



Germany Before the Elections

The latest dispatches from Berlin report the long expected announcement of Hitler's candidacy in the coming presidential elections to be held on March 19, 1932, in its editorial comment on this subject, chides the German reactionary brusquely for his "tactical" mistake. "By lining up with the venerable president of the Reich," the Times goes on to say, "he would have added to his dimensions as a responsible statesman without surrendering anything of his prestige as a crusader." It is quite plain that Wall Street is rather vexed with the developments in German internal policy. Recoupled for some time now with Fascist ascendancy it nevertheless dreads the thought of social convulsions conjured up by the picture of a break with "legitimism" by the Nazi leader, to whose popularity with international reaction it has, of late, contributed not a little. In a combustible political atmosphere like the present, what with the rumbling of the cannon still in full swing in the Far East, every abrupt turn in the situation of any of the outstanding European countries is a cause for the greatest anxiety on the part of American capitalism already dizzily spinning in the whirlpool of the world crisis.

But, in Germany itself, it is not only the National Socialists who are oriented for sharp and open class warfare. The entire bourgeoisie is prepared for it, knows that it must come, and lends the most direct aid to the Fascists in their aims. Only a short two weeks ago, Groener, Hindenburg's Minister of the Reichswehr lifted the ban against National Socialists in the army, an act equivalent to an open offer of military collaboration with the Hitler hordes. A German newspaper, the *Spandauer Volksblatt*, brings an even more interesting report:

"For weeks, intensive military exercises are being held on the parade grounds of Doberitz (near Berlin). The participants in these exercises are National Socialists. As many as 3000 men have been counted at each field day in the course of the last few weeks. . . . The exercises take place on the property of the Reichswehr. In front of the entrances, soldiers stand on guard. These are entrances bearing signs to the effect that civilians can pass only with the permission of the commander. . . ."

In addition to all this, there is, of course, the Nazi terror in the proletarian quarters, which goes on unabated, without any interference on the part of the police. On the other hand, all attempts of the working class to take measures against this terror, are put down without much ado, no matter from what section or tendency they arise. In one of his proclamations to the army, the same Groener declares:

"I will never tolerate the preparation of an auxiliary militia, as it has been spoken of in certain Reichs Banner (reformist) circles. . . . Such organizations lead in the last instance, to workers' and Soldiers' Councils and similar revolutionary formations". It must be remembered, in passing, that the Reichs Banner is not even as exclusively working class organization by the composition of its membership. But the fact alone that the Reichs Banner does include a great many social democratic workers, makes it insufferable to this minister of the "democratic German Republic", for which the Scheldemanns and the Eberts saw fit to destroy the flower of the German proletariat in 1919.

While the Fascists are feverishly preparing for their attack behind the scenes, the attention of the entire German nation is occupied by the forthcoming elections. The Fascists have selected Hitler, the Centre and the middle parties, Thaelmann for their respective presidential candidates. The social democrats are chiefly concerned with ways and means of making the former Hohenzollern Field Marshall acceptable enough for the workers in their ranks, as the defender of democracy! This despicable aim of the social democrats, which falls in line with their entire tradition of working class betrayals, is one that stands open to successful attack on the part of the German Communism. The social democratic workers are just about nauseated with the shilly-shallying of their leadership, who by their tactic of piece-meal capitulation to the Bruening-

Hitler policies have lost nearly everything that still held the workers in their ranks attached to the social democratic party. A very great part of the social democratic electorate will undoubtedly vote for Thaelmann in the elections, regardless of the decisions of their leadership. And this fact is of great importance for the Communists, provided they can link up the extra-parliamentary struggle for the social democratic workers with it.

Unfortunately, the German Communist Party, bound hand and foot by the utterly false tactics of the Stalinist leadership, with its disastrous heresies of "social Fascism" and the "united front from below", has not been able to progress very far in the struggle for the reformist workers in the factories. Despite the enormous increase in the Communist vote during the elections held in the course of the last two years, with the S. P. G. losing ground continually, the situation in the factories still remains well within the hands of the social democracy. 83.6 out of every 100 Works Council seats still go to the reformists, while only 3.4 per cent go to the Communists. Without an advance in the factories, all the gains in the parliamentary election will have no meaning. But in order to push forward in the factories, the German party must give up its false, un-Leninist conception of the united front, cast aside the obstructionist theory of "social Fascism" and reorientate itself along the

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lines of a broad proletarian struggle against genuine Fascism, as outlined by comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Instead of persisting in its ostrich policy which amounts to a surrender to the class enemy without a struggle.

The presidential elections, considered not as a decisive struggle, but as an opportunity to rally the workers and to force the breach between them and their reformist misleaders, offers another great opportunity to the Communist Party of Germany to make up for lost ground.

—SAM GORDON.

New York Dress Strike Grows

Workers' Militancy Attains Unity on Picket Line

Since the International Ladies Garment Workers Union issued its strike call in the New York dress shops on Tuesday Feb. 16, this battle has gained in momentum with a claimed 20,000 workers out and approximately 60 percent of the shops closed at the time of going to press. On a whole it is one encouraging sign of working class resistance to the slashing capitalist offensive.

With the needle trades workers this is a tradition. While they have suffered untold misery from the sweatshop conditions under which they have been working for years, they have always been found in the very front ranks of the class struggle. This splendid tradition, however, has continually been most outrageously abused by the treacherous sell outs, victimization and expulsions which is the record of the union officialdom. It practically paralyzed the union in 1927. Yet with the aid of the class enemy the corrupt officials were able to continue themselves in power and suppress the rank and file revolt. But the price paid was the one of re-establishment of the misery of the sweatshop. A heavy price for a union to pay.

The garment workers union has succeeded in recuperation in the sense that the ranks have again been strengthened.

But the same leadership remains in control. Only the intense pressure of the membership brought the issues of abolition of the sweatshop to a head now and resulted in the strike. The officials did everything in their power to ward off struggle. Surely this is sufficient reason to bear close watching of these officials. Sell-outs are their practice and only the rank and file itself can properly guard its own interest.

There is a considerable difference in this strike compared to the one two years ago. That was too obviously a made up affair of collaboration with the bosses. The latter were actively helping in shutting down the power and ejecting the workers from the shops. The difference now is in the fact that the workers are more definitely asserting themselves and pressing for their demands.

The central issues in the strike are the demands for abolition of the sweatshop conditions, for a minimum piece work price of not less than \$1.10 per hour, and for the forty hour, five day week. The jobbers and manufacturers object, of course, particularly to the minimum wage demand and want to maintain the privilege of the right to reorganization in the shops — that is the hiring and firing at will.

The strike has become a powerful one one immensely adding to the ranks of those following the call of the Left wing union entering into the conflict one week earlier. Despite the lack of a unity policy in the strike the workers have succeeded in establishing unity on the picket lines. This has served to reduce actual scabbing to a minimum. Naturally the manufacturers have begun to feel disturbed which has become particularly expressed in the statements made by the jobbers and inside manufacturers associations of negotiations depending upon the inroads of the strike into the unorganized shops. That considerable such inroads are made can be gleaned from the fact that while the I. L. G. W. has within its ranks only about 15 percent of the dress shops, nevertheless the strike has become about 60 per cent effective.

With the striking ranks attaining unity on the picket line the monstrous policy of strike leadership becomes so much more outstanding. The I. L. G. W. officials are still pursuing their old game of working hand in glove with one set of bosses helping them against another, of working with the jobbers and inside manufacturers against the unorganized contractors. That is playing the bosses game and benefits them only. It contains the very germ of sell-out and

defeat. But in the very rank and file unity and determination lies the hope that it can be circumvented. A victory of the dressmakers strike will become a powerful incentive to stimulate general working class resistance to the capitalist wage cutting offensive.

In this situation the responsibility of the official party leadership in control of the policy of the Left wing receives accentuated importance. Continuation of blunders can only strengthen the hands of the Right wing officials and thereby benefit the class enemy. The present course of the official party policy accomplishes precisely that. It still proceeds from a proclaimed intention of smashing the "company union" and smashing the "fake strike". How ridiculous that must sound to the thousands of workers on strike one can well imagine. They mean their strike in deadly earnest. They cannot have any two great illusions of intentions of the Right wing leadership. But what they require is assistance. Their fight is one against sell-outs as well as against the class enemy. They should be able to look for such assistance from the Left wing.

Unity has a very distinct meaning to workers in struggle. The remarkable achievements on the picket line should be a serious warning to the party officials that the essence of this word cannot be played with. This strike is only one stage in the series of conflicts which the future holds; but it does offer an opportunity for a revolutionary policy of working class unification. It holds the possibility of wielding this weapon so much dreaded by the employers as well as by their agents in labor's ranks.

Negotiations for settlements are already in progress. The industrial union reports several shops settled. The I. L. G. W. leaders can be expected to spare no efforts to accommodate the bosses. In this they can count upon a coat of whitewash from the Lovestone group which is already laying its basis by accusations of scabbing by the Left wing. That, of course, will prove primarily how far this group has traveled in deserting the Left wing and all it stands for. But above all it again emphasizes the responsibility of the revolutionary party. A correct policy of trade union unity, a preliminary actual and genuine struggle for a united front in this strike, a united front which will bring the two unions into common struggle for the immediate common objective, would now spell a serious step forward in organizing the general working class resistance to the capitalist offensive.

The Glass-Steagall Bill -- A Measure to Aid the Bankers

American capitalism twisting and squirming under the lash of economic law, is making strenuous efforts the present time to bring about a revival. Plan after plan is being thrown at the country, only to go down in defeat, leaving barely a ripple on the declining crisis curves. But a few short days after the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the administration at Washington announced the new, bi-partisan, anti-depression measure, the now much heralded Glass-Steagall Bill.

The capitalist class of this country, failing to see any indication of a coming revival, even now, two and a half years after the stock market crash, are attempting to, through a series of well timed and big scale maneuvers to restore this "confidence" that has supplanted all their economic theory. It is only in an actual analysis of the proposed steps that their valuelessness as measures for revival can be exposed. Particularly is this true of the present Glass-Steagall bill.

"Big Free Gold Gain", "Credit Expansion", "Increased Currency", we read in the newspaper headlines. What are the actual facts? Is there a stringency of credit at the present time? What might this "big free gold" lead to? These are the questions to be answered.

Any economist will admit that there is a demand for credit at the present time and the banks were unable to satisfy this demand, any steps taken to relieve the credit strain would be steps for revival. But is this condition prevalent today? By a mere glance at the low interest rates of the past year one would be forced to give only one answer. Industry desiring funds for investment have no difficulty finding lenders. There is no credit crisis—except on the side of the borrowers.

Now, to examine the actual measure. Under the existing laws, member banks of the Federal Reserve system are permitted to rediscount (borrow on) certain commercial short term loans from the Federal Reserve Bank. This so-called self liquidating paper consists of loans secured by actual commercial and industrial goods to be realized upon soon. Thus should industry demand more credit, the various member banks can apply to the Federal Reserve system with these eligible notes as security for loans in the form of increased currency, which money is then loaned to industry. The cry is now raised of the exhaustion of the total of eligible paper. Item number one of the new measure would make eligible for rediscount less secure paper than at present. This is hailed as the powerful tonic to aid "our" sickened industry. Will it do this?

Any analysis of the facts shows the futility of the measure in this regard

The capitalists assume that the mere increasing of the total available currency outstanding or the credit available, will insure that industry will use or desire this money. Through a false interpretation of concomitant variations of the past they are attempting to rouse the body of industry by wagging the tail of credit. This would be possible only were there a shrinkage of available credit today. But today, the figures of the Federal Reserve itself show that there has been presented for rediscount of commercial paper only \$400,000,000 by the banks of the country. They still have eligible for rediscount in their vaults a total of about 3 billion dollars of commercial paper, in addition to 5 billion dollars of United States Government Bonds. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that only 91 banks of the total 7600 in the system have exhausted their eligible paper. Any expansion of credit that industry desired could have been taken care of by the present system. The problem they have to solve is that of creating the desire for credit, not the supply. But then, there is nothing like a bombastic gesture.

The second feature of the present bill, that connected with "free gold" can be hailed as a great step forward only by those who still believe that Hoover is to inaugurate the era of engineering prosperity. Under the present law all Federal Reserve Notes must have a backing of forty per cent in gold, the other sixty per cent to be made up of gold or commercial paper backing, government bonds being definitely excluded. This provision of course was inserted to prevent the backing up of the paper currency by bonds; which are also paper. Thus a shortage of commercial paper requires the use of gold above the 40 per cent limit, leaving less free gold to take care of large scale withdrawals by foreign countries. This shortage exists now as can be seen from the following figures.

Notes issued	2,925,000,000	100%
Eligible paper held	989,000,000	34%
Gold required	1,936,000,000	66%

Under the present provisions only the "self liquidating" paper could be used as backing for the sixty percent feature (aside from gold and gold notes). The present measure would permit to be used

in addition to the above also (1) the less secure paper of the present ineligible class (2) government bonds. This, of course, increases the amount of free gold of the country. But how can anyone hail as epoch-making a bill that does nothing but make legal that which is actually taking place. With the sprinkling of the "Holy Water" they merely make legal that which they are unable to prevent.

On the other hand, the bill is saturated with a sort of concentrated nitroglycerine. An ever-mounting pyramid of U. S. government bonds, increasing paper currency, in addition to a growing budget deficit, all to be supported by the shrinking gold reserve. The new bill increases the free gold, but what does it put in its place? Nothing but paper values that may collapse at the first gust of wind. It is not for nothing that the more objective of the American economists do not assert with all positiveness that America will not go off the gold standard. The danger becomes more imminent daily.

Congress is busy with these ballyhoo measures hoping to bring to a stop the declining production indices. Their rallying center is the one of psychology. Failing in this, they are preparing the ground for a collapse worse than that of the past three years. The failure of the ballyhoo campaign will bring with it more misery for the working class. The Communists must prepare now to take advantage of this movement for the overthrow of the entire capitalist system. The opportunity presents itself in exposing the sham of this type of maneuvers of the government, and counterpose to them the concrete proposals of the Communist movement—and first of all the slogan of long term credits to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union needs these credits; the capitalists of this country have the necessary funds. Such a move will aid the Soviet Republic as well as the unemployed workers of this country who will benefit by Soviet orders forthcoming to American industry on the basis of long term credits. Now the opportunity presents itself for the Communists to bring this slogan forward at every workers' gathering, in the factories, in the unions, and among the unemployed.

—H. STONE.

Canadian Workers Fight Against Reaction

In Canada the infamous "Section 98" of the criminal code is being enforced with a vengeance. Its most outstanding case was the trial and conviction of eight Communist Party leaders. But that was only a prelude to a yet greater objective.

The Canadian bourgeoisie, the same as their worthy brothers in every other capitalist country, are endeavoring to issue out of its crisis primarily on the backs of the workers. And, of course, the criminal code prosecutions are primarily the beginning to a general and more intense attack upon the working class in an effort to reduce the standard of living. It is significant of the role of capitalist agents within labor's ranks that precisely in this situation Mr. Moore of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress steps forward with the statement that in his opinion "these men had a fair trial".

During the year 1931 there have been within the borders of Canada over 700 working class arrests. Over 119 years of imprisonment was handed out by the courts in 155 convictions. Working class meetings were broken up and in many cases entirely prohibited. Revolutionary literature was banned. The *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* are prohibited entry into Canada. Workers upon whom any possible suspicion of revolutionary inclinations can be placed are stopped and questioned in the streets. This has already been the experience of several of our Left Opposition comrades. Some time ago the book "The Proletarian Revolution" by Trotsky was banned. Just now our new pamphlets "Germany the Key to the International Situation" has suffered the same fate.

It is encouraging, however, that the official Communist party of Canada, by these serious experiences at least have learned one valuable lesson. It is actually making some efforts toward building a genuine united front movement for the repeal of "Section 98". The response of working class organization have been so broad and wide that it gives gratifying testimony to the power and validity of this policy. The Left Opposition is participating fully in this movement. At a recent uni-

ted front repeal conference held in Hamilton, Ont., our comrade Green was seated as a representative of the Communist League of America with Silver representing the Toronto conference district. Selected on a delegation to present demands upon Premier Henry in regard to the repeal are our comrades Spector and Silver.

Glutzer Meetings

Responses from the various cities to our second national tour have been excellent. In Buffalo, N. Y. the local branch of the Proletarian Party Opposition made arrangements for a public lecture for comrade Glutzer under its own auspices.

Arrangements are now also being completed for a radio address to be delivered by comrade Glutzer from the St. Louis station KMOX, on Wednesday afternoon March 2nd. Further announcements of this we expect to make in our next issue. In Minneapolis our branch is preparing for a debate with A. C. Townley, the organizer of the Non-Partisan League.

The fact that comrade Glutzer has just returned from a visit with comrade Trotsky, able to give first hand information of the discussions with the revolutionary leader in exile, able also to give first hand information of his impressions of the movement in the European countries, is proving of real interest and a stimulus to the projected public meetings. At the time of going to press the swing through Canada has been completed and comrade Glutzer is heading west. The schedule for the balance of this tour is as follows:

West Frankfort, Ill. . . . March 1
Lecture to be at Labor Lyceum (Number Two Orient Hall) 7 P. M.
St. Louis, Mo. March 2
Lecture to be at Central Library Hall, 14th and Olive Streets, 7:30 P. M.
Kansas City, Mo. March 3
Minneapolis, Minn. March 5, 6, 7
Chicago, Ill. March 9-10
Cleveland, Ohio March 11
Youngstown, Ohio March 12
Pittsburgh, Pa. March 13

GERMANY

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Our Press Needs Your Help!

Building the revolutionary press is even under objectively favorable conditions an arduous task. It requires unceasing activities by those willing to devote themselves to its accomplishment. Without doubt the conditions today are objectively favorable. We have received many tokens of the growth of sympathy for the Left Opposition, but we can, of course, not overlook the fact that many workers are not able to translate their sympathy into material support. Yet we must find the means to overcome such handicaps.

In the stream of turbulent events of the present period the Left Opposition press stands out solid as a rock. But we cannot at all say that its foundation has been secured in the sense of providing the means for its continued existence. Yet that can and must be accomplished. It is because of this that we today par-

ticularly call upon all comrades and supporters to assist us in finding the best way out of this present difficulty. Extension of our press, building its circulation is the way out.

Can we have this assistance in the form of concentrated activities during our three months' circulation drive. Every new subscription, every additional sale extends our press and helps provide the revenue for continuation. It drives an additional nail into the coffin of capitalism.

We call upon all our supporters to participate, to endeavor to secure subscriptions for *The Militant*, *The International Communist Review* (to appear April 1st), the *Young Spartacus*, *Unser Kampf* and *Kommunistes*.

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John L. Lewis Continues His Betrayals

A Review of the Thirty-second Convention of the United Mine Workers of America

The 32nd Consecutive Constitutional Convention of the United Mine Workers held a twelve day session in the historic Tomlinson hall of Indianapolis, Indiana, beginning January 26th and ending February 5th. The huge auditorium was draped in the tri colors of the Wall Street republic. It was a fitting arena for the arch reactionary fakers of the union. It reflected bowing to the captains of American industries, their apologizing for the radicalization that is taking place among the mine workers of this country. The atmosphere of the gathering, was a sorrowful one. The conventions of yore that had pictured hectic sessions, fighting, energetic, militant, rank and file miners, was almost a memory aside of an extremely small minority that courageously fought throughout the entire convention exposing the traitorous role of the Lewis machine in shackling the mine workers.

The keynote of the administration was sounded in the beginning of the convention when Phillip Murray, International Vice President, made the joint report of the three standing officials. A lengthy report covering a pamphlet of 83 pages, the keynote was "stabilization of the coal mining industry by Federal Government regulation in order to assure the coal operators a fair return on their investments and to abolish the cut throat competition especially in the central competitive fields." The woes and sufferings of the miners was secondary and almost forgotten.

The officers report mentions unemployment, but they are so reactionary that they even fear unemployment insurance, as a step forward in alleviating unemployment. However, the pressure of even a packed convention forced the issue on them and they were compelled to accept unemployment insurance in the records of their report and to include it in the general program of the union. The remainder of the officers' report is merely a repetition of a typical A. F. of L. union. Class collaboration, quotations from famous letters from the great Mr. Hoover, more mechanization, greater efficiency, etc., etc.

The most sorrowful expression of the convention was the gigantic retreat the miners union has taken in the last ten years. The miners union under the administration of Lewis has diminished in strength, influence and confidence so badly that there is even a growing tendency among the capitalist and their agents to begin to ignore Lewis. This is well confirmed by the fact that Secretary of Labor Doak and President Hoover refused to give Lewis a conference, with the coal operators of the Central Competitive field, due to the fact that a wild cat strike had taken place in southern Illinois where the United Mine Workers and the operators had a contract.

The decline and defeat of the United Mine Workers of America can well be summarized by the following facts and figures:

Year	Membership
1901	198,024
1911	256,258
1921	442,057
1931	152,148
less last ten years	289,900

Let us see how this great retreat under Lewis has affected the Bituminous coal producing fields. In the year 1921 the U. M. W. of A. had 385,724 dues paying members in the bituminous districts of the United States and Canada. For the six months ending June 1, 1931 there is merely 52,725 average tax paying membership in the 28 bituminous districts of the continent. In other words there remain less than 14% of the former tax paying membership. A retreat of 86% of its former strength! The United Mine Workers Journal tells us that in some of the unorganized fields wages are as low as \$1.50 per day and 14c per ton, for nine to ten hours work.

The retreat of the organization can be further shown by the West Virginia situation. In 1921 the union had an average tax paying membership of 45,862 divided in 595 local unions. In 1931 up until June 1, we have 40 dues paying members from seven feeble local unions. The role of Van A. Bittner the chief representative of the United Mine Workers of America in West Va., and the right hand man of John L. Lewis on the International Executive Board, has long been proven notorious. William Z. Foster, in his book, "Misdeeds of Labor" points out to the workers that, "Van A. Bittner is the coal operators' best assurance that the coal miners of that state will not be organized." The figures of the most recent betrayals by Bittner prove this adequately. Later on we will deal with the West Virginia situation more thoroughly. This particular section of the coal mining industry is today the most important and the pivot of all union movements.

In spite of these figures which are derived from the official records of International Secretary-Treasurer William Green and Thomas Kennedy, Lewis is continuing to pay tax on 400,000 members in the American Federation of Labor in order that he can use the voting power for his own personal ambitions.

The Credentials Committee report was a piece of out-right robbery. The part the Credentials Committee plays is to be sure that enough delegates are packed that will give Lewis an overwhelming majority. The job is done very crudely, but it is put over convention after con-

vention. Out of the 1155 delegates that attended the convention the bulk of them only represented themselves. The bona fide delegates from the Anthracite regions, Illinois, Indiana and a few other remnants of districts, were pitted against "blue sky" delegates that possibly had never worked in the coal mine or had never belonged to the organization. The figures of the International Secretary-Treasurer compared with the report of the Credentials Committee, proves this very conclusively. We have the following facts:

District	Delegates	Paying Members
2 Pa.	39	955
5 Pa.	86	1142
6 Ohio	89	862
8 Ind.	5	168
16 Md.	10	2
17 W. Va.	22	37
19 Ky. & Tenn.	47	489
21 Okla. Ark. & Texas	25	63
23 Western Ky.	52	377
25 Missouri	19	187
30 Kentucky	14	34
31 West Va.	125	2168
Total	533	6484

353 of the above delegates do not have a single tax paying member in the local unions they represent!

Illinois had 285 delegates representing a total membership, 31,368 dues paying District No. 1—Pennsylvania had 131 delegates with 45,043 paying members. District No. 31—West Va. had 125 delegates with 2168 tax paying members. District No. 9—Pa. had 61 delegates with 32,403 tax paying members. District No. 5—Pa. had 86 delegates with 1,183 tax paying members.

Quite a contrast. Yet some of the simon pure, "loyal unionist" suffer under the illusions that Lewis and his machine may bow to majority decision and voluntarily abdicate when the majority so desires. The above facts indicate all too clearly; if further proof be needed, that only by a strongly organized determined Left wing can the union be cleaned of such rubbish. That implies tenacious struggle and united efforts of all who are ready to fight for a clean union.

The National Miners' Union in a statement to the convention charges that the delegates that came to this convention from the unorganized fields were "hand picked, baited with whiskey, no elections of delegates being held, packing the convention for the Lewis machine." That is obviously true.

The first day's session of the convention was marked by a sharp division of forces, led mainly by the Illinois "insurgents". Some 222 opposition votes were "counted" by the Lewis tellers. This is far from correct. Whole rows of opposition delegates were left out from the count. This, however, was the largest opposition vote cast against the Lewis machine. It remained fairly well intact throughout the entire convention, voting against practically every proposal that the administration brought forward. Within the Illinois opposition was formed a Left wing group. A few allies from the outlying fields were joined. However, the terror and persecution of the Lewis administration was so brutal that greater numbers were prevented from joining forces. Notably, among those who led a militant Left wing fight throughout the convention, were delegates Gerry Allard, August R. Hoffman, Lawrence Lamb, Borell, of Illinois, Delegates Schuster, Mische, of Pennsylvania and a few other elements with a "socialistic tinge". Outside of the above mentioned elements, the convention was dominated by two rival reactionary factions. The Illinois faction, embracing scores of honest, rank and file delegates, fought all through the convention for home rule. The Left wingers supported them on every progressive issue.

The injunction secured by the former district President of the Illinois miners Harry Fishwick, and still enforced against the arbitrary revocation order of the International Union, was the subject of heated discussion for the first six days. A wide range was given in the discussion where Illinois delegates clashed with the supporters of the International Union. Fist fights broke out in the convention on one occasion when the Sergeants-at-arms attempted to drag out of the convention, John Hindmarsh, of Springfield, Ill., self claimed socialist and for years a figure in the miners' movement. The disgraceful attempt of the International officers ordering the ejecting of Hindmarsh so stirred the convention that the Anthracite and Illinois delegates joined forces in defeating the attempts of kicking Hindmarsh out of the convention. The fighting determination of the insurgent delegates was so great that fear struck the hearts of the reactionaries. This had a great effect in stopping any further attacks on delegates who dared to dissent with the almighty ruler. Aside from heated verbal clashes, coupled with the great one man burlesque of John L. Lewis, no physical damage was recorded.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions revealed that 97 resolutions of different character were submitted to the convention by various local unions throughout the country mainly from Illinois. The Committee expressing the political line of the administration rejected scores of progressive resolutions. Resolutions on the six hour day and the five day week, bank to bank, Unemploy-

ment Insurance, Against Criminal Syndicalism, For Old Age pensions are about the only concessions the reactionaries made. The pressure was forced to all extremes by the Left wing group, the originators of these progressive measures.

Resolutions on the recognition of the Soviet Union came from Westville, Illinois; Rocks Springs, Wyoming; and a militant one from local union No. 303 of Orient, Ill. The resolution from local union No. 303 called upon unconditional recognition as well as to extend liberal trades relations with Soviet Republic, extend credits, etc. The resolution further pointed out that recognition of the Soviet Government would assist generally in relieving existing unemployment difficulties as well as to assist the Russian working class to realize their great efforts at laying the foundations for Socialism. Gerry Allard, mover of resolution, delivered a powerful attack against the Lewis regime in refusing to recognize the Soviet Government. Delegate Mische, District 1 of the Anthracite, supported the resolution and opposed the Committee's report. Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy, in voicing the opinion of the administration charged the "Soviet government of assisting the capitalist class in this country to destroy the United Mine Workers of America and the official labor movement." Allard challenged Kennedy to submit the evidence that the Soviet government had done so. Kennedy spluttered to the best he knew how, but no evidence was forthcoming. In spite of a predicted defeat, the resolution gained attention, received applause and a substantial vote but the aye and nay vote was cast against the Committee's report.

On Unemployment Insurance the committee made a report camouflaging the issue, by stating the International Executive Board will "investigate". A rank and file delegate asked the committee what they were going to "investigate"? How an unemployed worker dies of hunger? The Committee's report, as was to be expected, was concurred in by the packed bunch of professional hand clappers that infested the conclave.

A resolution from Royaltown, Illinois, asked that John L. Lewis resign as president of the International Union. The officialdom assailed the resolution and charged that it was "a piece of coal operators' work or Communist propaganda." August R. Hoffman, young militant mine leader of Illinois attacked Lewis for his betrayals for many years and asked that Lewis resign. However, he pointed out that he understood in the beginning that it never would be complied with. The chair later reprimanded

Hoffman and threatened to bar him from the convention if he made another break. Delegate Hindmarsh asked that Lewis resign as International President or as President of a large bank in Indianapolis. This stirred the convention. Lewis never denied that he was the president of a bank, rather admitted that he was. From Union president to Republican National Committee man, to Bank president—that proves that America is a land of great promise for the youth of the working class! The great, bushy browed, pot bellied John L. Lewis roared time after time as youthful delegates poured a hot barrage of attack against him and his hirelings. With his oratorical tricks and experienced lieutenants, he succeeded in every instance to impress the newspapermen in the press box who cleverly fixed the reports for the "public".

The outstanding features of the convention was the fact that the dominating, active element from the Anthracite and Illinois delegations were young coal miners. The statement in the convention was made, that never before had so large a number of youthful delegates attended the United Mine Workers convention. Lewis, time after time, along with the official family, attempted to excuse the young miners who attacked the administration as "young", "inexperienced", "they will change their minds in due time." This healthy representation was a ray of great hopes. The forces within the mining industry, as well as in the entire capitalist order, threw the class lines sharply before the miners, especially those active young men who dared to voice protest in a terrorized, packed convention.

The United Mine Workers of America has completed another great betrayal, under the rule of Lewis. Lewis, the mouthpiece of the capitalist class performs the role of agent provocateur, deportation agent, assists to railroad militant workers to prison, stifles union progress in the mining fields. The Left wing forces in the mining industry that are slowly but surely molding their efforts together must fulfill their tasks speedily. The rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America, the National Miners Union and the West Virginia Miners Union, must unite their efforts under a clear, uncorrupted, democratic leadership and pave the way to the rehabilitation and rejuvenation of the miners' struggles, carrying the fight on a higher revolutionary program of unionism. With the many odds against such a movement, unification of the Left wing element is a crying need. Division on account of personal or factional preference is the weapon that the bosses and their agents will further use to starve the working class into submission. The fight against the misleadership of the United Mine Workers of America goes on. It will continue in spite of all the enemies of the coal miners.

—A DELEGATE.
Indianapolis, Ind. Feb. 10, 1932

Lovestonites in the Workmen's Circle

A Protest Conference of Workmen's Circle Branches was held on Sunday, February 7th, 1932 at Staytvesant Casino, 142 Second Avenue, New York City.

This conference was called by an Initiative Committee, organized by the following branches of the Workmen's Circle: 16, 34, 368, 386, 417, 637 and 656. The purpose of the conference as explained in the call, was: "To discuss the scab-disease problem in the W. C. and the passive attitude of the present leadership of the W. C. towards scab members. The same statement also infers; that the problem of change of leadership is involved in this struggle and that such must be proletarianized.

150 delegates, representing 75 branches, participated in the conference. The majority of the delegates came from New York City and New Jersey State. A few came from Philadelphia Pa., Boston and Springfield, Mass.

If we take into consideration the unfavorable conditions which the Initiative Committee had to contend with, and especially without a press, the Conference was a success. It has proven again the fallacy of the "Third Period", ultra-Left policy of splitting the Workmen's Circle (which was also supported by the Lovestonites) and leaving the workers in that organization at the mercy of the S. P. leadership.

The response to the call has shown the correctness of the Leninist position against splits which he has so profoundly expounded in his pamphlet, "Left Sickness". The workers, even those who were sympathetic towards the Left wing movement, refused to split away, because of their healthy instinct against splits in the labor ranks. Then again the objective conditions of the last few years, as unemployment, the successes in the Soviet Union, have changed the mind of a great many workers in those organizations. These workers are now violently opposed to the course of the present leadership in the trade unions; their anti-Soviet attitude, their toleration of scabs and employers in the W. C. leadership was needed to give expression to that sentiment. The call for the conference gave this opportunity.

The Lovestonites Play Their Role

The party, in the deplorable condition it finds itself because of nine years of Right wing and "ultra-Left" leadership, is not apt to give leadership to any movement now. Here a wonderful opportunity is given the Lovestonites to perform their "historic" role. They drag this movement into the swamp of opportunism.

Because of lack of space, it is impossible to go into details of the organization of and procedure at the Conference. Those of the readers of *The Militant* who can read Jewish will find a very elaborate article on that subject in the second issue of *Unser Kampf*. Here we will explain the position of the Lovestonites in the W. C., in brief.

The Lovestonites, still believing that they are the "Majority Group" of the party, at the time of the split of the W. C. engineered by the party, supported and participated in the splitting of the W. C. Shortly afterwards they realized that those that followed the call of the party will not support Lovestone. In a hurry, they made a fast turn. Back, with lightning speed to the W. C.—became their motto. Since then, the Lovestonites everywhere travelled with lightning speed to the Right. So also in the W. C. But here, in the W. C., they were not received with open arms as in the I. L. G. W. U. or Paterson. The Right wing leadership could not find a reason why they should recognize them. But despite all the noise the Lovestonites make and the foolish attitude of the Freiheit towards them, by boosting them through attacking them every day in the Freiheit, they have not only not gained organizationally, but have lost influence, membership and even in circulation of their paper. They are making a desperate attempt to get a foothold somewhere, ready to pay any price for it. In the Workmen's Circle, they try to utilize the present dissatisfaction in order to force a deal on the so-called opposition (which is only a Right wing clique fighting for power).

Is it any wonder that under such leadership the Conference showed its political impotence. The Initiative Committee showed an utter lack of understanding of the problems confronting the membership of the W. C. They haven't even understood the real character of the scab problem in the W. C. They have tried to make it a "pure and simple" scab issue, not realizing that it is a symptom of a diseased body and that some limbs, especially the scab and employers group, to whom the present leadership looks for support, will have to be amputated. Consequently, the whole movement had all the characteristics of the opportunist swamp, as: no perspective, no plan, not a single concrete proposal. The few concrete proposals in the resolution by the conference were taken from other resolutions.

The crassest example of opportunistic

Is Mooney to Stay in Jail?

Reactionaries Make Capital of the Stalinists' Blunders

Disgusted by the betrayals of the cynical fakers of the California State Federation of Labor and the A. F. of L., the impotence of well intentioned liberals and the futility of purely legal maneuvers. Tom Mooney addressed a ringing call to the working class of this country to unite in a fight for his liberation and the freedom of class war prisoners. Fourteen years in prison had not softened the militant fighter. The ideas and language of his call are revolutionary. They constituted the necessary spark to fan into flames again the smoldering resentment of the working class against perhaps, the rawest frame-up of capitalist class justice. And they came at the time of the approach of the third year of a still deepening crisis, when their result in a militant working class movement would open up tremendous possibilities for the fight against the capitalist offensive and for relief.

In naming the organizations to the militant individuals and units of which he appealed, Mooney placed squarely upon their shoulders the responsibility of uniting in a movement for his release. In the list were all the Communist groups including the International Labor Defense. It was obvious, although Mooney did not say so, that he meant the I. L. D. and the C. P. to take the initiative in launching and organizing such a movement. Mooney's pamphlet exposing the betrayals of Schauberg and Co. who received the undivided support of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, and still do, left no doubt that he did not think of these gentry to build and lead a fighting movement. Nor could it be reasoned that he had any confidence in the I. W. U. utilitarians, or the other groups enumerated in his call, including the simon pure legal men of the socialist party leadership. Their record of incapacity, spinelessness and betrayal shouted too loudly against the supposition of their conducting a fight.

The organization to whom fell the task of issuing a call to build the movement was the I. L. D. On the fifth of September the *Daily Worker* issued a "Call for United Action". Mooney left the I. L. D. no choice. He asked for a genuine united front. The I. L. D. called for United Front Conferences.

The united front projected by the call had two principal defects. The conferences were to be called—for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, the Harlan Miners and Scottsboro Negro boys, Imperial Valley strike leaders and other class war prisoners. As *The Militant* remarked on September 12, "It is obvious that a united front movement for Mooney would be recreant in its duty if it failed to conduct a struggle also for the other class war fighters. But in this specific campaign, the whole point is missed by failing to concentrate the whole issue around Mooney as the outstanding symbol of the capitalist system of anti-working class frame-ups..." But for the Stalinists bureaucratic complacency and prestige is all! The Mooney issue—could be buried by lumping it with half a dozen other issues!

The second mistake in the united front outlined by the call was its appeal not to organizations to join with the I. L. D., but to individuals:—"the rank and file members of the A. C. W.—the working class members of the socialist party, etc.—" It was to be a recruiting drive disguised as a united front from below. They obstinately persisted in a masquerade which fools nobody!

On the negative side, there is much to record. The Opposition, pursuant to its policy of opposing Mooney's appeal (*Militant*, Sept. 5th), sent a delegation to the N. Y. united front conference. Despite the fact that the Com-

charlatanism was demonstrated by the Lovestonites by the introduction of the second resolution. In this resolution, the Conference protests against Baskin, Secretary of the W. C., for refusing the addresses to the Initiative Committee at the same time giving it to a Mr. Feinberg, who sends out an appeal for an Anti-Soviet paper and slanders the Soviet Union.

The purpose of this resolution was to dampen the protest of the radical delegates against the rejection by the Lovestone group of every progressive resolution, as: recognition of the Soviet Union, Unemployment, Trade Union Unity, etc., introduced by the delegates. They wanted to smuggle in the word "Soviet Union" and make their few followers believe that this is a resolution for recognition of the Soviet Union. The result was that the Right wingers would not agree to be fooled in such a manner and left the Conference. The progressive delegates are still in the dark and cannot explain how such a conference of workers could fail to take a stand on such issues as Soviet Union, Unemployment, Trade Unions, etc.

This Conference, due to the opportunistic leadership, has failed so far to crystallize a class-conscious, militant element in the W. C. At the same time, it demonstrated that there are potential elements for the revolutionary labor movement, who crave for a consistent revolutionary leadership. Only by working within the labor mass organizations will the revolutionary movement be able to give leadership to the labor movement.

—J. B.

munist League is mentioned by name in Mooney's appeal as one of the organizations he wants to participate in a genuine united front, our delegation was ejected under threats of violence. In Minneapolis, St. Louis and Staunton and Belleville, Ill., where the I. L. D. organized no conference and where the Opposition was instrumental in setting them afoot, the I. L. D. pursued a policy of: either we control the conference or we smash it. In one way or another they wrecked all of these conferences.

This method of freeing Mooney has ruinous consequences for the Communist movement. Mooney's cause will not die if the party does not take it up. The issue will become a rallying point for all sorts of political fakers. Particularly dangerous are the bourgeois demagogues who use the issue to make political capital, for the pursuit of personal ambitions. From time to time the press records their pious hypocrisy. The latest to come to our attention is the report in the N. Y. Times of February 13 of resolutions demanding that "Governor Rolph pardon Thomas J. Mooney immediately", introduced into the House of Representatives by those despicable demagogues from New York State, La Guardia and Sirovich.

In the lull in the fight created by the inactivity of the Communists, the Molders' Defense Committee, the I. W. W. and others are busy propagating the illusion that a boycott of California goods can force Mooney's release. When the itinerant peddler of confusion, Marcus Graham, of the I. W. W. can persuade a group of militant miners like the Staunton Miners' Educational Body to unanimously adopt a resolution for a boycott of California products as a means of getting Mooney out of jail it is only because these fighting miners have been made easy prey by their confusion and disgust with the Joe Tansie and Bill Geherts.

Finally it must be remembered that the last act in the Walker-Rolph publicity stunt has not yet been reached. Gov. Rolph, who has reserved judgment on Walker's plea, is sitting back waiting to see what pressure the working class will bring to bear on him for Mooney's release. His reply is due soon. If no working class pressure is forthcoming, he will find that Mooney's release is not to be considered.

Working class pressure can force him to find the necessary legal pretext to pardon Mooney. The time is short in which to build a fighting working class movement. But it is not too late if we begin at once. This the I. L. D. should do. What is needed is a genuine united front, from which the Communists have nothing to lose and everything to gain. For this united front every party member, every member of a party organization should raise his voice.

—T. STAMM.

A Letter From Our Class War Prisoners

We were committed to prison Wednesday 17th. It took us the whole day to get in. We see each other in the little prison yard every day for two hours; together with the other white prisoners. Have also been given work together. I am told that no days off are allowed on sentences under one year. We receive the common treatment accorded all common prisoners, no special privileges. Political prisoners are rather a novelty here. There are however a few sympathizers.

We will get a paper every Sunday only. I will inquire about a *Daily Worker* subscription. The very meagre prison library can supply only trash and some classics. There is no book by any Russian writer! The rule is, I think, that books may be sent only from the publisher and then must remain here. Will see more about it. It works, as things do under capitalism, very hard on the poor. It is an expensive matter.

Have no concern on our part personally. We are well and in good spirits—we see each other every day you know. Not at all downhearted. We miss our freedom and contacts with the movement personally, but we know it is for a comparatively short while only. We are proud to be here as political prisoners: not for a moment would we change places for that of the hosts of bought souls and cravens, outside; and the saboteurs of working class unity. One thing we want is news of the outside, particularly of the movement. The comrades can do that. We are considerably hampered in sending out mail but can receive all letters sent us. Tell us, comrades, about the dressmakers' strike (the local daily papers carry no news of it); about the Marine Defense work; the I. L. D. and the whole movement and also as you may be able of your work. Also will one of the comrades mail me a picture (post card, I suppose) of Rose and Karl.

Please give our fraternal greetings of solidarity to the comrades of the Marine Defense.

Our best of comradely greetings. Courage and cheer for a good stiff fight from:

Your Comrades,
GOODMAN AND MORGENTHAU

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Character of Fascism

An Analysis of the Composition of the Hitlerist Camp

(Continued from last issue)

Today, the task stands before us, before the Communists, to gather the entire working class around the slogan of the struggle against the threatening Fascist overthrow. There is no doubt, that this struggle will also bring about a conflict with the "lesser evil". There is no doubt that the struggle against wage robbery, which is a struggle in the trade unions and in the factories and which constitutes an inseparable element of the formation of the united front, will also bring about a struggle against the regime of emergency decrees.

The Struggle Against Social Democracy, and the United Front

No one (and least of all ourselves) desires the suspension of the struggle against the S. P. G., the suspension of criticism—a "reconciliation". But it is necessary to realize that the struggle against the S. P. G. must be conducted in the form of a united front tactic, under the slogan "against the seizure of power by Hitler". Lenin demonstrated very cleverly the essence of this tactic when he recommended, that the English Communists "support" Henderson under certain conditions (*Infantile Leftism*, page 76, German edition). By making it clear for them that they would support Henderson "as the hangman's rope supports the hanged."

Manuilsky and Thaelmann make very light of the matter, by substituting here also, for the question of a concrete analysis, for the question of the varying struggle on the different fronts, a non-Marxist commonplace like: "the main enemy is the dictatorship of capital—that is, every bourgeois government and its supporters". According to this schema, it will always remain a mystery, why the Bolsheviks fought with Kerensky against Kornilov and did not carry on the struggle against Kerensky in a stereotyped fashion.

It speaks of a high degree of insensitiveness to the development of events, not to want to see the Fascist danger, not to want to see the practical consequences which genuine Fascism will bring.

People who regard Bruening as Fascist, that is, the overture as the opera, can very easily become altogether blind and deaf.

Thaelmann Fails to Correct False Views
The party, far from revising its false theory, has "deepened" it by the article in the January issue of *Die Internationale*, composed by the group of authors that works under the pseudonym of Thaelmann.

"It may be assumed that the execution of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—no matter through what methods, and particularly when it is a question of Fascist methods—will in the first instance, and in the long run, be in the hands of the Centre in a very strong measure". (*Die Internationale* Vol. 33, No. 1)

The content of the present situation is characterized crudely but not incorrectly by Thaelmann: "Today, the Centre is the carrier of the policy of an interchangeable exploitation of the social democracy and the National Socialists for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." With this, he has finally reached the estimation formulated by Trotsky in the following manner in 1929:

"This will also determine the policy that the bourgeoisie will adopt in the near future: to force the social democracy, with the aid of Fascism, to reconstruct the constitution, so that the bourgeoisie will be able to combine the advantages of Fascism with those of democracy, those of Fascism in essence, those of democracy in form. In this

manner, they hope to save themselves the high expense of democratic reforms, and if possible, also the new expense inherent in a Fascist overthrow."

Unfortunately, however, Thaelmann, who characterizes this situation as Fascism and who neglects entirely the economic relationships and the political perspectives that lie in this situation, has not yet reached the conclusions of Trotsky!

"Will the bourgeoisie be able to take this path? To its actual conclusion and for a prolonged period of time—most certainly not. In other words, the bourgeoisie cannot build up a regime that will allow it to base itself in a peaceful manner, on the workers as well as on the ruined petty bourgeoisie, without bearing the expense for the social reforms or for the convulsions of a civil war. The contributions are too great, they will be broken in one direction or the other." (Trotsky, *The Austrian Crisis*).

Dangers of Calling Present Condition Fascism

The fundamental error, of characterizing this condition as Fascism, is avenged by the prognosis. We have already heard above, of Thaelmann's "prolonged Centre-Fascism". What is even more grotesque, is the sentence he attaches to the quotation brought above: "At times, the preponderance rests with the social democracy and that will probably be true, from the class point of view, also in the future, up to the proletarian revolution in Germany."

A truly annihilating prognosis, this prognosis put forward by Thaelmann: Germany has already reached its Fascist form and it will remain so. Year after year, the genial Bruening will continue to rule, nourished by the starvation of the patient proletariat, interchangeably supported by his zealous and inexhaustible retainers, the National Socialist Party of Germany and "social Fascism", in which case the seizure of power by Hitler is just as unlikely as the disintegration of the S. P. G., until such a time, when, probably after the completion of the second five year plan—the "people's revolution" finally arrives.

It is clear that this prognosis is somewhat dulled by the struggle with the Nazis. It is clear, that the party and its Brandlerist page boys underestimate and mock at the significance of the slogan of the General Strike (which we, for our part, have never separated from the question of immediate partial strikes).

It is clear that the entire ideological confusion with regard to Fascism can lead to capitulation at the moment of the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship, because these people will say—just as the despicable Kolaroffs, the Bulgarian Thaelmanns, did on June 9, 1923—"Why get excited particularly now, when one Fascist is merely replacing another Fascist"? The Comintern, which has most unhappily capitulated to Fascism three times already (Bulgaria, Poland, Finland) is coming to another cross-road. The very reserved criticism of the defeatist attitude made by Thaelmann serves no purpose at all as long as his own theories, false to the roots, are not cast aside.

We must pose the question here: why this fatal error in the problem of Fascism? Simply by referring to the thinking ability of the Thaelmanns and Manuilskys, this question is not solved for the Marxist.

Basis For False Analyses and Tactics
Manuilsky has, however, perhaps unintentionally, informed us why it is impossible, in the last analysis, for the

Stalinist Comintern leadership to differentiate between Hitler, Bruening and Wells.

"The entire aggravation of the class struggle proves that the differences in the methods of class rule between so-called bourgeois democracy and Fascism are constantly being wiped out, and are actually, in practice, wiped out already. Can anyone attempt to prove that, for example, the policy of the German social democracy with regard to the country of socialist construction—the U. S. S. R.—is any more "progressive" than the policy of Italian Fascism?" (Report of Manuilsky to the XI Plenum of the E. C. C. I.—our emphasis, E. B.)

That means: the final touchstone in the policy of the Stalinist Comintern leadership, whose basic task is no longer the world revolution but the construction of socialism in one country, are the foreign trade relations of the Soviet Union: and so it happens that a considerable lack of sensitiveness arises in these people, their eyes glued on Mussolini, with regard to the Hitler question. But even in this case, these people, generalizing mechanically, are falling into error. In the instance, the often misused argument of the difference between Germany and Italy is very much in place. Mussolini means—oil exports. But Hitler means—war of intervention.

The nationalist attitude towards Marxism, which in Germany has led through the program of the national and social liberation, (to use Manuilsky's own jargon) to the "descent to the level of the middle classes, in the Menshevik, and not in the Bolshevik manner", here too proves to be fatal.

—E. BAUER.
(Berlin)

The Latest Anti-Trotsky Campaign

In the February 19-20 issues of the *Daily Worker*, there finally appears the American edition of the latest Stalin tragicomedy—entitled "For Political Decision and Clarity in Our Anti-War Activities" (The European title was something like "Against Rotten Liberalism, Against Trotskyism—the Vanguard of the Counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie") a version rendered by one, Sam Don.

The cast has not yet, it appears, been selected. But it should not be difficult to find a few native talents, American Slutskys, and even Yaroslavskys, what with the unemployment raging everywhere and the dramatic industry, we gather, not being excluded. For the present, however, we shall restrict ourselves to the text.

The prologue which constitutes part of the monolog given by Stalin himself at the Sixteenth party congress of the C. P. S. U., still leaves us fairly cold, the accompanying comment reminds us somewhat, by its structure, of the ancient coribantes. It is unclear just what is being driven at until we read (at last) "To disarm and dissipate the revolutionary forces, the bourgeoisie brings into play and makes use of 'Trotskyism'—the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie (Stalin)". Being interested to an extent, we wonder: just how does the bourgeoisie do all this? We do not have to wait long for an answer: *The Militant*, in the pre-conference theses of the American Left Opposition, says that the Soviet Union is not immune from the convulsions of the world crisis!

"What is the class meaning of the above statement?", soliloquizes our Don. "To carry out the main aim of our class enemies, the armed intervention against the Soviet Union!" Nothing less. Isn't it clear? Clear as mud.

As a contribution to "political decision and clarity in our anti-war activities", these profound words probably have no equal. Every worker will grasp this: not the Japanese looters, not the French reactionaries not the gentlemen brigands of Wall Street, but Trotsky and the "Trotskyites"—"the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie (Stalin)"—are the war-mongers to be feared by the whole proletariat.

And how does "Trotskyism"—"dissipate and disarm the revolutionary forces"? Simple. By pointing out the Thermidorian danger involved in the theory of socialism in one country—while Stalin and Molotov find a place for Groman and Ossachi and Ramsin in the economic councils of the Soviet State. By pointing concretely to the danger facing the Soviet Union in the event of a Fascist overthrow in Germany—while the Stalinist press chokes itself on unintelligible and confused abstractions, and doesn't mention the German situation by as much as one word. By analyzing the factors making for revolutionary solutions to the critical situation in the Far East—while the Stalinists lull the masses with the legend of a still to be achieved Soviet China.

But, enough of this. Does Don think he is fooling anybody but himself, when he takes quotations from *The Militant* out of their context, when he picks out half-sentences and isolated phrases? Is it not a sign of the weakness of his own political position that he finds himself incapable of coping with the complete idea of an opponent? Why should he avoid explaining the lines accompanying the quotation he makes from our thesis,

Lessons of the Recent Events in Spain

An Official Document of the Spanish Left Opposition on the Results of the Struggle

The following is a circular letter sent out to the local organizations by the Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Opposition, which evaluates the revolutionary events that broke out in Spain in the middle of January. —Ed.

Dear comrades:

The Spanish Left Opposition, engaged in collecting facts and documents which will permit it to make a more detailed analysis of the recent events, considers it necessary for the moment to indicate cursorily and as briefly as possible, a few considerations brought forward by the developments of the movement.

We shall first approach the negative features of it.

(1) The movement lacked in continuity. Beginning in the heights of Llobregat and Cardener, it received the backing of Barcelona and other places in Catalonia, when it was already crushed in the former towns. This spelled death for the movement. One of the most important lessons to be deduced from this, is the following: a strike of such amplitude must arise simultaneously or be initiated by the large industrial centers (Barcelona in the first place) and in no case in the periphery of the country.

(2) The movement was immature. It lacked an immediate impulsion capable of pushing the masses forward. It should

have been declared, for example, one or two days after the successes of Arnedo had aroused to action, the entire proletariat.

(3) The National Confederation of Labor did not assign concrete tasks to the movement. This disoriented it and was the principal cause of the failure, as was made evident by the strike in Barcelona.

(4) It was a manifest mistake to declare the strike on a Saturday. On such a day, failure is assured in advance.

(5) If in Barcelona, the strike had started Friday morning, when the movement unfolded in Cardener and Llobregat had not yet been put down, and limited to 24 hours, the proletariat of Barcelona would undoubtedly have displayed a unanimous manifestation of solidarity. The situation did not permit it to go further and the results obtained would have been undeniably far greater.

(6) The official party again covered itself with ridicule, calling for a strike anew, on the 25th, when the C. N. T. (National Confederation of Labor) had already decided to go back to work. With this, they once more compromised the prestige of Communism before the masses of the workers and merely proved that the only aim of its leaders is to remain in the good graces of the Comintern bureaucracy, not even shrinking back from washing all the immense possibilities that the Spanish situation offers to the development of Communism.

(7) Finally, there was demonstrated the abominable influence exercised in the C. N. T. by the elements that go under the classification of the "group of thirty" (Pestania, etc.) who, by opposing the declaration of the strike in Catalonia at the Regional Conference on Thursday, called forth a counter-attack by the local Federation of Barcelona, led by the F. I. A. (anarchist) elements, who decided to join the movement when the circumstances had already become unfavorable. Nevertheless, the movement also had its positive features.

(1) For the first time, in the course of the revolutionary period, the proletariat had entered a vast movement of a distinct class character. And this is of enormous importance.

(2) The working masses showed clearly that they had almost freed themselves from democratic illusions, still strong in the September strikes, which makes the conviction ever more deeply rooted that only the proletarian insurrection can solve the revolutionary crisis that the country is facing.

(3) In spite of the incapable leadership and organization of the Anarchists, the workers of Cardener and Llobregat fought with admirable solidarity and discipline and withdrew in perfect strategic order and with a minimum of losses, when they were convinced that movement was defeated.

(4) The most important fact to be recorded in the uprising of Cardener and Llobregat is its distinct political character. The workers had seized the city halls and had hoisted the banner of the proletarian revolution on top of the buildings themselves. That is to say, they had seized political power for themselves. In some places, the anarchist elements had proclaimed openly that their aim was the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a big step forward that the Communists can point to with pride.

The general conclusions to be drawn from this hasty review, are the following:

Kat-Shek in the crushing of the Chinese proletariat in 1925-27 by the infamous "bloc of the four classes", while Trotsky was being shouted down as an ultra-Leftist for demanding the creation of Soviets, dares accuse the closest comrade of Lenin, of being "against a Soviet China". Cheap slanders cost these people nothing. For concrete analysis, they can very easily substitute a quotation from Stalin; for Communist arguments, they can easily substitute a few of the "great master's" pet epithets. Just why Trotsky's slogan of a Constituent Assembly—issued as an immediate demand for the purpose of once more rallying the

(Continued on page 3)

(1) Everything permits us to ascertain that the working class will unwaveringly support a revolutionary movement whose aims are clear and precise. We must intensify our Communist propaganda with all our means, making it clear for the working class that only the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will enable them to achieve emancipation.

(2) This fight will not remain a lost fight. But the working class would occupy stronger positions if it were to take advantage of the movement for the creation of Soviets and revolutionary Juntas. Even though temporarily dispersed by the authorities, this first experience will not remain in vain and the irrepressible organs of struggle will arise again in the new and inevitable conflicts that the immediate future will produce. To this fight, the Communist party and the Worker's and Peasant's Bloc should have dedicated itself: this struggle the Communist Left Opposition would have conducted itself were it not for the fact that in numbers it is as yet a small force in Catalonia.

(3) We have repeatedly contended that there are sincere revolutionary elements in the F. A. I. (Iberian Anarchist Fed.) whose driving force remained sterile because of the inconsistency of their doctrines. But in the last events there has been initiated, although confused and timid, an evolution toward our point of view. It is necessary to give this evolution an impulse, intensifying the propaganda of our principles and making an attempt at practical approach to the F. A. I. for immediate action, which however does not mean that we give up our freedom of criticism.

(4) The reactionary bourgeois forces are organizing themselves. The recent events have provoked a panic among the bourgeoisie who had seen in this chaotic, disconnected, disoriented movement the possibility of victory. In order to oppose the danger that menaces it, it will hasten the organization of counter-revolutionary forces to annihilate the flower of the proletariat by installing a Fascist dictatorship. In order to avoid it, an immediate united front of the working class becomes imperative without distinction of tendencies for the organization of an armed defense. It is a matter of life and death.

(5) The elements constituting the "group of 30" and the leaders of the U. G. T. (the Reformist Center), notwithstanding the fact that there are distinct differences between them, constitute today a check against the development of the revolutionary movement. To eliminate them from the leadership of the workers organizations is an indispensable condition for victory.

(6) Never before has it become so evident as now that a powerful Communist party a truly revolutionary party of the masses capable of fusing and leading the revolutionary attack of the proletariat is what is needed. But this party is not to be an organization like the present official party, dominated by the most unbridled adventurism and the most scandalous irresponsibility before the masses, nor like the B. O. C. the workers' and peasants' bloc) an organization of "sympathizers" and not an instrument of struggle, but genuine Bolshevik party that can only issue out of a general congress of unification and deserve the confidence of the masses.

These are, in the main, the principle considerations that we gather from the latest events. Due to its small numerical force in Catalonia, the Left was not able to play a decisive role nor exercise a great influence in this movement, but its members participated in every possible way, and some of them have fallen at the hand of the enemy. Now taking advantage of the lessons that the movement offers it, will continue with intransigent tenacity its work of renovating the Communist movement, dedicating all its forces to give to the Spanish proletariat the arm that it absolutely needs, the powerful Communist weapon that will lead it to victory.

The Left Communist
Opposition of Catalonia
Barcelona, Jan. 26, 1932.

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Admission: Thirty-five Cents
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Proletarian Party Opposition

Some Fundamental Problems of Its Future Course Discussed

The opposition Communists who were expelled from the Proletarian Party are now facing the important issue of the next step to be taken. This group proposes to approach through a national conference preceded by a discussion. That method is, of course, quite as it should be. If, in addition, the group centers its discussion on the questions which for its particular position become the most essential, it should be able to further accelerate its development in a progressive direction.

So far this is already indicated in various views expressed by some of these comrades. There have for example, been recorded, views in favor of the organization of a new party. In our opinion, the building of a new party could not at all be considered a problem facing this group. Moreover, it would be entirely incorrect to set such an objective. For Communists, in respect to this question, the problem is not the building of a new party, but the one of building a single party which will embrace all Communists and which will be capable of taking up its serious tasks. A second question which already occupied a prominent position from the inception of this group was the one of its further attitude to the Proletarian Party. In this respect it is true the group has a certain duty to perform; primarily to win the rest of the membership for progressive development. As a third question arose the problem of approach to the working masses which are now manifesting signs of awakening because of the effects of the crisis. It assumed an added importance by virtue of the endeavors of this group to get away from the Proletarian Party sectarianism and its insistence upon a struggle for immediate demands.

For a Communist organization this is always a problem and particularly so today. It is to be taken for granted, so to speak. On March 11, 1889, in the period of formation of the Second International, Engels wrote in a letter to Sorge: "The workers will follow those that know what they want and how to get it". That, of course, for a Communist group, presupposes first of all that it defines its principle position and strategic objectives. And so it becomes necessary to conclude that the main issue just now confronting the Proletarian Party Opposition is the one of defining its principle position, that is, its orientation toward the existing currents in the Communist movement.

Some Serious Progress Already Made

The emergence of the Proletarian Party Opposition we have already characterized as a genuinely progressive step. It arose out of a struggle against the sectarian sterility of the P. P. It demanded revolutionary activity first by insisting upon an attitude toward and a formulation of immediate demands. Concretely, in the unemployment situation, it proposed a struggle for measures of relief. It demanded a Left wing policy for trade union work not to exclude co-operation with the C. P. in certain practical tasks. Particularly in regard to the Communist International—and that is important—did this opposition group denote its progressive direction as distinct from the P. P. It recognized the necessity of functioning in revolutionary activities with the world Communist movement, simultaneously with criticism of and a fight against the opportunism of its leadership.

In this respect, the background and origin of this opposition group assumes considerable significance. The P. P., from which it came, proclaimed itself Communist. As such it should have recognized that there can be only one Communist party. It gave complete endorsement to the C. I. and found no fault with the Stalin leadership, but refused to give the slightest recognition to, or have anything but condemnation for the American section. Its endorsement of the C. I. policies and leadership should have made obligatory upon it to unite with the official C. P. on the conditions laid down by the C. I. But despite its endorsement, it remained a second party outside the Comintern. It sought to replace the official C. P. In reality this became the sharpest reflection of its sectarian sterility and its narrow nationalist position. The remnants of the Proletarian Party may still endeavor to seek comfort for this position in the national socialism of Stalin; in the theory of socialism in one country, but this, instead of helping in the least, merely emphasizes its contradiction.

Can this group of Communist opposition comrades now conceive of emulating the P. P., from which it broke away, by proposing to also become a second party—by building a new party? If so, it can only become doomed to the same contradictions it endeavored to extricate itself from. It can only remain sec-

tionary, separated and isolated from the revolutionary working class section. Evidently some of the members of this group have hopes of making the Workers' League, organized by them, a basis for a new party. But what is a pure and simple unemployment organization. Its proposed program envisages a struggle for unemployment relief to be secured exclusively by levy on capital and large incomes, with the elimination of the present charity character, administration of the funds to include representatives of the labor movement and co-operating in its attainment with working class organizations on the basis of the united front. This as a foundation or a part make-up for a new party could at best only become a reformist one, despite the fact that many good militants may be found within its ranks. The Workers' League should be properly conceived as a part of a general united front unemployment movement and as a bridge to the masses.

Will This Group Continue In A Progressive Direction?

But let us again return to the vital issue of orientation. That there are three distinct currents within the Communist movement today these comrades know and acknowledge. The currents have their organized form in factions. Can their group remain ideologically independent or neutral of these currents and still remain Communist? Obviously this is quite impossible. For the Stalinists, the problem appears to be very simple—just denounce and calumniate the others without any argumentation or endeavor to prove one or the other wrong. But these comrades are not mere Stalin puppets. At least this is the very method to which they have taken exception. Hence, there can be only one conclusion. They must define their attitude. They must orientate toward one or the other current. Finally they must become organically a part of the current whose position they adopt.

Some of these comrades may want to follow the method of the little P. P. bureaucrats of merely brushing this issue aside, of not adopting any position, or of maintaining a double position, at any rate for the time being. We hear some of them say: These are international issues, or even: These are only Russian issues, we will come to them later, first we must build right here. But the all decisive question is—to build what?

If the issue of the currents in the Communist movement is only a Russian one of what enormous importance would it still be with the U. S. S. R. occupying the position of the only proletarian dictatorship? We grant it is essentially an international issue but as such it affects the very root and foundation of the movement no matter in which country the specific problems arise. It is fully and completely interwoven in every major question of principle, policy, strategic objective and tactic of the movement here. It becomes part of every revolutionary problem here. It determines the building of the revolutionary cadres.

There can be no doubt that the first and most essential question for the Proletarian Party Opposition to decide is the one of its orientation toward the existing currents within Communism. Ideologically the group is not so far a homogeneous one and could hardly be when we recall its compromised background. There is no advance guarantee that it can determine its orientation untidily and without splitting into various tendencies. But it has a revolutionary duty to put this issue at the very top of its pre-conference discussion agenda.

—ARNE SWABECK.

The Anti-Trotsky Campaign

(Continued from page 3)

Chinese masses after their crushing defeat by the Kuo Min Tang (with the direct aid of Stalin-Borodin-Martynov)—is a "counter-revolutionary thesis", our Don does not bother to explain at all. Nor does he as much as utter a word of explanation as to why the Chinese proletariat, up in arms against the imperialists in 1926, is not to be found leading the struggle against the Japanese plunderers. It is much more comfortable and a great deal less embarrassing to resort to the legend of a "Chinese Soviet Republic" and to exaggerate the strength of the "Chinese Red Army".

These slimy and excitedly incoherent attacks against "Trotskyism" are part of a renewed and wide-spread campaign by the Stalinist faction against an evil they have a thousand times over again declared dead and buried. It is Stalin's treacherous answer to our question regarding his attitude towards the White Guard murder plots against the organizer of the Red Army. It is Stalin's manner of encountering the mounting current of sympathy for the ideas of the Left Opposition everywhere, and especially in the Soviet Union. But he will not succeed. All the tens of thousands and even millions of posters "Against Trotskyism—the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie!" will not stem the tide of rising revolutionary conviction in the Soviet factories. Great social developments, tremendous opportunities for Communist action are unfolding before the international proletariat. "Trotskyism"—Leninist Bolshevism will live and come into its own once more, despite the desperate and helpless efforts of the Stalinist revisionists. The new wave of the world revolution will sweep away the Stalins and all the dunghills of Dons and Browders with them.

—S. G.

Pioneer Publishers Notes—

WHITHER—ENGLAND

Many of the younger elements in the Communist and general labor movement have not had an opportunity to read one of Trotsky's earlier works—"Whither England?", as it was recalled from circulation by the International Publishers when they discovered (by order), that Trotsky was a "renegade". We are now able to get about 300 copies of this book from England. We will be able to get it out with a paper cover for fifty or seventy-five cents. If you are interested, write us.

PAMPHLET ON GERMANY

If you have not yet bought your copy of the pamphlet "Germany, the Key to the International Situation—Shall Fascism Really Be Victorious?", be sure to get it before it is out of print, as it is selling very fast. In this pamphlet, Trotsky deals with the political situation in France, England, the Far East, the U. S., Germany, and the possibility of a Fascist coup d'Etat there. In his usual keen and poignant manner, Trotsky analyzes the international political situation in this pamphlet, draws his conclusions and makes concrete proposals of policy to be followed.

BOUND VOLUME OF PAMPHLETS

In the very near future, we are planning to bind 100 copies of all the pamphlets issued thus far in one volume. Watch for further announcements of prices and other news. If you are interested, let us know at once, as we will only be able to supply 100 orders. Some of our pamphlets are already out of print, but they will be included in this volume. We have set aside 100 of each for this purpose.

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The History of the Russian Revolution by L. D. Trotsky, published by Simon and Schuster, is now available through us. Members of the Communist League of America can secure it at \$3.50. Certificate holders of the Pioneer Publishers can have it for \$3.00. Send your orders and checks at once. Add 10c for postage.

A NEW BOOK ON CHINA

By March 15th we expect to have Trotsky's manuscript on China ready for the press. It will be a 385 page book dealing with all phases of the Chinese Revolution and the role of the Communists. The book will sell for \$1.00 paper cover and \$2.00 cloth cover. Certificate holders will be entitled to a discount of 1-3 just as on all our publications.

A Letter from a Militant

Dear Comrade:

I hope this will reach you all right. I received your letter and receipt for The Militant subscription. I had to borrow the dollar in order to make it. I have not had a job for wages except about one month. Since you saw me last, I stayed around Fargo a number of months but it was hopeless trying to get work at any kind of wages, even the farmers are not hiring help any more.

I am certainly sorry that I am so helpless to do anything for the cause in the way of an occasional donation. I cannot even afford to get Trotsky's pamphlets. Up to now have kept the Daily Worker, but now must give it up too as I have no income at all. Anyway, it seems to be continually deteriorating in quality. I am taking the Western Worker on trial. I take the keenest interest in all that is going on in the movement everywhere and especially our own Opposition. I believe the Opposition has made gratifying progress in the last year—really I wonder how you manage to do so much in this period. For a time I wrote up conditions around Fargo for the Daily Worker got bundles and smuggled them to the packing house workers. I wish I could describe the atmosphere of repression of fear, of the helplessness that grips the workers of Armour's plant there in West Fargo.

What I miss more than I can tell you is my organizational activities that I took part in, in Chicago. It seems like the best part of my life is missing. The way things look now I am not at all prepared to agree with those comrades who hold that this crisis is just another periodic capitalist depression. I believe it is entirely possible for the present depression to develop into social revolution and in that judgment I do not forget for one moment the backwardness of our workers in general. But as The Militant never tires of putting it, "Where is our Party to lead us if such a situation arises?"

—W. S.

Wauburn, Minn.

Paris Commune Celebration

A celebration of the Paris Commune is to be held by the New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on Saturday evening, March 19th at Irving Plaza, Irving Pl. and 15th St. It will be a mass meeting and entertainment.

An elaborate social program has been arranged which includes a chorus of about sixty singers from a Hungarian workers' singing society, and a series of revolutionary dances given by a group of our own comrades. It will also include dancing and refreshments.

Hold the date, Saturday evening, March 19th, open. Watch the Militant for further announcements.

«Pravda» on the Second 5 Year Plan

A National Socialist Utopia or the Leninist Conception of Socialist Economy?

The convulsions of the world crisis are tearing wide gaps in the edifice of international capitalism. A seismograph recording the economic and political eruptions of bourgeois society at the present moment would show jagged, spasmodic lines for every country like the fever line of a dying man whose blood runs hot and cold in turn. Everywhere the masters of a great tomorrow are awakening, becoming more rebellious, moving at various speeds towards the insurrection which is to destroy an outlived social structure. Revolutionary problems of the greatest magnitude confront the class conscious vanguard everywhere, Spain, Germany, China—here are only three of the countries which are reaching the boiling point. In all three—to mention no others—the Communist movement bends beneath the tremendously urgent historical tasks it is called upon to solve because no other movement is capable of even dealing with them, much less solving them.

More than ever is the Communist movement in sore need of guidance, of wise advice, of the lessons and experiences of the past. They are justified in looking for this guidance and advice to the country in which the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution were successfully tested in action, that is, to the Soviet Union and its Communist party.

The Disregard for the International

And here lies the great tragedy. The leaders of the Soviet Union party not only fail to give them this advice but they do not even concern themselves with the burning problems of the rest of the international working class. In 1923, the Central Committee of the Russian party, keenly preoccupied with the impending revolutionary clashes in Germany, called together a special conference on the question, together with representatives of the largest local organizations. It adopted theses on the problems of the German revolution, mobilized the whole party, and through its representatives in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, organized an international conference. In 1932, with the tension of the class struggle far more compelling than it was nine years ago, the Russian party acts in a totally different manner. The cannon-roar in Shanghai may be the first thunderclaps of a world catastrophe of imperialism, Fascism and Communism may be coming to death-grips in Germany, the lava of the social revolution may soon inundate the Spanish bourgeoisie—but all this appears to be happening on a different planet so far as the present leaders of the Russian Communist Party are concerned.

That is the only conclusion one can come to after the accomplishments recorded by the just concluded 17th party conference in Moscow. Outside of agitation references to the contrast between the advances of industrialization and collectivization in the Soviet Union and the increasing misery of the workers under the world capitalist crisis, we do not know of a single problem of the international revolutionary movement that was given an hour of serious consideration at the congress. Not a single movement has yet emerged from this assembly of what was once Lenin's Bolshevik party, dealing with the tasks of the Communists in the capitalist countries.

To compare the proceedings of the present congress with one held under Lenin's leadership is to see at a glance how ruthlessly the party chiefs of today have chopped down one prop after another from under the bridge which, despite the assiduous efforts of the Stalinists, still traditionally connects the nationalisticly degenerated apparatus of 1932 with the party of revolutionary internationalism which Lenin trained up for two decades. No more murderous indictment of a leadership speaking in the name of Marxism can be conceived of today than this: the waves of the international revolution beat upon the closed doors of the 17th congress of the Russian party without the bureaucratic congress managers allowing a single one of the hand-picked delegates to as much as get his feet wet.

The conscientious Communist worker to whom internationalism is something more real than a badge to be worn on holidays, will not only feel humiliated and mortified at his state of affairs in the ranks of the leaders he is instructed to obey blindly as "infallible chiefs", but will reflect upon the basic causes that make it possible, or rather, that make it logical and inevitable.

The Second Five Year Plan

If the congress had nothing—absolutely nothing—to say about the problems of the international revolution, it had more than enough to say about the problems of the Soviet power. And on this point we witness the canonization in a veritable nationalistic orgy of the theory of "socialism in one country" which, we are now taught, is to spring

forth full-panopied, like Minerva from the brow of Jove, at the end of the second Five Year Plan adopted at the congress. Whereas, according to the apostolic revelations of the time, the first Five Year Plan, which was to be completed in three, would merely end with the Soviet Union having "caught up with and outstripped" the most advanced capitalist countries, Pravda now informs us (Daily Worker, 2-23-1932) that, according to the report of the incomparable Molotov:

"The basic political task of the second Five Year Plan is the final liquidation of capitalist elements and of classes in general, the complete extermination of causes which tend to create class distinctions and exploitation, and the conquest of the remnants of capitalism in the economy and in the consciousness of the people; the transformation of the whole toiling population of the country into conscious and active building of a classless socialist society."

What is to happen in the rest of the world while this stupendous project is being accomplished in the brief span of five years (or will it be four or three?), its authors do not inform us, nor are they concerned. For whoever seriously believes that Russia will become a classless, socialist society, in which "the final liquidation of capitalist elements and of classes in general" has been achieved,—that it will do this before the workers in a culturally (techno-industrially) more advanced country have taken power and come to Russia's aid, has definitely turned his back upon the prospect and idea of the international proletarian revolution. Such an oleomargarine "Marxism" has an infinitely more optimistic view of the possibilities for capitalist world stabilization than is entertained by the average bourgeois statesman of mature intelligence. Despite all his fine holiday pretenses, he believes in his heart that the "foreign Communist parties would die without our wasted subsidies". He is convinced deep down that these parties and their leaders, whom he regards with scarcely concealed disdain and contempt, will never seize power in this generation, at least; and if that is the case, what is to be gained by this interminable din and agitation about a "world revolution", especially when it antagonizes the foreign bourgeoisie who must, above everything else, be prevented from intervening with troops to disrupt the bureaucratic Eden of a national socialism? Legion is the name of those decadent Stalinist bureaucrats whose conduct is animated by these ideas.

But despicable as their attitude is towards the international problems, the bureaucrats have an equally reactionary and far more Utopian standpoint towards the problems of Soviet economy. Here an objective consideration of its complex structure is replaced by administrative commands to race at top speed for new records which are not always as unblemished as they appear. In many, perhaps in the majority of the cases, the "records" are achieved at the expense either of a dangerous tensile strain on the physique and nerves of the workers or else of a marked inferiority in the quality of the product turned out. Frequently it is both. For a short period and under the pressure of a partial aim, such strains are conceivable. But to imagine that the workers can or will bear up under the concert pitch to which they have been tuned for the whole historical period that separates us from socialism in Russia, is to reveal a mad ignorance which threatens the existence of the workers' republic more than do a thousand deliberate saboteurs.

What Socialism Means

This should be an obvious truth, unless one is a blind official whose idea of what constitutes socialism is different from everything we have learned from the teachers of our movement. To those for whom Marx, Engels and Lenin are not "outlived", socialism is not a social system in which everybody has been leveled down to a common low plane of a so-called "equality", but a society in which the classes have really been abolished. In which the distinction between "town" and "country" has been eliminated, in which agriculture no longer exists as an economic entity but has become an industry, in which such a rise has been accomplished in production that there can no longer be any comparison between the living conditions of the workers (i. e. of the whole population) under the new society and under the most highly developed capitalist state, and above all, in which the state power and coercion are beginning to die out and to be replaced by the administration of things.

But this assumes such a tremendous rise in the productivity of labor and the

national wealth based upon a highly developed machine technique—all of which must, moreover, keep pace with the concomitant absolute and relative growth of population—as has only begun in the Soviet Union and which cannot be brought to a successful conclusion on the basis of the efforts of Russia's economy alone. Pravda informs us that "the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. is in possession of absolutely all the possibilities, all the power, all the means and all the resources for the victorious fulfillment of this gigantic plan of construction of a socialist society in that period," that is, in another five years. But, bearing in mind the classic definition of socialism, such a contention is not only not false, but is based upon a reactionary outlook in the strictest sense of the word, particularly for the following reason:

Socialism and World Economy

Socialism is a form of socio-economic relations that must rest upon a far higher plane than that occupied by the most developed capitalist unit. It is an advance from capitalism and in no respect a retreat to pre-capitalist relations. Now, not a single one of the important capitalist powers has developed its productive forces on a strictly national scale. The growth of capitalism in its classic cradle, England, was based essentially upon its world connections, that is, its ever closer interweaving with world commerce, world economy. The low point of capitalist strength in the United States—which has more internal resources than almost any other country—was nevertheless the period of its "isolation" from the rest of the world. Like every other country, it became the economic and political colossus it is today by its increasingly inextricable association with world economy. Indeed, the crisis rendering world capitalism today supervened, essentially, because the bonds that tie it all into the waters of international economy in which the most backward country is as much a necessary component part as the weaker, were cut at vital points by the contradictions inherent in commodity production itself.

Socialism, or even the transitional economy which prevails in Russia on the road to socialism, cannot be based upon an increasing withdrawal from world economy, but must be predicated upon an extended participation in it. That is why the second Five Year Plan, with its consecrated nationalist ideal is conceived in a reactionary Utopian spirit, not by accident, but as an inexorable result of the—by your leave!—"theory" of socialism in one country. For it is based upon the fantastic idea of a complete withdrawal from what Lenin characterized as that "international market to which we are subordinated, with which we are connected and from which we cannot escape". (To refer to but one example: a striking rise in the crops, exceeding domestic needs would soon show in a glaring light how subordinated the U. S. S. R. is to the world market.)

It is, of course, impossible to deal in a short article with all the problems raised by the second Five Year Plan, most of which have already been analyzed in anticipation in the works of comrade Trotsky. It will suffice for the moment to point out that the plan and the whole environment surrounding its elaboration, once more reveal, perhaps more harshly than ever before, the catastrophic practical results of the nationalist theory of Stalin and the abyss he has placed between himself and the revolutionary internationalist essence of Bolshevism. It is easy to imagine in advance—it would even be easy to write them for the paid scribes!—the answers that will be made to our arguments, the accusations of "pessimism" and "counter-revolution" that will be flung at us because the Left Opposition which fought for years for plan in economy, for industrialization and collectivization, which was expelled while trying to convince the bureaucracy of the progress that Russia could make in socialist construction with a correct policy—nevertheless refuses to be a party to duping the working class with fatal illusions or drugging them with theoretical opium. These accusations about "pessimism" we can answer in advance, with finality, by the words of Lenin which are as applicable in every essential today as they were when written in 1922:

"We have not even finished the foundation for a socialist economy, this can again be taken from us by the hostile forces of dying capitalism. This must be clearly recognized and openly admitted, for nothing is more dangerous than illusions (and attacks of dizziness on high places). And in this recognition of the bitter truth there is nothing terrible, nothing that gives any just cause for even the slightest despair, because we have always defended that elementary Marxist truth, we have constantly repeated: that for the victory of socialism the joint efforts of the workers of several advanced countries are necessary". (Works, Vol. XX, part 2, page 487.)

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

S. T. LOUIS, ATTENTION
ALBERT GLOTZER will speak at the Central Library Hall 14th and Olive Sts. on Wednesday Eve., March 2nd at 7:30 P. M. Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition) ADMISSION FREE

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