930, railroad bonds have experienced a decline of 25 to 50 percent. Of course there are various remedies that are being experimented with, to increase railroad income. Namely: the rate increase recently granted, will succeed in bringing in an additional profit of \$100,000,000; the second, if put into reality, another \$200,000,000; while the amount of bond interest not being earned now is estimated at \$75,000,000. The holder of railroad bonds and securities might put much hope in these prospective increases, were it not for the realization that very little replacing of fixed capital, very little of necessary repairs to locomotives and cars has been done during the past year. Were the actual balance sheet to be drawn, it would be much worse than it now appears; for money that should have been used for replacement purposes, has been used for dividend purposes to the stock and bond holders. The proposed savings of \$300,000,000 is already being balanced against replacement of worn equipment. Only a substantial increase in the total haulage of the railroad of the country can return to them a portion of the income of the prosperity days. This increase in haulage is dependent upon a general improvement on the business situation as a whole.

The third unstable factor is the defaulting on both the European and the Latin-American markets. The vastness of this item is impossible to determine, but when we consider the countries defaulting—countries in which the American banker has been investing his funds for the past decade, an inkling of the size of the canvas can be obtained. In a recent statement of the Chase National Bank, it was pointed out that approximately 3 1/2% of the total resources of the bank consisted of German credits (with Germany on the verge of defaulting). Adding to the above the loans to the S. A. and European defaulting countries, brings the total to a far from negligible item on the asset sheet. A general all-around, world wide refusal to pay, as seems to be imminent, would seriously impair the condition of the American banking institutions.

The above are the conditions that the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corp. is to remedy. Even the leading financiers of the country are very skeptical as to its value. "Sixty billion dollars in values lost during the past three years cannot be repaid by two billion." The *Annalist* of January 15, 1932 uses the phrase "There is no real remedy for this depreciation in security value, except the restoration of earning power." In referring to the recent measure they say, "the business depression cannot be cured by such measures." Recognizing the truth of the above statements, one must search elsewhere for the explanation of the creation of this present Corporation.

A DOLE FOR BANKERS—STARVATION FOR WORKERS

The bill has been described as a "two billion dollar bill to relieve bankers' mistakes." The explanation of the above is easily seen by a careful reading of the measure as passed. The initial capital is to consist of \$500,000,000; the remaining 1 1/2 billion is to be made up through the sale of bonds, but this is the all inclusive but, "the said obligations are to be fully and unconditionally guaranteed as to interest and principle by the United States," by the government. In other words the U. S. government has agreed to buy two billion dollars worth of depreciated and worthless paper from the banks and railroads. The proper title for the measure should have been "The Bank Subsidy Bill of 1932."

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

The latest patch has been applied to our industrial and financial system. Two billion dollars have been diverted from the taxes to aid the bankers and railroads in their present "sore plight." Although the measure may have a temporary effect, "there is obviously no real remedy for this depreciation in security values except the restoration of earning power." The trend out of the present crisis must occur in the industrial field, in the field of manufacture. Without a pick-up for industry as a whole one can expect to begin hearing before long of a

Spain's Bourgeoisie on the Offensive

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

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

An Atmosphere of Suppression

The visitor to Spain is immediately impressed with the fact that the most rigid control is exercised by the police authorities not only over foreigners but even more so over the native born. Spain is the only country on the continent, except Fascist Italy, known to this writer where there is a passport or documentary examination in the course of a trip in the interior of the country. Passport control at frontier countries is a matter of course everywhere, but in Spain the traveler who makes a trip from one interior city to another has an official going down the length of the railway carriage demanding his documents. We traveled with one of the comrades from Madrid to Barcelona, two cities well within the frontiers of the country, but we had scarcely got under way when a police official, accompanied as usual by the evil-looking Civil Guards, approached us and asked for our documents. My comrade's revolutionary "notoriety", (he has been arrested 29 times now!), gained us both the dubious honor of being accompanied all during the voyage by the agent, who kept pacing in front of our compartment till we reached Barcelona, casting the most suspicious glances at us all the while as though to prevent us from making the slightest move to disturb the law and order of the country from the vantage point of a train car. While representatives of the most reactionary section of the foreign bourgeoisie receive the undisturbed hospitality of the government, foreign Communists have not only been arrested, but, as in the case of some Communist members of the French Chamber of Deputies who came to Spain, have been transported to the border of Spain for deportation.

Under Primo de Rivera, practically every labor organization, regardless of its form or activity, was suppressed or declared illegal. The only exception to this rule was the Socialist party and its organizations, for the simple reason that the sanguinary dictatorship enjoyed the collaboration of no less a personage than Largo Caballero, party leader, secretary of the Socialist trade union center, and councillor of State under the monarchy. The advent of the republic has not brought about any appreciable change in this respect. The labor organizations exist at all as yet is due solely to the fact that the bourgeoisie, in forsaking the monarchy, was compelled to give a formal recognition to the militant labor organizations which had broken through the dictatorial repressions of Primo and of Berenguer in the months before the fall of the latter. But now the rights which the working class and peasantry gained for themselves by sheer force in the early moments of the republic are being cynically abolished by a reactionary bourgeoisie in power which is taking no chances on allowing the workers the democratic political rights which were originally promised them.

Legalizing An Organization

Under the republic today, all organizations, whether trade unions, political parties, chess clubs, sports associations or sewing circles, must "legalize" themselves if they have 19 members or more. The statutes of the organization must be presented in advance to the Director

new scheme to restore confidence and return prosperity. To the millions of unemployed workers, the government refuses the slightest aid. But to the financial oligarchy it is prepared to lend its entire machinery. As the cold-jester of American capitalism, WIN ROGERS, intimates: The government is always ready to help those who do not need it—those who do, the working class, will have to wrench it from them in the course of the struggle against capitalism for its eventual overthrow.

—H. STONE.

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General of Security (roughly, the equivalent of our police chiefs), or to the governor of the province, and if that worthy grants the required permission, a formal meeting is called eight days later at which the organization is formally constituted. At this meeting, two police officials must be present for the purpose of supervising the procedure and taking notes for their reports to their superiors. If the meeting formally approves the proposed statutes and the officials of the organization are elected, a report is then turned in to the "Seguridad", together with the names and records of every officer, and then—only then—is the organization "legal"; we hasten to add, providing all of this has been approved by the authorities. Every meeting, regardless of whether it is a public mass meeting or a closed business meeting of an organization, must receive the O. K. of the authorities before it can be held. A local trade union cannot call its own members together to discuss its internal affairs without permission from the "Seguridad" which also has the right (and exercises it) to send a detective and a uniformed policeman to attend the meeting for supervisory purposes and to make a report. Even the Socialist party, which has scores of representatives in the Cortes and three ministers in the cabinet, must apply for permission to hold a public or private meeting and have them attended by police! A regular branch meeting of the Madrid local of the Opposition which I attended was also graced by two plain clothes men, who made no secret of their business, listened to the proceedings with great attention and made copious notes. At both ends of the street on which the meeting place was located, were stationed four Civil Guards and two regular police—quite an escort of honor for the business meeting of the Madrid Opposition! The Russian Okhrana could do no better.

We have already had occasion to write about the Spanish court system in relation to workers. The abominations of "governmental detention", despised so heartily under Primo, are carried over today into the republic without the slightest change. And carried over mostly under the regime of the very men who fulminated so violently against the system when the dictatorship applied it. The outstanding example is Galarza, the Director-General of Security in Madrid; others, like Azana, the president, Prieto, the socialist minister, Domingo, "the man to the Left of the Left", could also be mentioned. Workers may (and are) still be arrested without charges placed against them. They can be held without either charges or being brought to trial. They can be kept in prison for years without "due process of law"—that is the system of "governmental detention". Just as the workers have not gained the real right to organization so little have they gained the right to strike. In 1926, Primo created the so-called "comités paritarios", or parity committees, which were composed of one representative of the workers, one of the employers and the "impartial" government chairman—compulsory for every industry. This scoundrelly law was elaborated and approved by his councillor of State, Caballero, and only the socialist unions (U. G. T.) and the Catholic unions approved it; the anarcho-syndicalist C. N. T. would have no part of it. These "parity committees", which virtually crippled the right to strike, are still in force today, at least to the extent that the workers recognize them.

The Government and Strikes

When the workers go out on strike in spite of the strangulating class collaboration committees, they meet with the violent, organized opposition of the government. The same people who today occupy some of the most important posts in the state once did all they could to foment strikes and disturbances under the monarchy; today they drown them in blood if necessary. During the famous national telephone strike of more than six months ago, directed at the American trust which holds the mono-

poly, the government and its Civil Guard were to be found exclusively on the side of the employers. In Madrid, the telephone exchange was completely occupied by the Civil Guard. Each scab repairman who went out, was accompanied on the truck by four Civil Guards, armed to the teeth and ready for business. The same story can be told about any other strike. Nor do they stop at "giving protection" to scabs. The instances are piling up when the Civil Guard has fired point blank at strikers, killing and wounding men and women and even little kids.

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

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

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

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

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

A Dictatorial Power

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

The result of the application of such a monstrous piece of ultra-reactionary legislation may well be imagined. The reactions of the workers and peasants to the law, of the workers and peasants who retained so many of their illusions in the "republicanism" of the bourgeoisie, are increasingly satisfactory from the revolutionary point of view. The bourgeoisie, by the adoption of this law and by its subsequent application, is manifestly on the offensive. It is aiming at the complete suppression of any independent working class movement, of reducing the proletarian and peasant movements to the subterranean, illegal level to which it was depressed under the rule of Alphonso and Primo de Rivera.

Even before this law—voted by the socialists and Catalonians as well as by the bourgeois parties!—but especially after it, the repression has been accentuated. Scores, perhaps hundreds of Communists, are in prison now. When I was in Barcelona, the editor of the C. N. T. daily paper, *Solidaridad Obrera*, the anarchist Felipe Alai, told me that in Barcelona alone there were more than 200 members of the C. N. T. imprisoned, and more than 1,000 throughout Spain. The number has undoubtedly increased since then, especially after the recent revolutionary events.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

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

CORRECTION

In the article by comrade Maurice Spector on Rosa Luxemburg, which appeared in the *Militant* of January 23, several unfortunate mistakes crept into the proof, which require rectification.

In the paragraph beginning with "The response of Rosa . . .", the sentence reading "When the character of the Russian revolution was debated at the London (1907) Congress of the Russian social democracy and Lenin defended the position of the Mensheviks (1), Rosa Luxemburg along with Lenin represented the viewpoint of the Bolsheviks . . ." should, of course, read: ". . . and Plekhanov defended the position of the Mensheviks, etc."

The sentence at the beginning of the last paragraph, should read: "German menshevism and the bourgeoisie had triumphed", not "has triumphed". —Ed.

CHICAGO OPEN FORUM

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

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

Resolution of Marxian Y.C.

The resolution below was passed unanimously at the Marxian Youth Club, on Sunday January 31. The reason for its issuance is evident from its contents.—Ed.

1. The Marxian Youth Club has received a letter from Weisbord making accusations against one of the former members of his organization who is now a member of the club.

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

3. We condemn this appeal to the capitalist courts as a violation of the ethics of the labor movement and as a far greater offense even than the one charged against the worker in question.

We demand that Weisbord withdraw his case from the capitalist court. Only by that can he gain the right to appeal to any workers' organization. When that is done, the Marxian Youth Club will consider the accusations and pass judgment on them.

—MARXIAN YOUTH CLUB