

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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N. Y. Dressmakers Strike

Workers Unity against the Common Enemy Imperative

In the New York dressmakers strike, now on, the crucial issue is that of working class unity. But it will be attained only with a policy based upon that objective. And so far the exact opposite is the case.

Every working class action constitutes part of the historical laboratory testing the program and policies of the revolutionary party. No evasion of fundamental duties, no emasculation or counterfeiting for these duties, however cleverly proposed, can circumvent this test. Its results will only be new confusion and strengthening of the enemy's hands. That completely holds true also in this instance in the needle trades market.

How do matters stand in this strike? Last Monday the Left wing, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, issued the call. Obviously that was in accord with the policy of the official Communist party leadership which controls the union. For some time the union under Right wing control, the International Ladies Garment Workers, has been preparing for a strike and has made such a decision with the actual date not yet set. This decision, of course, is the direct result of pressure from the rank and file leadership. In the center of the demands of all workers stands the abolition of the sweatshop, improvements of the standard of living, enforcement of the reduced work week, and insurance for the unemployed. These demands are made by the workers upon their common enemy.

The condition of two unions existing within the needle trades is not one originating today and cannot be changed at will. To that extent the workers are naturally and of necessity divided. But it is precisely because of this condition that the problem of working class unity has become the crucial issue. For this reason the only policy of the revolutionary party which can stand the test in this situation is the one which is founded upon the united front of all workers involved in the conflict. This policy, which, in other words, is a fundamental duty of the revolutionary party, the Stalinist leadership has constantly evaded. It has constantly followed the opposite direction. It has pursued a course which culminated in a complete emasculation of the united front policy, in the establishment of a counterfeit—the so-called United Front Committee—which does not at all proceed from the two unions as its base. It does not provide a bridge for unity in strike action of the two unions but rather a preventative. Therefore it must be said unequivocally that in the crucial issue of working class unity, the policy of the official party leadership completely fails the test.

There need be no illusion of the strike intentions of the Right wing union leadership. They have gone as far as they have only under pressure from below. All past experiences prove its treacherous role and fully justify the most severe indictment. It would be foolish to expect it to have reformed today. Within this union, the Lovestone group occupies a peculiar position, though one quite in accord with its general orientation. Does this group now demand from the I. L. G. W. that it immediately decide upon the strike date in common cause with the workers of the industrial union who are already out? Do they take up the fight for a united front of all the dressmakers within that union? There is no evidence of either. Despite all of their clamor of participating now in a progressive movement the fundamental fact remains that when they unconditionally returned to the folds of the Right wing controlled union, they deserted the Left wing and all it stands for.

It is a well known fact that the Right wing leadership have with every possible means resisted all efforts for a workers' united front. That they will continue to do so need not be doubted for one moment. But their views and policies are not determined by the revolutionary

party, nor is it responsible for them. Its responsibility rests exclusively with its own policies for which it must render an account to the working class as a whole.

It is true that the official party leadership has made progress from its one time position of the industrial union members staying at work while the members of the I. L. G. W. were out on the streets. But this progress is miserably small and far from sufficient in the present much more exacting situation. The requirements are much greater than that. The rank and file pressure for struggle has vastly increased. So much so that the Right wing officials are compelled to heed their demands.

But let us again recall the exact situation today. The workers of both unions are in a direct conflict with the common class enemy. It represents the immediately threatening danger. Its defeat is the common objective. Can that be accomplished separately at all, or are the possibilities better when united? Certainly the latter. Could the two unions, one following a Left wing policy, the other a Right wing policy, be completely united at once? Hardly. That will most likely proceed through several conflicts. But for the common strike objectives, for a practically identical set of demands and for the defeat of a common enemy, a united front could and should be established. There will be objectors, saying: the Right wing leadership are the out and out emissaries of capitalism. To this we answer: that is completely true, but how can these emissaries be defeated except by the unity of the workers. In a united front, the Left wing would, of course, not for one minute cease its criticism of nor its fight against these Right wing capitalist finkies.

If the Communists should not endeavor to unite workers who should? Does a call upon those workers in the I. L. G. W. to leave their established union bring unity? No, experience has shown that this is not the way. Another course must be found and the direction for that course is clearly indicated.

By far the largest section of the organized dressmakers are in the I. L. G.

OPEN FORUM

Lecture by

MAX SHACHTMAN

Imperialist Aggression in China—the Danger of War

at the

Labor Temple

14th Street and Second Avenue

Saturday, February 13, 1932

at 8 P. M.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION: 25 Cents

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

W. The N. T. W. I. U. is a minority; but the Left wing spirit is by no means crushed within the former. Yet it is a matter of two distinct organizations; two movements. In this situation, the party leadership can square its responsibility to the working class only by sincerely and genuinely fighting for a united front on the common strike objectives. A united front from organization to organization, from movement to movement. Concretely, it would mean to fight for a joint strike; for a joint strike leadership to jointly work out the demands for settlements. The party leadership should tell the workers in the shops who belong to the I. L. G. W. not to leave their organization, not to forsake it for a counterfeit institution but to fight within for a united front. Undoubtedly, it would produce a powerful and favorable echo. This is the way to defeat those who have designs of betrayal. Incidentally it will also be the way to re-establish the seriously damaged prestige of the Left wing.

This policy, the Left Opposition has repeatedly emphasized. It is the policy of Lenin. In this decisive moment, in the face of a serious conflict, it has become so much more imperative.

We call upon all the dressmakers to heed the strike call, as far as the Left Opposition members are concerned, they will strike with the Left wing.

—A. S.

Imperialists Meet at Geneva

French and Americans Wrangle for Lead in Struggle against U.S.S.R.

The imperialists are shuffling their cards once more at Geneva. Despite all the bourgeois press comment to the contrary, it appears, nevertheless, that the French proposals are the real trump. Wall Street statesmanship has always been known for its "pacifistic" for its "democratic" gestures. At the disarmament conference now in session, it runs true to form. The antipathy of the American delegation to the Tardieu offer is easily understood in this light.

In the general comment on the presentation of France's delegate, a great deal of attention was devoted to the complications in the problems of "eastern Europe". And it is not idle talk, as the bourgeois press feligns to believe, to say that the French proposals are directed in the first instance against the Soviet government and against an eventual upheaval of the German workers. One needs only to bear in mind the French applause of the Japanese actions in Northern Manchuria, the various diplomatic plots sponsored and initiated by Paris, to realize this.

It is not at all surprising to find Wall Street and American imperialism opposed to the French plans. An "international police force" under the control of the League of Nations, would inevitably have to act under the hegemony of Gallic imperialism. The French army is the strongest and best equipped military force in capitalist Europe. France is, of late, one of America's most powerful rivals. Wall Street can have no interest whatsoever in a compact European army under French direction. The same holds true for Great Britain, especially if we consider the recent financial obligations of that government to the United States bankers.

COMMON ACTION AMONG IMPERIALISTS

However, while we are disinclined to schematically outline a united imperialist front in advance, as the Stalinists do, it does remain important to point out the possibilities of common action among the robber governments in the event of a war against the European working class. While the Americans have not concealed

their discomfort and vexation in the face of Tardieu's proposals, the head of the Washington delegation, Ambassador Gibson, does find it possible to say in its name that it "is prepared to consider any form of military limitation and reduction which promises real progress toward a feeling of international security, protection against surprise", etc. It is clear that this statement is a reservation on the part of the Hoover regime with regard to the French proposals. And it will be remembered that the United States imperialists once before joined the European vultures in an attack on the U. S. S. R. That was in 1919, although the "Polar Bear" division of Wilson's troops was sent to Vladivostok without any definite instructions to cooperate with the other Western powers. One could hardly expect less from Hoover than from Wilson.

In liberal bourgeois circles, it is being said rather apathetically, that the current Geneva Conference will be the last before the next war. And, in view of the developments in the Far East and in central Europe it must be admitted that there is a great deal of truth in the contention. The Japanese in the Orient, who can hardly afford the all too costly extension of their Chinese looting expedition, proposed to the other powers, the demilitarization of the main Chinese ports, or in other words, a repartitioning of China. The Americans naturally find this Japanese design unacceptable. What they need most is a centralized China, to serve as a reliable market for the inflated American industries. All indications point, however, to some sort

of an agreement, between Tokio and Washington, on the one hand, and between Washington and the Quai d'Orsay, on the other.

It is quite indisputable that the most serious danger at present is that of a war against the working class of Germany and against the Soviet Union. As the political crisis develops, the oppressed masses of the Asian continent will look more and more to the European proletariat, for succor. Upon the leadership of the revolutionary European proletariat devolves a role of the foremost historic and world magnitude. To trifle now with a mocking intransigence toward the social democratic workers' organizations, to heedlessly overestimate the importance of the Red partisan movement in China, to subordinate everything today to the needs of the Five Year Plan alone, means to head for irreparable losses, to drive blindly towards an epoch-making defeat.

The working class of the world must be aroused to the danger facing it. Only international action on its part can save the Soviet Union, can keep the achievements of the heroic struggles of the Russian workers intact and carry them further, beyond the boundaries of the capitalist world. To do this, the possibility must be created to speak to the broadest sections of the masses. Every "little" mistake, every obstacle lightly put in the way of reaching the masses, is bound to prove extremely costly not only nationally, but internationally, not only for a year, but for a whole epoch.

—S. G.

Philadelphia Oppositionists Sentenced

Bulletin

Comrades Bernard Morgenstern and Leon Goodman, members of the Philadelphia Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) have been sentenced by Judge Reed of Philadelphia to ninety days imprisonment. They were found guilty of violating the notorious Flynn Sedition Act of the state of Pennsylvania. Comrades Morgenstern and Goodman were arrested a year ago for distributing leaflets issued by the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition), explaining the causes of unemployment and stating that the international proletarian revolution alone can bring a real solution to the misery called forth by the capitalist system.

The case of Morgenstern and Goodman has been most shamefully sabotaged by the Stalinist bureaucracy heading the International Labor Defense, who have not turned a finger for them and whose policy it has become, to defend only members of the Stalinist faction and not all working class prisoners, for which purpose the I. L. D. was originally founded. All workers, all revolutionists, all Communists must be aroused to this fact. The dangerous and criminal sabotaging policy of the Stalinists must be stopped, if the staunchest fighters of the

proletariat and all the workers with them are not to suffer the inevitably harmful consequences.

Comrades Morgenstern and Goodman will serve their term in prison. They have been sentenced for distribution of leaflets of the Left Opposition emphasizing to the working class that the final solution to the unemployment problem can be found only in the proletarian revolution. For its realization they are prepared to fight regardless of their incarceration in the capitalist bastilles. (Further news of the case will be found on page Two).

Com. Glotzer's National Tour

Our second national tour is about to start. Comrade Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) will speak at a series of meetings now being arranged throughout the country. Comrade Glotzer has just returned from a visit to comrade Trotsky. He spent about four weeks discussing with Lenin's closest co-worker some of the pressing problems of the world revolutionary movement today.

Comrade Glotzer was also fortunate in being able to get a first hand view of conditions now existing in Germany, England and France. An account of his impressions should be of extreme importance to American workers, particularly in view of coming decisive events in Germany. This will naturally be the subject of his lectures and contain an intimate account of comrade Trotsky's views on the threatening Fascist danger and the problems of Communism in Europe.

His subject will be: WHAT IS EUROPE HEADING FOR?

The following is the schedule for Glotzer's tour:

Boston, Mass. February 19
Montreal, Canada .. February 21
Toronto, Canada .. February 23-24
Buffalo, N. Y. February 25
Chicago, Ill. February 27-28
Other dates will follow.
The meeting for Glotzer in Montreal will be held at Universite Ouyriere, 85 East Craig St., Sunday evening, Feb. 21, 1932.

Three months subscription: \$0.50—a copy of either one of our 10c pamphlets. The International Communist Review will appear in 48 pages, bi-monthly in the beginning. The price per copy will be 15c, subscription will be \$1.50 for 12 issues and \$1.00 for 8 issues.

There will be no delay in preparations for its appearance. We count similarly on no delay in your response. Help us build the Left Opposition Press!

Is Trotsky's Life to be Kept in Danger?

The Daily Worker of January 8, 1932 reports a White Guard plot to assassinate Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs. In addition it quotes from a note sent by Krestinsky, acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, in which it says: "Our authorities have learned reliably that certain Russian emigres in Paris led by Miller, Dragmlov and Shatlov, were given orders to make an attempt on Litvinov's life. . . ."

That the White Guards are planning to murder a number of Russian revolutionists has been known for some time. The menace is imminent in the most direct and immediate sense. Several months ago, on October 22, 1931, the Rote Fahne, official organ of the Communist Party of Germany at Berlin, first exposed this plot, bringing news at the same time of a plan by the White

Guard emigre, Turkul, to murder Leon Trotsky, in his place of exile near Istanbul, Turkey.

The report which has reached the Daily Worker omits that part of the story printed in the Rote Fahne. We want to know, first of all: has the Daily Worker done this willfully, under instructions? Secondly, do Stalin and the Central leadership of the Russian party intend to content themselves with merely casting off the responsibility for an eventual murder of our comrade by the White Guards, as was apparent from the tenor of the Rote Fahne report? Thirdly, will the Stalinist leadership continue to sabotage the protection of comrade Trotsky despite the fact that it is they, as heads of the Soviet state who have discovered the plans of the White Guards? We demand an answer promptly.

The organizer of the October victory,

the first leader of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky, the comrade in arms of Lenin, is in danger of losing his life at the hands of White Guard murderers! Every further attempt to neglect precautionary measures against the would-be assassins, every attempt of the Stalinists to wash their hands of the whole matter will be interpreted only as assistance to the White Guards, as united action with them. The workers of the world will understand that full well.

Let every worker-Communist, every sincere revolutionary in the Communist Party of the U. S. A., demand an accounting of the leadership. The question must be posed to them sharply. What do they intend to do with Trotsky? Do they intend to leave him exposed to the daggers of a White Guard assassin? Is Stalin in a united front with Turkul?

Help Build Opposition Press!

When we launched our Expansion Program about this time a year ago one of the most important steps contemplated was the publication of The Militant as a weekly. It became a reality. But a serious extension of its circulation still remains ahead. Can we now ask the cooperation of all our comrades and supporters to take this up in earnest? We propose that all put their shoulder to the wheel and make a real effort during the coming three months: March, April and May. This is the time of our regular subscription drive.

Our weekly has appeared now without fail for some time seven months. Our readers, we are sure, fully appreciate this accomplishment. But what they may not appreciate so well, is the fact that it has been running on a mere shoe string.

This, however, has not affected its character in the least. On the contrary, we feel confident we can also say that the weekly appearance has increased its theoretical, its informative and its fighting quality. It has become a real source of additional strength to the Left Opposition. This is at it should be. The

press is the fighting instrument of the revolutionary movement. For the Left Opposition that holds doubly true. But it will only become that fully when it reaches to the farthest corners of its field, when it reaches every live, thinking, militant worker. This is what we aim to make our immediate task.

With our newest addition to come, announced in our previous issue, that is with the addition of a theoretical organ,

The International Communist Review, this task should become considerably facilitated. First, because it will make possible further improvements of The Militant. It will become a means of seriously broadening its appeal and give its character a more popular touch. It will enable us to further consolidate our position.

Will our supporters assist us in this task? Will they help build the Left Op-

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Pay Reduction in the Building Trades

A Blow at the Workers' Standard Throughout All the Trades

The wage cut drive in the building industry now initiated in several large cities simultaneously reveals a concerted plan of action. In the cities of New York and Chicago alone the demanded 25% cut will involve more than 200,000 workers. But the objective is a far greater one. The objective is to strike at this section of "privileged" workers, to more effectively pave the way for the reduction of the workers' standard throughout. A devilishly well fitting complement to the much heralded Hoover Home Building Program.

The Building Trades Employers' Association hardly awaited a reply to their proposed wage cut, it immediately became a virtual ultimatum. It was practically offered as: "Take it or leave it." In this they counted on the effective assistance of the lashing whip of unemployment.

The extent of the increasing tempo of wage-reductions recently applied can very well be understood from the late reports made by the Department of Labor. Up to September 15, when the U. S. Steel Corporation took over leadership in wage reductions, there had been during 1931, 2,257 cuts involving 315,229 workers. In the ensuing two months alone there were 1,074 reductions, involving 290,082 workers.

With this ultimatum the wage cut drive is carried into the very centre of the A. F. of L. unions. For among the exclusive craft union make-up of the A. F. of L., the building trades still constitute the actual backbone. But it is also this exclusiveness of craft organization and craft ideology, terribly antiquated in conditions of modern class relations, which spells the greatest handicap to these unions.

What will be the answer of the Building Trades Unions to this ultimatum? Will they resist? It should be clear that failure to resist at the outset will soon start them on the toboggan slide with one wage cut following another. William Green and his A. F. of L. hierarchy have repeatedly made grandiose declarations that the unions will resist wage cuts. Now the A. F. of L. backbone faces the test. But there are no indications that this leadership will back up its declaration with preparation for action. The Chicago union leadership has already offered a compromise. This is how much the grandiose declarations of Bill Green and his hierarchy mean.

For public consumption the employers have for some time held up in horror the example of the high wages in the building industry. The fact, however, that employment is extremely seasonal, that the building trades worker manages to keep a job only a few months out of the year is never mentioned. Though now glib promises are being made that a wage-reduction will increase building and thus increase the jobs. Yet it is well-known fact that the amount of building to be done does not at all depend upon the wage level of the workers in that industry. As one example we may cite the instances of cities where building trades wages have remained low, or where cuts have been accepted,

that did not bring an increase in building. As a second instance it is well to remind building trades workers that the present crisis has already seriously diminished building requirements; and with a general reduction of the working class standard of living one could not at all expect an increase in residential buildings. Thus wage reductions will rather react in the reverse of the promises made.

Within the building trades unions the corrupt practice of business unionism flourishes. The miserable incompetence of the leadership stands out glaringly. A host of useless petty grafting-business agents has infested these unions with the general result that the organized position is today very seriously weakened. The power of the organization is not at all maintained on the job. Workers find employment today in practically every instance only by accepting a wage considerably below the official scale. Some unsuspecting worker might think that it would be better to reduce the official wage scale to the level of what is actually being paid—and this is a quite widespread belief. They forget, however, that the minute a cut of the official scale is accepted it will be as much reflected in the wage actually paid. That will be immediately cut further also.

Thus the wage cut ultimatum looms as a real problem before the building trades unions. Added to this is the present heavy scourge of unemployment. Meek submission to the employers' demands cannot at all solve the problem but only aggravate it. It can only result in a further reduction of the workingman's standard. An aggressive attitude is necessary. The unions do not face a question of maintaining what is being charged to be a high wage scale but of maintaining a bare possibility of existence. Acceptance of a wage cut can never bring relief to the workers either for their maintenance of a standard nor for the problem of unemployment. To find a solution for these problems it is first of all necessary to prepare well to

utilize all the power of the organization to resist the attack, to resist the wage cut. Secondly, it becomes necessary to give serious consideration to the reduction of the workday so as to actually help relieve the unemployment situation. This is where the six hour work day without reduction of pay should be particularly

considered. The building trades workers unions today constitute the backbone of the organized labor movement. As such they should show the lead in resisting the general attacks upon the workers' standard of living.

—A. S.

Morgenstern and Goodman Sentenced

A Letter from the Two Philadelphia Defendants

Moyamensing Prison
Philadelphia, Pa.
Monday, Feb. 8, 1932

Dear Comrades:

This is our answer to Judge Reed: "We are members of the C. L. of A. (O.) We fight under the banner held high by comrade Trotsky. We are Communists, not for a moment have we been fooled by the trickery of the court's legalistic tinting.

"We are not here as criminals. Nor as repentant sinners. It is a year since we were arrested for daring to tell the workers the cause of their misery and for urging them to struggle unitedly against worsening conditions. Has capitalism solved any of the crying contradictions of society? Have not conditions grown worse for the masses of people? For this you will suppress us. What matters your vaunted civil rights? For us—civil terror, but that solves nothing. Nor can the cancer of capitalism be eliminated under capitalism. Only the proletarian revolution can do that.

"Your sentence shows that it is you who stand in fear of us. It is not we who are afraid. High indeed would rise the wrath of the workers against the arbitrary repression against us revolutionists, were it not for the sabotage of stupid and corrupt bureaucrats put in charge of working class organizations.

"We are here as fighters of your starvation system, not as criminals. Your class has grown rich and powerful on our poverty and degradation; has flourished on the blood and tears of the working class. For wanting to change all this; for our struggle to overthrow

capitalism, to emancipate society from human slavery and to build a Communist society where exploitation and hunger no longer exist, you persecute us. Your verdict we can only accept as a verdict of capitalist class justice. Today you pick us out because you think us small and weak. Tomorrow you will stretch further—to every brave voice of working class freedom. You jail us; you can never jail the ideas we stand for. The day will soon be here when your whole system, already doomed, will stand before the bar of proletarian justice.

HAIL THE REVOLUTION!

(Signed) Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgenstern

This is the first opportunity we have had to write and we hasten to do so. Judge Reed who passed sentence on us for violation of the State's notorious Flynn Sedition Act gave us ninety days in Moyamensing. This is as "punishment", he said, for teaching the overthrow of capitalism. The lawyers filed appeal to the Supreme Court. Bail has not yet been furnished.

We were very fortunate to be placed in the same cell. There are about 45 party members and party sympathizers in the same prison. Forty of them are here for resisting an eviction. Our two hour period in the prison yard permits us to fraternize with the other comrades.

This despite the I. L. D.'s sabotage of our defense and the vituperation against us.

With Red greetings to all our comrades,

L. GOODMAN.

B. MORGENSTERN.

R.R. Fakers & Bosses Join Hands

To Improve The Health of «Our» Industry

Messages of congratulation and praise were today pouring in on the leading lights in the drama successfully enacted at Chicago, Feb. 1st, to "voluntarily" cut \$215,000,000 from the rail workers' pay checks and give it to the coupon clippers. The plot in the drama contains both comedy and tragedy. The comic part consisted of the farcical pretensions on the part of the labor spokesmen, headed by D. R. Robertson, to fight the wage cut. The tragic part of the seventeen day Chicago show was the added sacrifice and suffering it brought to the railroad workers for the benefit of the parasites who live on the labor of others.

The 17 day Chicago wage conference, which began on Jan. 14th, and ended on Feb. 1st, was merely a farcical display of controversy to fool the railroad workers into believing that their leaders were putting up a real fight against the wage slash. We maintain that those who spoke for the railroads at the conference and also those who were supposed to speak for labor, all knew what the outcome of the conference would be and this was also quite clearly set forth in the daily press reports released on the day the conference opened. One United Press report dated at Chicago, Jan. 14th, under the following headline, reads in part as follows:

"Union Chiefs and Presidents Seek to Provide Work for 700,000 Through 10 Per Cent Wage Cut".

"Chicago, Jan. 14 (UP)—Capital and labor sat down across a conference table today determined to provide dividends for rail investors and work for unemployed rail men."

"The decision expected was a 10 per cent general wage cut for union workers. This will save the railroads \$250,000,000, sufficient to meet interest requirements and provide work for many of the industry's 700,000 jobless."

"Two white-haired leaders, each long in the service of the railroads, led the conference groups. These were Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio road, chairman of the presidents'

group, and David B. Robertson, union chairman."

"Both Robertson and Willard were optimistic that an agreement would be reached."

Up to this date no one has explained how this \$250,000,000 wage cut is going to furnish work for 700,000 jobless railroad workers. But of course, the conference was not held to get anything for the workers; it was held for the special benefit of bond and stock holders. And organized capitalists were jubilant over the outcome, although they knew it in advance, because it netted them \$215,000,000 more profit taken from the meager earnings of the workers.

Labor Bureaucrats Play the Role of Puppets

Even by reading, the daily press reports, a worker could learn that the Chicago railroad wage conference was nothing but a mock drama where the \$15,000 a year labor officials played the part of that many puppets sitting on the knees of the railroad officials. And for the readers' benefit we will again quote a few excerpts from a press report appearing in one of the big dailies dated Chicago, Feb. 1st:

"The final scene, enacted in the conference room of a loop hotel, climaxed 17 days of negotiations that were without precedent in the history of all railroad relations. Never before had the two factions pooled their efforts to solve a problem of like nature or magnitude." "As labor made the decision known, its chief, David Brown Robertson, gave emphasis to the reason for the concession."

Now Listen to "Davy"

"In the hope that our action," he said "may improve the health" of our industry, may improve the relations of management and employees, may stimulate revival of business and advance general welfare, we have decided to accept the proposal."

Brother railroad workers, we will ask you to read the above press quotation from Robertson for several reasons. He was the chairman of that bunch of "chiefs" which is supposed to look after the interests of railroad labor. David, whom Edward Keating, the editor of *Labor*, affectionately calls Davy, is a high-priced labor "spokesman". The poor and hard-working locomotive firemen pay Davy \$15,000 a year and expenses. Now Davy, together with the other twenty chiefs, decides to take \$215,000,000 from the pay envelopes of the workers and give it to the owners of railroad stocks and bonds to "improve the health of our industry". Mind you, Davy speaks of the railroads as "our industry". The lowly part of the jobless and part-time workers in "our industry" does not seem to bother him much, if we are to judge from the way this wage movement was handled from beginning to end. Davy also states that the wage cut was accepted so that it "may improve the relations of management and employees". You section men and other part-time and poorly paid workers please note. However, don't take it too seriously, because what Mr. Robertson really means is, the relationship between the railroad and brotherhood officials. We will quote below Mr. Willard's statement to the press after the conclusion of the conference, where he joins with Robertson in his hope and wish. The difference is that Dan Willard speaks for the real directors of the show. We quote from the same press report from which we quoted "Davy":

"Dan" Joins with "Davy"

"With you, we indulge in the hope, the result of this conference may tend to improve relations between railway management and employees, and also tend to stimulate the revival of business and promote the general welfare."

Note the above paragraph carefully; note that the spokesmen of both groups at the wage conference join in the same wish, namely, that the result of the conference may increase the profit of the railroads at the expense of the workers. That is exactly what their joint wish and hope amounts to, when boiled down to actual facts.

Brother railroad workers, the whole thing is but another act added to the long string of betrayals by the brotherhood bureaucrats whose high salaries place them far closer to Willard and his group than to the workers whom they are supposed to represent. That is exactly why the two groups cast their joint support to the railroads. The brotherhood "chiefs" never did a thing to organize or mobilize the railroad workers for united action against the wage cut which was looming on the industrial horizon for the past year or more. These over-paid drones have never stirred to organize the motor transport workers. Instead of organizing the bus and truck drivers they engage in the foolish business of trying to put restrictions on their operations, thinking that this will please the railroads.

\$15,000 a year labor officials like Robertson and his kind will never organize the workers nor lead them anywhere but to defeat. The fake wage conference at Chicago is but cumulative evidence of this. A minority movement must be organized and developed in the brotherhoods to help the membership not only to drive these misleaders from office, but to drive them from the labor movement in disgrace.

(To be continued)

—WORKER CORRESPONDENT.

—A. E.

The Minneapolis Branch of the Left Opposition in the Fight for the Unemployed

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

As we go to press, six workers are on trial before Judge Carroll for participating in the unemployed meeting at Bridge Square on February 4th. About 50 policemen, according to the capitalist press, on the orders of Mayor Anderson, charged about two thousand workers assembled to hear the speakers. A magnificent resistance was put up by the crowd which laid low and sent to the hospital 4 policemen, although the latter were armed with murderous saps and blackjacks. Working women were especially prominent in the fight, kicking, scratching and breaking lath posters over the heads of the cops. A dozen or more

comrades and sympathizers sustained wounds and one comrade is in danger of losing an eye from a vicious attack at the hands of a cowardly cop with a sap.

The *Daily Worker* of January 9, 1932 carries a viciously slanderous attack against our comrades, inventing a story about Oppositionists beating up a party comrade. The whole story is just one more despicable Stalinist lie, unfounded and without any actual basis. The remarks concerning the "counter-revolutionary" leaflet can be judged for what they are worth from what follows.

Below is the leaflet issued by the Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League calling for a united defense movement for the arrested and for a Free Speech Conference.

STATEMENT:

SAVE FEBRUARY 4th VICTIMS

Mayor Anderson has again shown his true colors! On February 4th, he ordered his police, armed with saps, to crack the skulls of a peaceful meeting of unemployed workers at Bridge Square. The meeting was called by the Minneapolis Unemployed Council to discuss the present crisis and to propose a solution.

The brutal attack of the police is an attempt to take away an elementary right, hard-won in many struggles. And no one can deny that the Farmer-Labor Mayor was elected over the Republican Kunze on the promise (now violated) of free assembly for workers and adequate relief for the unemployed. A year ago, when our headquarters were raided and closed by Kunze's police, Anderson, then prospective candidate for office, volunteered to defend the right of free speech and assembly in court. Can we now take seriously the Mayor's excuse of traffic hazards? Shriners, Templars, or any capitalist movement get the Square—or any public street—without

question. Our Mayor had 50 police break up a peaceful meeting; but none to direct traffic and protect the meeting.

THE MAYOR IS HIDING SOMETHING! He does not tell us that the Rands, the Deckers, the Pillsburys who control the relief funds and city budget dictate to the "Farmer-Labor" Mayor to cut relief to the bone, to cut the wages of city employees, etc. THEY WANT NO PUBLIC CRITICISM OR PROTEST ON THE PART OF THE WORKERS. Anderson does their bidding. On February 4th, he came out in the open as the YES-MAN OF THE EMPLOYERS. He proposes to relieve unemployment by slugging the unemployed.

Thousands of workers, enthusiastic for the "Labor" candidate, reproached the Communists for "splitting the labor ticket" in putting forward a Communist worker for Mayor. The Communists predicted that Mr. Anderson's middle-class reformism could give no benefits to the workers, but only serve the bosses. Only through organization, they said, can workers gain. This prophecy is now fulfilled.

Three women and three men face jail sentences for challenging the right of Mayor Anderson to forcefully break up a peaceful meeting. Their conviction, to any thinking worker, questions the right of any body of workers to meet and carry on business. The fight for Unemployment Insurance and immediate relief must go on. An effective fight can only be carried on by winning back the workers' right to meet and express themselves.

This latest attack of the bosses must be combatted by a determined united defense movement. The defendants, members of various labor organizations (A. F. of L. Unions, Unemployment Councils, I. L. D., Communist Party, as

Tampa Tobacco Workers Struggle

Florida, winter playground of the bourgeoisie, is the latest scene of capitalist oppression against the workers.

On November 7th the workers of Tampa gathered to honor the memory of Lenin at the Ybor City Labor Temple. The meeting was well attended. A majority of those attending were tobacco workers who responded to the call of the Tobacco Workers Industrial Union. The meeting was running to a successful conclusion when the doors were suddenly burst open and a cordon of police aided by American Legion thugs rushed into the hall clubbing and terrorizing those present. During the melee a shot was fired and a policeman dropped. Fifteen workers were arrested.

To try these fifteen workers, a labor-hating jury was judiciously picked. The verdict from these twelve good (to their masters) men and true (to their class) was never in doubt. The workers behaved staunchly in the court room. They showed the entire proceedings from the raid to the trial to be engineered by the Tampa Tobacco Manufacturers Association. They called upon the workers to defend their union and to pay no

heed to the efforts at "red baiting" of the manufacturers' hirelings.

For this these workers have just been sentenced to from one to ten years in the penitentiary. A new trial has been denied them. But the workers of Tampa are not discouraged. These workers of Florida have shown that they can take it—in a revolutionary way. MacDonald, one of the workers arrested and now in prison, writes: "The concerted efforts of . . . capitalist henchmen with all their mass arrests, lockouts, clubbings, evictions and coercion have not shaken in the least the solidarity of the Tampa Tobacco Workers. On the contrary, the solidarity of the workers has been fused in the struggle and they stand today more determined than ever to stand shoulder to shoulder in their fight for decent working and living conditions."

The struggle of the Florida tobacco workers is our struggle. This new capitalist frame-up carried to its conclusion, again lends emphasis to the imperative necessity of class unity from coast to coast and from border to border to defend the elementary right of free speech for the working class.

well as unorganized) must not be left to the mercy of the capitalist court. The Citizens' Alliance is anxious to convert this case into a threat to anybody who raises his voice against starvation.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) calls for the unity of all labor organizations, regardless of race, creed or political belief, to rally behind the defendants and the International Labor Defense, now handling the case. The Communist League itself, recognizing the need for workers' solidarity, unhesitatingly throws its lot in with the defendants and will utilize all its resources in their behalf. A FREE SPEECH CONFERENCE should be called immediately to organize the fight.

We place our organization at the disposal of the defense committee, and will carry out any work assigned us for saving these workers from capitalist class vengeance.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
(OPPOSITION)
Minneapolis Branch

Evictions

In European countries the scene is common enough. But in plutocratic America, the scene comes as a refreshing experience to a revolutionist. We refer to the rent strike carried on with militant enthusiasm in the Bronx, New York. Hundreds of windows of a half dozen scattered apartment houses carry stickers announcing the tenants within on strike.

They are striking against the exorbitant rents—rents which have not come down an iota since the so-called prosperity days. They are striking for those modern conveniences which even a much reduced rental entitles them to have. They are striking against a landlord who doesn't want them "damn Communist tenants" anyway. They are striking against a Socialist landlord . . . who wants "to see blood" before he gives in. And blood he has seen. On Monday, the pig-faced marshall came with a squadron of police and detectives and three families were evicted. Among these were a family with a sick child. The worker-tenants fought valiantly.

As the misery of the workers increases, rent strikes will become a more and more common feature in New York. The committee in charge of the strike is to be commended for its insistence as part of the strike settlement, the recognition of the house committee. These house committees can and must become house nuclei.

The rent strikes must be spread to poorer districts of the city. The party has initiated these strikes in a neighborhood where they are numerically strong. (The party co-operative houses are in the immediate neighborhood). The rent strikes must be spread. They must be more widely organized. They must be made a powerful lever to aid those for whom they were originally intended—the poor proletariat of the entire country.

—WORKER CORRESPONDENT.

The Annual Heresy Trial

Almost a year ago, the party held a mass trial here in New York to show the workers—that "the Communist party will not tolerate any trace of white chauvinism within its ranks."

The sacrificial lamb in that case was August Yokinen, a Finn, who had uttered expressions of anti-Negro bias. In a lynching atmosphere, the high priests, Hathaway and Moore, the prosecuting and defense attorneys, together offered up Yokinen to cover the failure of the party leadership to educate the party rank and file against anti-Negro prejudices. Yokinen was expelled. Immediately afterwards he was arrested by the vultures of the labor department and held for deportation. The party was forced to launch a movement to demand his release. Contrary to the expectations of Hathaway et al, this spectacle did not eradicate white chauvinism from the revolutionary movement. From time to time the *Daily Worker* has reported its manifestations.

The latest took place in N. T. W. I. U. A worker in the needle trades, Burns, has been accused of white chauvinism. A mass trial was ordered. It took place on Feb. 7th in the same hall in which Yokinen was read out of the party. In place of Hathaway as prosecuting attorney we had the notorious bureaucrat Ben Gold; in place of Moore, Alexander. The faces, the actors were different but the farce was the same. Gold spoke first. He made two points: he admitted, in anticipating the argument of the defense, that the leadership of the union was at fault in "not fighting insistently against white chauvinism", but held it necessary to make an example of Burns to prove to the Negro masses that the union really means to unite the masses and wipe out white chauvinism. He asked for Burns' expulsion from the union.

Alexander jesuitically argued that Burns was guilty but that his guilt was as enormous nor as horrendous as Shylock-Gold had made it out to be. Alexander, following Moore's line of a year before almost word for word, described Burns as a victim of capitalist class ideology and of the leadership of the union which should have fought in the ranks of the union against "this poison". He proposed in place of expulsion, a period of probation in which Burns was to be assigned special work:

in the coming strike he is to be in the forefront of the workers' defense corps against the gangster attacks; he is to bring into the union an unstated number of Negro workers, and he is to sell a certain number of *Liberators*.

Then Burns took the floor to make a statement of denunciation. In Yokinen they had a meek lamb who agreed that he was all they said about him. But in Burns they caught a Tartar. Until he spoke, it was not clear what the specific charges against him were. It appears that Burns and a Negro organizer got into a personal dispute over a typewriter in the office of the union; that they had heated words, freely insulting each other which, by a process familiar to Stalinists, passed into blows!

With unconscious poetic justice Burns called Gold, Mr. Gold, accused him of discrimination in bringing only him to trial, criticized him and his fellow bureaucrats for not instructing him in what was white chauvinism and race hatred. He also accused the *Daily Worker* of exaggerating his statements. It was remarkable that the hundreds of party members and sympathizers in the hall took this last charge as a matter of course. It was obvious that they were aware of the *Daily's* policy of exaggeration.

Burns' statement was really, though not intentionally, a terrific indictment of the bureaucracy in the union. Not all of Gold's demagoguery in rebuttal could cover this up. The blows Burns dealt were too telling. The workers' jury brought in a verdict of guilty with a recommendation of probation with assigned tasks. Gold's plea for expulsion was refused.

This is a good sign. It demonstrated that the Stalinists can't always get away with such raw frame-ups. In our opinion, they should have brought in a recommendation to expel Gold from the union and along with him his fellow bureaucrats. Spectacles such as this do not and cannot eradicate racial prejudices. What is needed is, as the *Militant* remarked on March 1st, 1931, apropos of the Yokinen trial, "Education—an atmosphere free from demagoguery, hypocrisy and incitement; an atmosphere created by teachers of the proletariat, not by terrorizers."

—T. STAMM.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

German Opposition Forges Ahead

Growing Sentiment for a United Struggle against Fascism

Very encouraging processes are taking place in the labor movement today. In the factories, in the trade unions, in the non-party proletarian organizations, a powerful impulsion toward a united front is furrowing a path for itself after a long period of marking time. Skeptical over the ability of their leaders to establish the united front of their class, the workers in the factories are beginning to set up a united front from below force a united front upon their leaders.

The decision of the Berlin Gas Workers is of great significance in this respect. The factory councilmen of these workers are recognizing the seriousness of the situation at the present perilous hour, expressed in the program of the Nazis to transform Germany into a bloody dictatorship and felt by the workers of the gas works and by the working class as a whole. The workers' council has issued an appeal to the leaders of all parties, to do everything in their power to establish a united front of all the workers. The workers' council will undertake all the necessary steps, to create and assure the united front of all the workers.

The functionaries of the Berlin Shoe Workers Union have adopted a resolution: all proletarian parties are to enter into a united front, committees of action are to be formed, etc.

The S. A. P. workers are obliging their leaders to take the path toward a united front. They demand a united front with the C. P. G. From the *Rote Fahne* of January 5, we can glean that pressure for a united front has also been brought by the party organizations in Wurttemberg, Saxony, etc. These phenomena show, that despite all obstacles, despite all difficulties, the working class itself is beginning to realize the united front.

What is the party leadership doing? Instead of supporting the first real steps towards the creation of a united front coming from the factories, instead of leading them into revolutionary channels, it casts suspicion upon the workers in the factories with such accusations as the following: The S. P. G. factory councilmen only want a united front in order to harness the working class for the policy of betrayal promulgated by Wels. For that reason, the C. P. G. cannot participate in the united front and that is why only the "red united front" remains. The party leadership

rejects common action, not only with the S. P. G., but with the S. A. P. (the new centrist Socialist Labor Party) as well. Every worker is expected to accept the leadership of the C. P. G. in advance as the one chosen leadership of the working class.

By tearing themselves loose from the S. P. G., by realizing that only through the dictatorship of the proletariat will they achieve socialism, the workers have brought an expression for the fact that they have entered the terrain of revolutionary class struggle. By the creation of the S. A. P. they have announced in advance that they have no confidence in the present leadership of the C. P. G. And it is precisely the policy of the present leadership of the Communist party that forces them to have a party of their own, to nourish their illusions with the policy of certain leaders of their party, namely, that it is necessary to create a new Communist party since the one that exists cannot change its policy. What does the C. P. G. leadership tell these workers? With your organization we cannot have a united front since your leaders are only "Left wing social fascists." You must destroy your organization and enter the C. P. G.! Only in this way will the real united front of a proletariat, i. e., the "red united front" be realized.

The present party leadership, which alone bears the responsibility for the fact that these workers who have torn themselves from the S. P. G. have not come directly to the Communist party, which is doing everything to hold them back from that at present, believes that the S. A. P. workers will immediately follow their call and destroy their own party.

Really, the Communist party has never pursued such a light-headed, irresponsible and criminal policy in all of its existence.

If the "iron front" signifies betrayal of the working class, then the policy of the "red united front" signifies sabotage of a united struggle of the working class. This is the opinion of millions of German workers regardless of their party affiliations. Not to take cognizance of this correct class instinct means to work consciously along the lines of a defeat. And it is precisely this that the present day leadership of the party is doing.

Because the Left Opposition condemns

this policy of the party leadership which is bound to culminate in a bloody defeat of the German proletariat with all the necessary sharpness, the party functionaries, in their press, daily pour their pails of refuse and slander out against them. The *Rote Fahne* of January 8th writes that comrade Trotsky has landed on the position of Noske and Grzesinski. The editors of the *Rote Fahne*, for whom their jobs are more important than anything else and for whom the revolution is merely a phrase, are great heroes when it comes to fighting with despicable methods against the Left Opposition, but when it is a question of the slightest activity on the part of the class enemy, they fall into the greatest panic.

It is not intransigence in principle that cause them to reject a united front with S. P. G. and S. A. P., but political helplessness and the simple fear of being overpowered by the opposing parties in a united front.

The fact that the *Rote Fahne* of January 5th must occupy itself with the "Trotskyites", with the "vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie", proves how deeply the ideas of the Left Opposition are penetrating into the party. In the party, a process is taking

place on the basis of the sentiments in the factories, which will have the effect of negating the policy of the leadership. It has become a fact that even the followers of the R. G. O. (the red trade union Opposition), are not prepared to continue along the lines of the party leadership. The partial strikes, carried out on command, lead to great sacrifices for the Communists in the factories, without in any way strengthening the influence of the party therein and on the contrary, causing its further enfeeblement. The *Rote Fahne* of January 5th reports that in Wurttemberg, Saxony, Berlin, the Ruhr, etc., there exist opportunist deviations. These are phenomena which were hardly possible several months ago. It is undoubtedly, the more strongly the desire for a united front makes its appearance in the ranks, the harder it will become for the Communists in the factories to carry out the policies of the party leadership. They will inevitably come into contradiction with the party leadership.

It is the task of the Left Opposition to follow up this process in the party with the greatest attentiveness. It is necessary to cause those party comrades who are already beginning to understand that the policy of Thaelmann and Remmele is leading the party to a precipice, to take further steps on the path of the reconstruction of the party, to organize them into a firm faction. Therein lies the only guarantee for victory in the decisive struggle for the Communist party.

—PERMANENTE REVOLUTION.

(January 15, 1932)

Reactionary Policies and the Working Class Movement in Spain

The government of the republic constantly threatens the people with fantastic and imaginary dangers which, according to it, endanger the republic, and which each time are increasingly imminent. Those responsible for these dangers are those who carry on acts characterized by violence against public peace and order. This naturally is the language used by those who under the government have shut off the voice of the people and above all, the voice of the proletariat, when this voice has asked for the fulfillment of the promises which the same government made before proclaiming the republican regime. This language is used to justify the repressive actions of the state power against the people.

The republican government of Spain leans ever further toward an essentially reactionary policy: social-democracy, collaboration with the present government constitute the false mask of official democracy, in reality a hypocritical reaction. The constitution with which the Constituent Assembly has endowed the "defense of the republic", was already a reactionary and retrogressive constitution, outmoded and anti-democratic at bottom, even from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie. If we add to this constitution and to this law for the defense of the republic the shameful

declaration of Azana, when he took over the presidency of the government, that stupid and reactionary phrase, "the republic will make itself respected, and if not, then feared"; if we take into account the mildness and consideration with which the government has proceeded against the reactionary religious orders, there will be nothing to surprise us in the repressive policy which is being carried out today.

It is said that the religious orders will be subjected to a special law, to shut the mouths of the working classes who demand the immediate expulsion of the Jesuits, the friars and the monks from the country, but this law has not yet been passed; another law was passed and approved, to shut the mouths of the proletariat, to crush the rebelliousness of the working masses who were clamoring for bread and justice. The law for the defense of the republic was approved against the wishes of the people and in order to crush the people. The Civil Guard has been charged with making "respected" the law passed and promulgated by those who placed among the first of their demands the "dissolution of the disastrous Civil Guard" when they were conspirators.

The recent and present struggles of the workers are openly and frankly struggles for the dissolution of the Civil Guard. Here is where the government has exposed its truly reactionary and repressive character, defending the murders perpetrated by the Civil Guard, protecting and defending what its members had characterized as a "fatal body".

The very laws of the republic, these same reactionary laws, are violated and trampled on, do not employ the respect of the government itself. The law on individual liberty is a ridiculous lie. Today men are thrown into jail without taking the least account of this liberty, and the government behaves in social and political conflicts as in the best period of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and Berenguer.

"The Law for the Defense of the Republic"

The law for the defense of the republic was aimed exclusively at the working-class revolutionary movement. The social democracy, which sees in the working class revolutionists its most direct enemy, has taken the most direct and persistent part in the framing of this law.

The working-class movements, past and present, against this brutal repression have had the defect of being purely spontaneous and lacking in leadership. We have seen workers defend themselves—Communists, anarchists, syndicalists, socialists and non-party men—forming a compact bloc, but the united front of the leadership has not been realized, because the leaders have not wanted it. There has not even been created a real political united front, no orientation has been given to these proletarian movements.

The C. N. T. has not seen these events; its leaders were occupied with sterile internal discussions, and divided into two groups, the "pure" syndicalists and the anarchists, likewise "pure". This division has paralyzed the activity of the C. N. T.

The official Communist party has not seen them, as it has not seen the need for correct Bolshevik tactics. It has not known how to take advantage of this situation, which was developing favorably for our conquest of the masses. The Spanish Stalinists, the same who on the day of the proclamation of the republic launched the slogan, "Down with the bourgeois republic!", today, when the working class needs to be orientated and guided in its struggle with the Civil Guard and with reaction, cannot find the appropriate slogan, but launch a far different one, contradicting themselves, mutilating their own slogans, disorientating the masses who need the most absolute simplifications of the problem.

The Workers' Solution

The solution lies in the united front of the proletariat, but in a real and self-respecting united front, not in the united front and the maneuver which the official party proposes.

The dangers which threaten the republic—the government itself protects and defend them, by betraying its own promise. We say "its promise", because we believe that the republican government has not betrayed the people, as anarchists and Stalinists preach, which would mean believing that the republicans could fulfill a promise, which they have not fulfilled when in reality the republican government arrived for the purpose of defending the interests of capitalism against the attack of the proletariat.

There is therefore nothing strange in the activities of the government. It is accomplishing its historical mission. This is how the working class must approach the problem, to give it a correct solution.

Madrid, Jan. 10, 1932

—HENRI LACROIX.

THE SPLIT IN THE BRANDLER GROUP

On January 12, a number of the leading founders and spokesmen of the German Brandler group were expelled by the Brandler-Thalheimer majority for their policy towards the newly-formed wing of the social democracy, the Socialist Labor party (S. A. P.) of Seydewitz and Co. The expelled leaders include such people as Walcher, Froelich, Koehler, Rose Wolfstein, Enderle, Karl Frank, Thomas and many others. The expulsions, which are tantamount to a split, mark a new stage in the development of the central and strongest section of the international Right wing faction.

The Walcher-Froelich group stood up on the ground of virtually liquidating the Brandler organization and merging with the social democratic Centrists grouped around Seydewitz. In other words, they planned to eliminate even the last nominal pretense to Communism which is still hung out on the signboard of the Brandler-Lovestone-Roy international. The dissidents have already held confidential meetings with the Seydewitz leaders and their formal entry into the Socialist Labor party is merely a matter of arranging the details. In fact, by this writing, the marriage has probably already been consummated.

When the Right wing first took shape in the Communist International, the Bolshevik-Leninists constituting the Marxian section of Communism declared that the

wants France to grant concessions.

France whose little clients and valets (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium) are agitated by unrest, raises her head and makes believe that she has no one to depend on except herself, that is to say, upon her "rights", upon her cannon. Under these conditions, Fascist Italy, whose economy is in a state of full-fledged internal decomposition, attempts grand gestures which are commented favorably in the entire imperialist French press: it is necessary to establish a "united front" of the European creditors against the U. S. Thus we are witnessing a transformation in a double sense: on the one hand, American pressure accentuates the rivalries and the dissensions among the European imperialisms and on the other hand the self same pressure obliges them to attempt common efforts with regard to their mammoth rival. There is not the slightest doubt that the present phase will bring about an accentuation of the process of dissension. The capitalist "united front" is merely a utopia when it is a matter of going against the U. S. It can only be of reality when it turns against the Soviet Union. Against the international working class, against the Soviet Union, imperialism can realize the united front and is realizing it. But against America, that is to say against the capitalist competitor who monopolizes by himself almost half of the world market, no united front is possible. Every attempt at a "union" among the capitalist countries can but signify an attempt at hegemony by one of them over the others within European framework. Brandler's "European Union" was an attempt of this sort to definitely settle upon the others the domination of France. In this sense it was an attempt to conclude the work of the Versailles treaty. The "Anschluss" was the embryo of an attempt of the same order by Germany. But these attempts have crumbled pitifully under the pressure of America. Now less than ever will they succeed to revive them.

(To Be Continued)

—LA VERITE.

Right was a bridge to the social democracy. The Left Opposition made this affirmation at a time when the Right wing was in power, or at least shared the power with Centrism, in the highest instances of the Comintern and the Russian party. We made this characterization at the time when Bucharin was the principal theoretician of the Communist International, when Roy was one of its main spokesmen, when it was planned to put Brandler and Thalheimer back into the leadership of the German party, when the Right wing ran the American, Swedish, Alsatian and other parties. After the Sixth Congress, when the Right wing was expelled throughout the international, we repeated our characterization with increased emphasis and pointed out that it would not occupy for long a position between Communism and the counter-revolutionary social democracy. Our strictures aroused the hottest denials from the Brandlers and Lovestones. More than that, they treated our assertions with scorn and contempt, for were they not being made by the "Trotskyist counter-revolutionists", who had "broken with Communism" and therefore deserved the expulsions which the Bucharins, Roes and Lovestones had organized against them? But time is replete with revenges, particularly for the Marxists who have such a powerful protector in the form of history against the calumny, the violence, the misrepresentation and the philistinism of the Right wing liquidators.

The Right wing condescendingly explained to us that they could not share our "sectarian" point of view. They, you see, were for winning the masses, for going to the masses "as against" us. We retorted that they would never win the masses, certainly not for the proletarian revolution and Communism. Time has here again vindicated theoretical considerations. The Right wingers have long ago started to "go to the masses" . . . of the social democracy. In Czechoslovakia, the bulk of the much-advertised Right wing group promptly proceeded to shift its activity into the ranks of the social democracy of the

Czech republic. Shortly after its formation, the Brandler group yielded such leaders like Rost Aschenbrenner, Xavier Buchs and many others to the ranks of the party of Wels, Noske and Scheidemann. Not long afterward, Messrs. Miller, Levitch & Co. quit the Lovestone group for the more fertile and "massy" fields of the social democratic "progressives" and worse, while the Lovestone group as a whole became positively thunderstruck with admiration for the "revolutionary, pro-Soviet" Militant faction in the American Socialist party.

Now, the numerous supporters of the Walcher-Froelich faction (and also a number of supporters of Brandler and Thalheimer, as their organ reports) have added to the list by joining the social democracy of the more despicable and cowardly and treacherous type, that is, of the "Left" wing.

Thus the Right wing produces the flowers for the social democratic bouquet. Each shading of the Right wing moves its bridges to the social democracy in its own particular way. Some rush forward to the party of treason, impatient at the failure of the promised "masses" to materialize; others pass lightly over to the "Left wing" of the social democracy still others capitulate quietly by going back to the Centrists through or by dropping out of working class politics entirely; and the rest oscillate feverishly with the winds, waiting for the most favorable opportunities, regretful that the impatient ones have reduced their bargaining power with those before whom they are prepared to capitulate in the end.

Lovestone only a few weeks ago wrote that the differences between Brandler and the minority were not so fundamental or serious. We want to be recorded in complete agreement with this thought. It is largely a difference over "stages", over "tempo". Patience is never unwarranted. Let us wait but a while. Who is bold enough to say that where Walcher or Bert Miller is today, Lovestone or Brandler will not be tomorrow?

—MARSH.

Changes in the Policy of French Imperialism

PARIS, FRANCE

The internal crisis of the government, that is to say, first of all, the shelving of Briand, has a far greater significance than *l'Humanite* assumes. Here is the opinion of the party paper: (1-16-32): "A change in policy? Not really! There is a profound identity between the policy of Briand-Herriot, Briand-Poincare, Briand-Blum, Briand-Laval and the present day Tardieu-Laval policy. How can this policy vary from the other today? It is hardly to be expected that the crisis is going to calm down the ferocious intent of our imperialism. Quite the contrary."

The editors of *l'Humanite* are deceiving themselves completely. They do not even take into account the fact that the second part of this paragraph literally contradicts the first part. In fact it is precisely the crisis which, by "making our imperialism more ferocious", to employ his own impression, imposes certain changes in the political orientation of the bourgeoisie. One has to be blind not to understand that. In fact one has to be not only blind but as limited as the Stalinists in order not to understand that the economic development, that is to say in the last analysis, the international and national class relationships necessitate different reactions on the part of the bourgeoisie as a consequence of the situation with which the latter is faced. In this sense, it is false to say that the policy of Poincare, Briand or Tardieu bears the same traits.

If one wants to speak of a "profound identity" in their policies simply in the sense that they are all bourgeois politicians and the representatives of capitalism in the government, then that is merely an elementary truth, but if one wants to say—and that is just what *l'Humanite* does want to say—that all the reactions of the bourgeoisie in the course of the development of events are always the same, that is a profound mistake. The policy before the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 is not the same as that after the failure of that occupation. The policy after Locarno is not the same as that before Locarno, and now it is

possible to say that the policy after the Hoover moratorium, after the failure of the negotiations with Bruening, who affirms that the German bourgeoisie will not pay any more reparations, is not the same and can be the same as the one pursued before that.

M. M. Laval, Tardieu and Co. understand that very well. The "triumphant" voyages of Laval to Berlin, London and Washington has not fooled them at all, although they have attempted indeed to throw sand in the eyes of the middle classes and workers. The actual results of the Berlin trip and of the establishment of the Franco-German commission (with the aid of Jouhaux) is the declaration of insolvency made by Bruening on the eve of the Lausanne conference. As to the actual result of the voyage to Washington that has brought only increased pressure of the United States on the internal policy of the European governments, not to speak of the insults proffered by Borah to our chauvinists. Under the veil of a very relative sense: the temporary financial position the real weakness of French imperialism, which is doomed to lose part of the fruits of its pillage of 1918, are revealing themselves. And this turn in the situation is not to have serious repercussions in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself? And yet that is just what *l'Humanite* wants its readers to believe.

In the month of June, the Left Opposition showed how America was going to profit from the crisis by which the principal European countries have been seized, in order to reinforce its tutelage over them, in order to more quickly force Europe to content itself with its "rations."

Laval has attempted to break the stranglehold, trying to take advantage of a particularly difficult financial conjuncture in the U. S. His little black-mail game at Washington did not meet with very great success. And now, Hoover turns to ravage Europe and declares: "The reparations are your affair. It was not we who signed the Versailles treaty. On the other hand, the payment of your debts to us is our affair. That must be carried out."

This attitude on the part of the U. S. must of necessity bring dissension of the most serious proportions into the camp of European imperialists. Germany feels herself encouraged by this attitude on the part of Hoover. England, coping with difficulties within its own empire,

ST. LOUIS OPEN FORUM
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Friday, FEBRUARY 19, 1932
14th and Cass Avenues
Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

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EDITORIAL NOTES

I. W. W. WISDOM

Some comrades who have contributed money to the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. to help in the defense of the Kentucky miners—as the *Militant* suggested a number of times—have called attention to the statement in the *Industrial Worker* of February 2 to the effect that “the Trotskyites have never donated a single penny for the relief or defense of the Kentucky miners,” and the profound conclusion: “Classify the Trotskyites with the other traitors who have sabotaged the Kentucky miners.” We can only attribute the indignation of the comrades in question to inexperience. If you have any dealings with the I. W. W. you have to get used to playful remarks of this kind and not take them too seriously. It is just the I. W. W. way of writing out receipts.

What is more important to notice is the approach of the *Industrial Worker* to the serious defeats suffered by the working class in the convolutions of Jones and Hightower. In these defeats, there is revealed a deplorable weakness of the labor movement. This should be the point of analysis and discussion by every militant who considers things from the standpoint of the class and its armament for future battles. But the *Industrial Worker*—if one is to judge by its extended comments on February 2—has not considered this side of the question. That is why its comments are so barren, so permeated with petty factional recrimination and so devoid of any proposals for the future organization of the class fight in such a way as to make good the defeats.

LASSALLE

The editorial board of the *Militant* owes an apology to its readers for the publication, in the issue of January 30, of the book review dealing with a recent biography of Lassalle. The superficial quality of this article, as well as its flippant and presumptuous tone, have been remarked as more appropriate for the *New Masses* than for our paper. The entire article contradicts our attitude toward the great historic figures of the proletariat, among whom we count Lassalle. Its appearance in these columns was entirely accidental. We are decidedly against the attitude expressed in the article, and we still more against the spirit of it.

CHICAGO OPEN FORUM

“The Two Billion Dollar Credit Pool, the Crisis and the Workers”

Speaker: Hugo Oehler
Sunday, FEBRUARY 21, 1932

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

N. Y. Open Forum

On Friday, February 5th, comrade Glotzer spoke to an audience of about eighty workers including some party members on the subject of **Communism or Fascism in Germany**. Comrade Glotzer developed the implication of a Fascist victory in Germany for the international working class, including the Soviet Union, and sharply criticized the Comintern's present capitulating policy.

The outstanding incident of the discussion which followed was a presentation of the Stalinist position on the German question. Incredible as it may seem the comrade argued that India or China, not Germany, was the key to the international situation. He claimed, too, that the victory of Fascism in Germany would not precipitate intervention in the U. S. S. R.

Comrade Glotzer's summation of the discussion shattered these arguments to bits. He showed again, upon the basis of the Stalinist move, the frightful consequences for the C. P. G., the trade unions, all working class organizations including the social democracy, of a Fascist victory in Germany; the inevitable world wide reaction that would follow, and the certainty of intervention on the U. S. S. R.

The forum was a demonstration that despite the shameful silence of Stalin and the Comintern generally and the *Daily Worker* in this country, on the burning importance of the situation in Germany, revolutionary internationalism is still alive even in the ranks of the party stifled by the bureaucratic leadership.

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Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck

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The founder of the German labor movement were not without shortcomings in the field of theory and tactics. Marx, who was his contemporary, explained them sufficiently and they are known to the students of socialist history. But, for every serious revolutionist, Lassalle remains Lassalle, the sword and the flame of the proletariat. We do not grant to anyone the right to disparage and belittle him—and thereby to distort him altogether and to obscure his grandiose historic import.

Lenin, who was not so presumptuous, spoke of Lassalle many times, and always with respect. He began his famous brochure “What is to be done?” by quoting, in thesis form, from a letter of Lassalle to Marx. In another place he speaks of “the historical service Lassalle rendered to the German labor movement.” Trotsky has referred to him in the same manner in “Our Revolution” and in other works. Such examples were lost on the reviewer who appraised Lassalle in the *Militant*.

It is necessary to protest against the utterly false evaluation of Lassalle in the review under consideration. But it is no less important to react against the spirit it manifests. We have to be careful that such a movement as ours which is obliged, especially under present conditions, to emphasize the critical side of its work, does not become a playground for smart-aleckism and parvenue self-assurance. Tendencies of this kind are to be seen now and then, especially among the youth. The parvenue spirit is the petty-bourgeois spirit. It is alien to an organization of proletarian revolutionaries and has no legitimate rights within it.

—J. P. C.

--From Comrade Trotsky's Letter to the National Sections--

1. I have received No. 5 of the organ of our Bulgarian friends, *Osvobozhdenie* (Emancipation). This number contains truly astounding material of the maltreatment of our comrades in the prisons by the Stalinists imprisoned there. It appears that a group of supporters of the Left Opposition has been formed against the prisoners in some of the Bulgarian penitentiaries. Against them, a rabid and thoroughly poisoned, that is, a purely Stalinist baiting is carried on, which is fostered by bureaucrats from the outside. One need not doubt that among the incarcerated Stalinists there are not a few honest and upright revolutionists. But when in the name of the Comintern they are told all sorts of atrocities about the Left Opposition, atrocities which they cannot verify in prison, they pour out their prison hatred upon the Left Oppositionists, that is, they take the road of least resistance. The demand of the Oppositionists that these accusations be stated openly and verified, leads to new calumnies and physical collisions.

In Plovdiv (Phillipopol) a few comrades were heavily wounded, the Stalinists applying to the state prosecutor with a complaint against our comrades who were thereupon completely locked into punitive cells. Concerning this incident a letter of comrade D. Gatschev, addressed to the state prosecutor, on October 16, 1931, is published in *Osvobozhdenie*. An excellent document which—as the editorial board correctly writes—bespeaks the high proletarian morale of our incarcerated friends. In my opinion this letter must be brought out in the whole international press of the Left Opposition; it deserves it in every respect. The declaration begins by pointing out that its author belongs to the International Left Opposition. Further on it says: “Mr. State Prosecutor, I have never wanted and would never permit your interference in our factional struggles. You are the representative of bourgeois class rule against which we are fighting in order to replace it by the rule of the working class. We are a fraction in the class struggle movement of the proletariat which is a foe of the class which you serve.” Since his faction opponents nevertheless turn to the state prosecutor, Gatschev considered it necessary to put the truth correctly. Further on, the tragic episode of the collision is presented in detail. After Gatschev has quoted Trotsky's article on the impermissibility of terrorized methods in the internal faction fights of the working class, he continues: “We cannot make use of provocation, terror, swindle, calumny, killings, etc., in the struggle against comrades. But when we are assaulted—shall we not defend ourselves? Yes, we defend ourselves because we are no Christians.”

The letter ends with the following words: “The real judgment will be given by the working class. It is to it that I appeal”. Similar incidents took place in other prisons. The public opinion of the working class must be informed as widely as possible about these facts. Our Bulgarian comrades must feel that they are not alone, that there are hundreds and thousands of comrades with them in every country and that the number of their friends is growing rapidly.

It should be added that comrade Gatschev was at once time sentenced to death.

2. I have received a group picture of 23 Greek comrades, Bolshevik-Leninists, “Archio-Marxists”, who are incarcerated in Singros prison in Athens. This picture gave me a living and direct idea of the composition of our Greek section. Shameless, paid bureaucrats have had the cheek to call these proletarians whose revolutionary spirit is written upon their countenances—Fascists! Wherever the faction of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Greece has sunk firm roots in the working class the future belongs to genuine Bolshevism, to genuine Marxism. I salute most warmly our imprisoned comrades.

3. Just two months ago we received documents and material from the U. S. S. R., which characterized the theoretical and political work of the leading cadres of the Left Opposition. This material consists of a few hundred small sheets which are written with such microscopic letters (for the purpose of conspirative dispatch) that it took some six weeks to decipher it with magnifying lense in hand. By their externals alone they bespeak the high revolutionary efforts that are concealed behind them. The material received after so long a delay, we have begun to publish in the *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition*. In No. 25-26 there is reprinted a large article by comrade Rakovsky and programmatic theses of three exiles. Every reader will be convinced without difficulty of how far the Russian Opposition stands from the idea of a capitulation. The material, which contains the internal discussions in the Left Opposition evidences the high level upon which the theoretical political level of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists is unfolding. In it a new generation of Marxists is taking shape, which will not permit the extinction of the theoretical spirit of scientific Communism. The less opportunity the Russian comrades have to let themselves be heard from at the right time and audibly, the more resolutely and intransigently the foreign comrades must, regardless of the source from which they come.

The January Conference of the C. P. S. U.

4. The preparations of the January Conference of the C. P. S. U. are entirely under the sign of the struggle against “Trotskyism”. How long ago is

The party with the strongest influence among the workers and peasants of Spain today is the socialist party. In the coalition cabinet of the Cortes it is represented by three ministers, Caballero, de los Rios and Prieto. As a consequence of the relationship of forces in the country the question of a socialist government in power has become one of the most acute issues in the present-day politics of Spain.

One can scarcely point to any other body in the country that has played a more despicable role in Spain than the socialist party. During the period of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, with its record of reaction and repression, the socialist leaders worked hand in hand with the dictatorship. Largo Caballero, the leading spokesman of the socialist party and Secretary of the socialist General Workers Union, was a Councillor of State under Primo, and by his assistance to the dictator purchased a legal existence for his party and his trade union organization, both of which were converted into docile agencies of the state. It was Caballero, functioning as Councillor of State, who elaborated the notorious law providing for the “comités paritarios”, consecrating by compulsion the system of class collaboration throughout every industry. Until virtually the last day of the monarchy, the socialist leaders helped to drag the dictatorial juggernaut over the prostrate bodies of the Spanish working class and peasantry.

The intensification of the revolutionary situation, marked by fierce general strikes in the principal localities served to cut the reluctant socialist away from the dictatorship. The bourgeoisie, com-

pelled to sacrifice the monarch to the furious advance of the insurrectionary people, wisely provided themselves with a buttress on the Left side in the form of the bourgeois-socialist coalition in the revolutionary committee which subsequently constituted the government.

The Socialists in the Coalition

The drawing of the socialists into the coalition had a double advantage for the bourgeoisie. In the first place, the election apparatus of the S. P. was immediately placed at the service of the joint coalition—no small matter, for the S. P. constituted after the proclamation of the republic about the only political party with even a well-equipped skeleton organization. Secondly, the presence of these socialist and trade union representatives in the government served to give it sufficient of a rose tint at the outset to attract the support of masses of workers and peasants who, still dominated by strong democratic illusions, would have regarded a purely bourgeois government with considerably greater suspicion and even hostility.

But such an inconvenient combination cannot last forever. That is to say, the development of the struggle, far from moderating, is becoming increasingly acute. The masses are demanding a cash payment for their revolutionary uprising which ushered in the republic, they are demanding the fulfillment of those multitudinous promises with which the bourgeoisie bought their support. Issues are therefore being put so pointedly that it becomes increasingly difficult for the socialist leaders to take the same position towards them as is taken

by the reactionary bourgeoisie, out of fear of disillusioning the masses who still have a measure of faith in them.

The Purpose of a “Socialist” Government

In addition, the problem should be regarded from another angle. A bourgeois government in which the socialists merely participate but do not “govern” necessarily brings down upon itself growing measures of popular wrath. Necessarily, for the simple reason that the bourgeoisie, to consolidate its position, is compelled to inaugurate reactionary proposals which rob the masses of any pretense to democratic rights and which flaunts all the promises made in the early days. As the resentment and activity of the masses, rebelling as they are against these proposals, increase, the bourgeoisie, or at the very least, a substantial section of this class, find it the best part of wisdom to put a “Left” wall between its domination and the assaults of the masses, in other words, a “socialist government” which they hope will more easily absorb the shocks of mass action. Another section of the bourgeoisie, it is true, bolder and headier, demands even stronger measures for the establishment of “law and order”, measures which lead straight in the direction of Fascism. Thus is established the division of opinion in the ranks of the bourgeoisie: the latter standpoint is represented by Lerroux, who is already proceeding to organize a Fascist band throughout Spain; the former standpoint is advocated by fairly powerful organs of the ruling class, for example, the ex-monarchist and now “republican” daily in Madrid, *El Sol*.

The Attitude of the Socialists

In the ranks of the socialist party leaders themselves, however, there is a division of opinion on the matter of a “socialist government”, or more accurately, of a “socialist coalition”, for none of them has yet advocated a “purely” socialist cabinet. Largo Caballero, one of the least popular but strongest of the socialist leaders, ruling figure in the G. W. U., minister of labor in the cabinet, and ruled by an uncontrollable ambition to head the government, has already declared publicly the readiness of the socialist party to constitute the government and its cabinet. In the interview which he granted a couple of months ago, he emphasized however, that the socialists would not take over the government completely, but would include in their cabinet the representatives of other parties, for they realize that they have not enough strength and that the situation “is not ripe enough” for the socialists “to put through their complete program”. The same point of view was underscored

Pioneer Publishers Notes

The Catholic Church exercises a strict censorship over the books its flock is permitted to read. In this manner it keeps its sheep in peaceful ignorance, and therefore docile and obedient to the Church.

The readers of the official Communist parties have learned from the Pope—or have they never forgotten their early training? They too dictate to their flock: “You must not read anything by Trotsky or any of the Left Opposition writers.” By this prohibition they hope to keep the membership ignorant of the issues under discussion. But here and there, as in the Catholic Church, daring individuals rebel against being kept ignorant. They insist on their right and duty to read the opposition material if they are to polemize intelligently. For the benefit of these, as well as others who want to know what the disputes are which have torn the Communist movement of the world into factions, we have undertaken the task of publishing for the first time in English all the manuscripts which have been suppressed by the “official” party.

THE DRAFT PROGRAM

The first of these manuscripts was *The Draft Program*, smuggled out of Russia. Months later we discovered that this was only part of Trotsky's criticism submitted to the Sixth World Congress. We then secured the balance, and published it separately under the title of *The Strategy of the World Revolution*. This pamphlet is in reality the second part of the Draft Program.

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by Caballero's colleague, de los Rios, minister of Justice, in his interview to *El Sol* last November.

Opposing this standpoint is the group headed by Besteiro, a more popular figure in the party, who is in fact, its chairman, as well as the chairman of the G. W. U. and the president of the Cortes. Besteiro opposes a socialist coalition until the party is in a “strong enough position” to carry out the “full socialist program for the reconstruction of society”.

The Reformists Fear the Consequences

Between both viewpoints, the whole essence of the issue is juggled around with an elaborate and pompous cynicism. The socialists are the strongest party in the country, with the largest representation in the Cortes. They do not take power as a “pure” socialist government for the simple reason that they fear the consequences of assuming so heavy a responsibility before the masses. A real socialist party government could do little more and little less than social democratic governments have done in the past in such countries as Germany, Belgium and England. It would carry out, in every essential respect, the policy of the bourgeoisie, to which it is bound by a thousand threads. But carrying out a bourgeois policy under its own name, without the possibility of furnishing pretexts or shifting responsibility, would hasten phenomenally the disillusionment of the masses who still follow the socialist party and are bedeviled with democratic fantasies. Upon the background of a socialist government, would be starkly revealed all the cowardice, shamelessness, impotence and reactionism of the social democracy, in such a manner as would become clear to all. That is why the socialist leaders recoil from the prospect; that is why even the most hard-pressed bourgeois thinks twice and three times before taking such a step—for after it might come the revolutionary deluge.

What Is the Official C. P. Doing?

In view of this situation, the official party obdurately refuses to adopt the slogan and tactic advocated by the Left Opposition which is for driving the socialists into a corner and compelling them to take a stand in the government which will facilitate the winning of the masses for the revolutionary cause: the slogan and tactic which Lenin's Bolsheviks applied with such exemplary success between the February and October revolutions in Russia. Against this position, the Stalinists adopt a thoroughly sectarian and sterile attitude. Bureaucratic boasting replaces revolutionary tactics.

The party is forced into a position of inactive expectancy, waiting and hoping for the socialist party to lose influence among the masses automatically, so to speak. It is quite true that the socialist party leaders have conducted themselves before and since the proclamation of the republic in a most hideous manner, which has undoubtedly resulted in a certain decline of its influence. Unfortunately, this process is by no means a one-sided one, it is not automatic, and does not follow a straight line. If it took place in a vacuum, one might even establish with mathematical accuracy the point at which socialist influence upon the masses would reach the vanishing point. But it takes place, on the contrary, in a live and complicated environment. Just as socialist opportunism has so often resulted in a strengthening of anarchist and syndicalist ideology in the masses, so also does anarchist sectarianism and impotence frequently drive the disappointed masses back into the arms of the social democratic opportunists. This is being proved in Spain today. One need only point to Barcelona, where the socialist G. W. U. is gaining strength for the first time in years as a result of the hopeless course pursued by the anarchists. Thus these two extremes of the labor movement feed upon each other parasitically. Worse yet, the antics and incapacity of the Stalinists have nullified many of the splendid opportunities which Communism was offered at the expense of the social democracy in Spain. A more detailed exposition of these phases of the Spanish situation we leave to the forthcoming articles.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

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