

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

VOLUME V, NO. 30 [WHOLE NO. 126]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1932

PRICE 5 CENTS

## ON THE SPOT

### BATA QUILTS A BATTY SYSTEM

As these lines are written Thomas Bata of Czechoslovakia, the big boot and shoe man, is putting all the other suicides in the capitalist world next to pure reading matter. Not since Krueger of Stockholm added an additional hole to the official equipment of his head in a Paris hotel did the death of any capitalist magnate cause as much consternation as that of Thomas Bata. While I am willing to go a long way in believing that the capitalist papers will print almost any story that is not fit to print they are liable to put their penthouse and airplane cases on the inside pages with the "I refuse to pay for the bed and board" stuff if suicides in high places continue at the present rate. In times of crisis the capitalist papers get their orders to cut out all the movie stuff about printing the story and be damned.

### KRUEGER ROSE FROM AND WENT TO THE BOTTOM

A few years back magazines flourished by giving the stories of men high in the capitalist system who rose from the bottom. But so many of those men of genius have gone to the bottom since the panic of 1929 that only an official organ of a mortuary association could now make capital out of their lives. Krueger operated in almost all capitalist countries. Even the old financiers paid homage to him. He dictated the policies of governments by loans. His financial-industrial pyramid was based on the toll of hundreds of thousands of wage-slaves. It was the same old system by which the many are compelled to pay toll to the few ever since the birth of capitalism.

### KRUEGER, INSULL, KAPONE —ALL SELF-MADE MAN

Thomas Bata literally started on a shoe-string. Like a good many of the big men of business he got his real start during the war. He got government contracts. Perhaps he did not put good leather in the shoes he made for the Austro-Hungarian soldiers who tramped to death for a cause that meant nothing but a continuation of slavery for them if their armies were victorious. Not so with the ruling classes. The Bata and Insull and Kruegers make money on wars even if the countries to which they owe nominal allegiance lose. The workers always lose except when they fight for themselves. Soviet Russia pointed the way.

### BATA BELIEVED IN FORD METHODS

Bata was an admirer of the efficiency methods practised by our own Henry Ford who will be regarded as one of those industrial Messiahs until he is caught in the crash. Like Henry, Bata did not permit his employees to join unions. We don't know whether he had inspectors smell their breaths when they punched the time clocks in the morning but he insisted that they brash ten minutes away before open windows. Well, that's sure.

### BROTHER DOAK SOUNDS AN OPTIMISTIC NOTE

It is a pleasure to turn from a contemplation of death and disaster to something that might give even a few fools hope and cheer. We have with us ladies and gentlemen the honorable Brother Doak, secretary of Labor in the Hoover cabinet. The depression has brought the workers and the employers closer together, he says. Well, there is some truth in that. There are approximately twelve millions unemployed, so since they have nothing to do and the few who dominate the industrial machinery never did anything but loaf and make the other fellow work, there is a certain bond between them. Of course, the unemployed are pretty near the starvation line; many of them are actually starving and we have yet to hear of the big fellows going without their meals. So much for Doak. Now we shall turn to our old friend Aimee Semple McPherson Hutton. We bunch people together in this column rather indiscriminately.

### DOG AND CANARY GREET ROOSEVELT NOMINATION

Roosevelt campaign headquarters announce quite seriously that a poodle barked and a canary that was dumb for a whole year sang when Roosevelt's nomination was announced on the radio. We are not surprised at the dog's action. A dog usually howls and acts foolish in the presence of lunatics. But we doubt the story about the canary. We are anxiously waiting for a report on the Missouri mule and that strange bird native to Mexico who is obliged by physical misconstruction to turn on his back whenever he has to answer a call of nature. It looks like Roosevelt for next president. It is reported that the Bronx Zoo is for him to the last jackass.

—RIDEM.

## Communism or Pacifism?

### The Party and the Barbusse Congress

The American section of the "World Congress Against War", led by Theodore Dreiser, and heavily watered down with pacifists like Upton Sinclair, Harry Elmer Barnes and Robert Morss Lovett, has called a conference in New York to select fifty delegates to be sent to Geneva to attend the world congress.

The *Daily Worker*, which has given its endorsement to the Comintern-inspired Barbusse venture, has maintained a complete silence on the New York conference. The confused, pacifistically-tainted call of the American section of the congress, its petty bourgeois composition, has not met with a single word of criticism from the official party or its press.

The proclaimed object of this movement is to mobilize the masses throughout the world in the "struggle against the war danger". But the danger of imperialist war is not something separated from the class struggle in general, separated in such a manner that some mystically "special" form of fight against it is permissible or required. The revolutionary Communists conduct themselves on the economic field upon the foundation of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Politics is concentrated economics. War is the continuation of politics by other means. The leadership of the masses in the economic struggle which belongs to the Communists, cannot be surrendered by the latter in the struggle against the war danger to any petty bourgeois pacifists—without creating the utmost confusion in the ranks of the workers and producing the most pernicious effects.

This is not the first time this surrender, in the form of a masquerade, has occurred in the Communist International. In 1926, the Comintern actually yielded the leadership of the struggle against world imperialism and intervention against the Soviet Union, to the "Anglo-Russian Committee", which was proclaimed by Stalin and Bucharin to be the "organizational center of the struggle against imperialism". The Anglo-Russian Committee, on its English side at least, proved to be a prop of imperialism and a monstrous deception of the workers whom the Comintern told to follow Purcell, Hicks and Co. In 1927, the Stalin-Bucharin regime told the workers that Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuo Min Tang was ordained to lead the struggle against foreign imperialism, with the Communists playing a subordinate role. The Kuo Min Tang proved to be a prop of imperialism and an agent in the struggle against the Soviet Union and the revolutionary Chinese masses.

For the Comintern to invest the present Barbusse-Rolland-Sinclair-Mann-Sun Yat Sen-Dreiser movement with the role of organizing the "struggle against the war danger and for the defense of the Soviet Union", is to lead the world's class conscious masses into a new debacle of the Anglo-Russian Committee and Kuo Min Tang variety.

The struggle against the imperialist war danger cannot be organized and led by Barbusse and Sinclairs, but only by the Communists. The initiative for such a movement cannot be given into the hands of confused pacifists behind whom the Comintern hides: Can we imagine Lenin turning such a task over into the hands of Gorky and then announcing that the Bolsheviks will affiliate with it? The Communists should participate even in this Congress of pacifists, careerists, and politicians. But only in the manner in which Lenin advised the Comintern to participate in the Hague pacifist congress of 1922: to expose the reactionary role of pacifism and to advance the Communist position on the class nature of war and its solution. The party in particular, which bears so much responsibility for this venture, must speak out clearly and stop playing at hide and seek. The Left Opposition will not fail to play its part in the accomplishment of this task.

## New York Painters Out on Strike

Ten thousand painters of New York were called out on strike July 13-1, by the strike committee of District Council No. 9. Ten thousand painters must register twice a day so that the officials are sure they are not scabbing. The strike committee calls this a young man's strike. They make a special appeal to the young painters. Already many bosses have signed up and thousands of painters supporting the administration are back on the jobs. These employed workers pay a five dollar strike assessment; the main thing the officials want, since the D. C. is financially embarrassed.

The Alteration Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers Union of New York calls this a fake strike, but being true to their class, stand solid on strike with

## Germany on Eve of Civil War

### THE PARTY "ANSWERS" OUR WARNING

The warning we issued in the last issue of the *Militant* against the hoodlum tendencies manifested in the Communist party against the meetings of other working class organizations, has called forth a characteristic reply. In the *Daily Worker* of Tuesday, July 19, the editorial writer barks out a hysterical column of venom in which the customary "amalgam" is made of Hoover, Dies, Lovestone, Hillquit and the Trotskyists—all engaged in the service of the bourgeoisie. This reply to a revolutionary criticism is too hoary and does not improve with age. We warned that the attacks made on meetings not organized by the official party were bringing discredit upon its name and the cause of Communism as a whole. We brought an example out of the past of the German Communist Party, which lost its hold on the masses by similar policies. It is true that the socialists first introduced these methods

against the revolutionists. That is no reason for the party to adopt the same course. An even more disastrous result than the one we have already mentioned is this: in these disgraceful street-fight, it is the police who eventually "settle" the dispute, regardless of responsibility for them. Such tactics make the police the "arbitrator" between contending workers' organizations. The *Daily Worker*, without a blush of shame coming to its cheek, accuses us of helping the initiators of the Dies Bill. Quite the contrary: it is the tactics of the Stalinist that play into the hands of our enemies. The revolutionists will better be able to resist the growing terror against the militant workers by seeking to preserve the traditions that the labor movement has won for itself, and not by contributing to their violation. A halt must be called! It is high time. The thinking party members will demand it.

## 15,000 Workers Strike

### Textile and Furniture Plants Shut Down in North Carolina

The spontaneous strike of hosiery workers against a 25 percent wage cut has spread throughout the city of High Point, North Carolina, closing every factory, uniting 15,000 workers in strike in over 150 mills. Hosiery workers, furniture factory workers, laundry workers and the unemployed have joined in the strike which is spreading to nearby towns and has already spread to Thomasville, Kernersville, Lexington, Jamestown and Forsythe where strikers have held demonstrations of solidarity.

Dozens of isolated mill strikes in the last few months against the starvation culminated in this strike, and has frightened the bosses and their state into action to head off the spread of the strike and unity of employed and unemployed starving workers. The police from all nearby cities have been rushed to High Point as the first measure against the workers. General Metz, of the National Guards, who led the troops against the Gastonia and Marion strikers was sent to High Point at once by Governor Gardner to plan the next step against the striking workers.

**Strike After Wage Cut**  
The strike began July 19, in eight plants involving 3,000 workers. It spread to all mills and factories in and around High Point until complete shutdown was had. Mass marching and mass picketing brought thousands of more workers into the ranks of the strikers. The wage cut of the hosiery workers was from \$2.25 to \$1.50 per hundred.

As the strike spread the mass picketing increased. All night long they went from factory to mill, calling out the workers, shutting off the power, and smashing down locked gates hindering their progress.

Already the bosses fear the mass pressure. Already they are negotiating with the workers. It is reported that several mills have already consented to recall the 25 percent wage cut.

The U. T. W. union, and the Mustettes have rushed organizers to High Point. They hope to gain the confidence of the strikers and prevent them from moving into the channels of the N. T. W. U. and Communist leadership. The whole history of the U. T. W. in the south is a history of the worst kind of betrayal. The recent experiences of the U. T. W. under Muste leadership carries out the same line, only in sugar-coated form.

The Communists and the N. T. W. U. struggling upon the basis of the class struggle is the only force capable of guiding the increased class motion of the southern workers into the united class struggle against the bosses and their

government. The Stalinist control of the Communist party and the unions under our influence have committed a series of major blunders which has isolated the vanguard from the class in North Carolina in spite of our favorable opportunities in the Gastonia struggle. These mistakes have been dealt with from time to time in the columns of the *Militant*.

### The Stalinist Course

The party is frantically trying to make up for lost time, and past mistakes, but their present line of march, even at the inception of the "turn" to High Point has germs of future blunders. The paper half-turn of the U. T. W. U. in united front activity, which has caused the present rumbles of factional strife in the circles of the bureaucrats already lays traps for the Communists and their class struggle followers. In the editorial of July 21 of the *Daily Worker* (City Edition) they continue to say. "Only rank and file leadership can win the strike. The editorial confuses rank and file control with rank and file leadership. Nowhere does the editorial, or the *Daily Worker* in this or previous issues speak of steps toward united front action that will insure the N. T. W. U. minority rights at this stage of the struggle to enable it through the class struggle and ideological influence to win the majority of the workers to our program, and at the same time prevent the U. T. W. union and the social reformers from gaining domination. Unless a Marxian leadership, a Communist leadership is able to win the decisive section of the strikers, the hammer blows of the bosses and their government and the class collaboration policies of the reformers will bring defeat. If the strike does not have a Marxian leadership the workers will not learn the proper class lessons if defeated. The trade union policy of the U. T. W. U. must not stop at the paper half-turn. The Leninist line presented by the Left Opposition must be adopted.

### Workers Shot in Illinois

One worker dead, three dying and thirty, more or less seriously wounded, is the answer given the three hundred unemployed workers demanding work at union wages at the Illinois Waterway Dam, in Marseilles, Ill.

The Illinois Waterway Dam is a Federal State Construction project. Work on Federal State Construction projects are usually of the most highly rationalized character. The government expends the greatest amount of energy in extracting the maximum of labor power from those whom it employs. The miserable conditions of the workers employed on the Boulder Dam project, Mississippi Levee, etc., are parallel examples. Work on these Federal dams is carried on under the glaring rays of the hot summer sun. Cases of sunstroke and heat exhaustion are a daily occurrence. For this miserable work the present rate of pay at this particular Dam is 35 cents an hour for laborers, 40 cents for truck drivers and 90 cents for crane operators. The unemployed union men demanded 50 cents, 70 cents and \$1.62 per hour respectively.

The answer to these demands was the spatter of machine-gun bullets fired by Hoover's company guards at the demonstrating workers. The workers fought back valiantly. Using every improvised weapon at command, the workers showed a real militancy and courage in fighting back the government blackguards.

## The Fate of the World Revolution Hangs in the Balance!

A military dictatorship has been imposed upon the state of Prussia. Martial law reigns in Red Berlin, the city which in 1930 gave the Communists the largest vote. The soldateska of the Junker General Von Schleicher rules the streets. The socialist ministers of Prussia have been ousted from office on threat of arrest. The socialist police president of Berlin has submitted his resignation from the military detention prison at Moabit, to which he has been hailed by Von Schleicher's men.

On the direct demand of Hans Kerl, National Socialist president of the Prussian Diet and after a rabid campaign on the part of Adolf Hitler and Alfred Hugenberg, President Paul Von Hindenburg issued the decree by which Prussia passed over into the hands of the military. The decree establishes the Chancellor of the Reich as Federal Commissioner for Prussia with powers to remove members of the Prussian ministry and to name commissioners for the conduct of the other Prussian cabinet posts. It proclaims the assumption of executive power by the Minister of the Reichswehr and declares "admissible restrictions of . . . freedom of speech, press and assembly, invasion of the mails", etc. It announces the death penalty for strikers.

**The New Decree in Practice**  
Raids have already been carried out on the offices of the *Rote Fahne*, the Communist central organ and the paper

**Mass Meeting**  
**Military Dictatorship in Germany**  
**WILL HITLER TAKE POWER?**  
**WILL THE SOCIALISTS FIGHT?**  
**WHAT SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS DO?**  
Speakers  
H. OEHLER M. SHACHTMAN  
Chairman: A. GLOTZER  
Wednesday, July 27th, at 8 P. M.  
STUYVESANT CASINO  
2nd Avenue and 9th Street  
All Welcome Admission Free  
Auspsices: N. Y. Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)

has been suspended. Police have dispersed a Communist meeting in Southeast Berlin by gunfire. The promulgation of the dictatorship by the Von Papen regime came about as a challenge to the growing resistance on the part of the workers in concerted local actions of Communist and socialists against the Fascist terror. The dictatorship decree is a direct step in the initiation of civil war against the working class.

The newspapers report the jubilant reception given the issuance of the act by Hugenberg and Hitler. It is only natural that Hitler should be jubilant. For the seizure of Prussia cannot be interpreted otherwise than as an organizational preparative for the Fascist seizure of power. The Von Papen government has been carrying out the demands of the Nazis consistently. They have already openly and officially come to the aid of the Fascist bands in their armed attacks upon the working class organization, as is evident from the motivation of the Hindenburg document. The integration of the Nazi Storm Troops within the framework of the state is next on the order of the day.

More shameful and more despicable than ever is the policy of the German social democracy in this situation. Feeling

hobnails of the reactionary soldateska on their very skins, their ministers forcibly ousted, their officials placed under arrest, the reformist traitors are, in spite of all this, calling upon their followers to "maintain order" not to "yield to provocation" and to "concentrate all forces on the Reichstag elections campaign"! Not a word about any kind of united working class action, not even a simulation of militancy. Even today, when it is clear to all that the heads of the workers are at stake, the betrayers of 1918-1919 play their old abominable role, cringing before the will of the bourgeois masters, prepared for the most disastrous sell out of all.

**The Workers Strive for Unity**  
Already their attempts to spread the illusions of a legalistic and parliamentary resistance have been largely dissipated by semi-official announcements that the Reichstag elections are to be postponed. In the meantime the workers are becoming constantly more restless, their desire for united working class action is universal.

"The establishment of a dictatorial power in the hands of Chancellor von Papen", says a Berlin dispatch of the *New York Evening Post*, "has increased the tendency of the social democratic and the Communist workers to draw together in a united proletarian front". This tendency will yet increase manifold. The workers of Germany realize that they are facing a life and death struggle with their mortal enemy. They recognize distinctly in the setting up of the Prussian dictatorship—the hand of Fascism. Their will to fight is not impaired. The showing they have made in the recent clashes with the Hitlerite bands prove that they are far from giving up the struggle.

Yet, while the natural class bonds constantly tend to draw the workers, social democrats and Communists closer and closer, the proletarian camp still remains divided on the eve of battle.

The *Daily Worker* of Thursday July tells us that the "workers have" been establishing the Red United Front . . . over the heads of the social democratic leaders". There can be nothing more dangerous than this deceptive and illusory piece of information. There can be nothing more criminal than the maintenance of the thoroughly false and splitting tactic of the "Red United Front" which poses the question of establishing united front action on the basis of an ultimatum handed to the workers to accept in advance the leadership of the Communist party. And in the same breath, the *Daily Worker* dispatch further informs us that "a mass political strike of the German working class was called for by the Communist party fraction in the Reichstag"—not by any united front body!

If the information of the *Daily Worker* (Continued on page 4)

### PRESS PICNIC IN NEW YORK

A picnic for the benefit of our press will be held at Tibbetts Brook Park, N. Y., Sunday, August 7th. Friends and sympathizers of *The Militant*, *Unser Kampf*, *Communists*, and *Young Spartacus* should cooperate to make this a big success.

The last joint press picnic held in New York was very successful, socially and financially. A good time was had by all. The financial income substantially aided our papers.

A social program is being arranged. One or more baseball games will be played. Food, refreshments, games and amusements will be supplied.

Remember the date, Sunday, August 7. Keep it open. Notify your friends and fellow workers. Watch the *Militant* and the other Opposition press for further announcements and details.

## The Massacre of St. Louis Workers

**ST. LOUIS.**  
Following the forcible dispersion of approximately five thousand unemployed workers and their children who had gathered at the City Hall in St. Louis under the leadership of the local Unemployed Council, the local branch to the Communist League of America (Opposition) sent an open letter to the Communist party in hope of immediate action in reply to our offer of aid and united action in the fight against unemployment and police terror by organizing a united front conference.

As yet the Party has remained quiet, although Foster is scheduled to speak in St. Louis on his election tour in two days.

**Jobless Position Acuteness**  
The unemployment situation in St.

Louis has recently grown acute; the "relief" associations erasing 15,000 families' names from their books within the past week "due to a shortage of funds" and the City operated Bureau For Homeless Men turning nearly 2,000 men out into the streets because "all available finances are already spent". The Board of Aldermen has held a special meeting with 2,000 business men but there was no general agreement on how to raise the necessary funds to "avert the crisis". Everything from a 5 million dollar bond issue to a cent tax on newspapers has been discussed and debated—while the unemployed starved or lived on garbage.

The Unemployed Council of St. Louis, as the result of about 3,000 demonstrations (Continued on page 2)



## The Massacre in St. Louis

Left Opposition Calls Upon Party to Form a Workers' United Front

(Continued from page 1)  
ing on July 8th, "scared" the city officials and the result was: \$1.00 grocery orders were immediately given out after the hunger march. That was Friday. On Monday, yesterday, the Unemployed Council sent in their committee of 12 to the Alderman's Chambers demanding that immediate legislation be passed to raise funds so that the unemployed will receive a minimum of \$7.00 a week for family of two and \$2.00 additional for each dependent.

### Police Bomb Workers

But the committee never came out. After waiting, listening and speaking for three hours, a committee of 50 women and 100 ex-service men volunteered to enter the City Hall to learn what was detaining the original committee of 12. The police immediately tossed a tear-gas bomb at the crowd, and someone in the crowd caught it and tossed it back in the midst of the police. The detectives and cops scamped back into the building, emerging a minute later with two machine-guns, tear-gas guns and several dozen tear-gas bombs. A couple of police began shooting point blank at the mass of people. Four workers falling down, one of them a Negro, who is seriously wounded and expected to die.

The unemployed, in defense of their lives, fought back heroically. With only bricks picked up from the street and some soda bottles and apples and oranges necessarily expropriated from a fruit dealer in their midst, the workers withstood the police tear gas and bullet fire for fully a quarter of an hour before the streets were cleared and capitalist "law and order" established. In the event the Communist party does not immediately act against the police repressions, the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), despite its numerical smallness, will institute the elementary united front campaign for the workers' right to free speech and public assemblage, against the police terrorism, and for immediate unemployment relief.

### ST. LOUIS.—

To protest against last Monday's police massacre, the "united front" of the Unemployed Council, the International Labor Defense and the Communist party, issued circulars calling upon the workers to attend a public protest demonstration at Aloe Plaza, 18th and Market Streets on Wednesday at 5:30 P. M. But the protest demonstration failed to materialize. In compliance with the blue-coats' orders of "no congregating", the party members kept walking and waiting and waiting. For a miracle, I suppose. The several hundreds workers who had come to join in the protest against the police terrorism waited an hour and some two hours trying to figure out why the party members were waiting, and then left, some in disgust, while party members continued looking at the sky, and tying and re-tying their shoelaces. I went up to one of the typical Stalinists (Schwartz) and offered (in line with our letter offering our support) to help start the meeting but was met with the parrot retort of "counter-revolutionists—we wouldn't do anything with you."

### "Self-Criticism"

Now in "explaining" the reasons for the failure of the mass protest the party members give the following Leninist self-

criticism: "The police wouldn't allow any congregating and if anyone would have started speaking he would have been arrested. Besides some of our best speakers were in jail." BUT ALL OF THIS WAS KNOWN BEFORE THE MEETING WAS ARRANGED!

The City administration, seeing that their edict of no Aloe Plaza protest meeting was a success changed their ruling of "no Communist assemblies anywhere in the city for any purpose" and stated the next morning that indoor meetings could be held, "if they were orderly", and that Foster would be allowed to speak at the Turner Hall in the evening.

The election campaign meeting which had been prominently advertised by all of the capitalist newspapers, was well attended. The hall was jammed—with 700 or 800 in attendance. Many of the party members and sympathizers who had failed to show up at the proposed demonstration came down to hear Foster. Vote Communist undoubtedly is their slogan.

In addition to his talk on the national situation, Foster, the great Steel Strike Strategist, gave out the "general line" for the unemployment fight in St. Louis. Despite the non-materialization of the previous nights' protest demonstration and despite the fact that almost every worker present was commenting on it, Foster did not even mention a word about it. He evidently figured the less said about it the better.

### "The General Line"

Foster's "general line" was: The workers must answer "the bullets" and "the concessions". (The "concessions" were \$200,000 that the city administration gave to the charity associations following Monday's massacre). The workers must answer "the bullets with a fighting spirit of steel." And "the concessions" by registering and organizing every unemployed worker in the Unemployed Council. Lastly, "what about the workers who are in jail?" "A Defense Council" must be organized even with delegates from the A. F. of L. unions, fraternal organizations, etc., "for the purpose of" raising money for their defense! Especially property owners are needed, the chairman explained, for bail purposes. There were more cheers, but some of the workers went home asking themselves the question: "Was that Foster, the great Steel Strike Strategist?"

About the immediate necessity of organizing a mass movement to force the administration to permit the workers to publicly assemble, to protest against the police repressions, and to gain our unemployment demands, Foster's silence was golden.

At the conference of the Defense Council (if and when called) the Communist League of America (Opposition) will fight for the adoption of our proposed line of action—the immediate necessity of a broad united front of all working-class organizations to fight for the workers' right to free speech and to public assemblage, against the police terrorism, for the free of the arrested unemployed and for a political, religious or economic affiliations.

—MARTIN PAYER.

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THE MILITANT

## Belgian Diggers Resist Wage-cut

The article below by comrade Lesoil, leader of the Belgian Opposition and active militant of the miners in the Charleroi coal fields, serves as a background of information through which the more recent strike wave which upset Belgium and required the intervention of the king and the government, may be more clearly understood.

Right after the trade union congress, Delattre wrote an article recommending to the miners not to allow themselves to be maneuvered by the Communists.

We are going to prove that the extraordinary congress of the Central was nothing but a maneuver of the leaders in order to subject the miners to the employers.

We will prove this by irrefutable facts. If the official index of May 15 fell so as to justify the bosses' demand for a general 5 per cent cut of the miners in the country, they would immediately have called together the Mixed Commission and demanded the 5 per cent.

They didn't do it . . . because officially they had no right to a contractual reduction.

The fall in the index was invented after the fact! Why? Because the bosses having posted a cut of from 2 to 10 per cent in the Borinage district, the Borinese miners decided unanimously to quit in a strike against this reduction.

Faced by the threat of a general strike in the Borinage, strike which might by its scope and vigor have unleashed a general movement of resistance to the wage cuts, the employees, the government retreated.

They accepted, and followed the advice of the Central trade union leaders who proposed to them to table the 5 per cent reduction for all the miners in the country. The result is that the bosses who wanted to cut the wages of 40,000 miners by 4 per cent on the average, receive a general cut of 5 per cent for 150,000 miners.

Instead of saving 960,000 francs (almost \$40,000) per month from the wages of the Borinese, the employers will save 4,500,000 francs out of the totality of the miners.

Furthermore, with the help of the trade union leaders, they avoid the Borinage strike and obtain a decision of the congress ordering the miners to accept the contractual reduction manufactured at the last minute to deceive the miners and force them into this decision; to leave work in strike against their central organization so as to be able to defend their wages.

What did the speeches of the delegates still working in the mines demonstrate?

1. The will of the Borinese miners to fight in defense of their wages;
2. The great dissatisfaction existing among the miners in all the fields;
3. And this assertion, undisputed by the leaders of the union, that nowhere, in no field, is the contract respected by the bosses.

At the same time the delegates declare that the wages are below schedule, that the employers do not respect them, that the trade union leaders impose the acceptance of the new reduction upon the miners because the workers must respect the contract.

Defenders of the employers' interests, spokesmen of the employers at the head

of the workers' organizations, capitalists and defeatists, saboteurs of the workers' struggle—such was the role of the leaders of the Central at the extraordinary Congress of May 29!

And after that, Delattre writes, democracy prevails in the Central, that the leaders do not dominate and that the decisions are made by the workers. But how explain that in spite of the numerous speeches demanding the organization of a national strike referendum against the wage reductions, the bureau of the congress tables the proposal and would not put it to a vote? Because he knows that to organize a referendum would be to permit the miners to express their combativity and that the reply of all the mine fields would be: "We want to fight unitedly and defend our wages together."

The holding of the extraordinary congress, the efforts of the leaders substituted for the will to struggle revealed against the reduction, the illusory demand for the nationalization of the mines, have but one aim; to put the miners before an accomplished fact of

the dominating position after the attacks. The question confronting American capitalism now is—can the American imperialists follow this up and transform the events into their favor? The American capitalists are not yet sufficiently reorganized to give a positive answer to this question. They are busy with measures to strengthen their position to enable them to carry through the next step. It will not be the other imperialists who will prevent the fulfillment; it can only be the world imperialist under Communist leadership.

If the developing German civil war or an imperialist war does not alter the course, the American capitalists have a favorable chance. At home the financiers have forced the other exploiters to follow their lead. The measures prior to the Two Billion Credit Pool were preliminary steps. The Credit Pool had its positive side for the bankers as well as its negative side for the other classes. The Glass \$1,000,000,000 inflation bill is another step to peg up the Dollar in an attempt to enable it to hold its dominating position. The inflation bill will force through another indirect wage cut upon the American workers and enable the bosses to garner a huge profit even though the rate of profit has fallen.

It is only a temporary measure but such measures are necessary in these trying days. Any measure the capitalists take today will only intensify the contradictions tomorrow. But they cannot wait. The life of dying capitalism is at stake and measures must be taken today.

The capitalist remedy for deflation is inflation, yet neither can touch the core of the problem. The financiers are pressing hard for the Branch Banking Law. And since they started the public campaign many months ago for Branch Banking they have gained considerable headway. This measure will be a worthwhile breathing spell for them if they are able to push it through.

The dollar stands, but the crisis deepens. The financiers have been able to deal some blows through their imperialist agents but the main test is still ahead. The moratorium, the reparations and the German situation holds much in store for the fate of Dollar supremacy.

—H. O.

## New York Painters out on Strike

Drastic Wage Cuts Meets Resistance of Building Trades Workers

(Continued from page 1)  
and for class unity against the capitalist class. The action of the District Council was against unity. The Alteration Painters want the unity of the painters. The District Council also divided the trades by refusing to organize the alteration painters.

A rejection of the United Front is the desire of the A. F. L. officials. If they accept a united front proposal, it is not because they have a change of heart, but because the pressure from the rank and file has forced them into a united front. We want a united front to expose the A. F. L. fakery, to protect the workers from the sell-out and to build and advance the workers industrial labor organizations and movement.

Will the Alteration Painters Union succeed in preventing a sellout, succeed in winning the strike. To find out if this is possible we must investigate the action of the Alteration Painters officials in their United Front proposal. The united front of the Alteration Painters was only a half step, just like the half step taken by the T. U. U. L. in the "new turn". A paper proposal for a strike of the Alteration Painters in support of the A. F. L. strikers. Only after the rejection by the District Council was a leaflet issued calling their members on strike. This shows correct class support in spite of the District Council knifing of unity but it also shows poor tactics.

The proposal of the Alteration Painters Union for equal representation on the strike committee when the District Council counts its members by the thousands and the Alteration painters count theirs by the hundreds, plays into the hands of the A. F. L. officials for good excuses, to reject the class struggle united front. Neither union is an industrial union. The A. F. L. unions stand on the basis of class collaboration and the Alteration Painters Unions stand on that of the class struggle. The failure of the Alteration Painters Union officials to pose the question of uniting the two unions after proper preparations and with organizational safeguards for the class struggle wing of the unity, also gives the fakery weapons against the unity proposal.

In calling for a united front, the Alteration Painters officials failed to carry on the preliminary preparation work within the A. F. L. When the unity committee appeared before the District Council the rank and file, through written word and verbal, should have been well prepared for the negotiations, should know our proposals, should be pushed into a position to support unity, to bring pressure upon their bureaucratic leadership for un-

accepting the wage reductions by the congress without consulting the miners and without permitting them to express themselves on it.

The congress was a maneuver of the reformist leaders to subject the mass of the miners to the conditions of the employers.

It is not with impunity that this policy of complicity and direct aid by the leaders of the trade union Central to the coal bosses is to be practised, for the dissatisfaction is growing and anger is beginning to rise among the miners; and when it explodes their blows will be directed not only against their starvation—bosses but also against their accomplices, the reformist leaders.

Charleroi, Belgium  
—L. LESOIL.

**CAMPFIRE POSTPONED**  
Due to other arrangements that intervened, the campfire announced for Saturday, July 23, by the Spartacus Youth Club, has been postponed until further notice. Watch the *Militant* for further information.

## MILITANT BUILDERS

Who is a Militant Builder? A Militant builder is a comrade or sympathizer who is seriously interested in building the circulation of the *Militant* because he realizes that our point of view, the ideas for which we are fighting, our fight must be carried to an ever widening circle of Communist and Left wing workers and to the working class generally.

A Militant builder understands that to build the circulation of the *Militant* a group of people is necessary—a group of people who conceive it to be one of their main tasks to see workers, talk of workers, to get subs. He understands that it is not enough to do this every now and then. He understands that it is necessary to do this steadily over a long period of time. He understands that in the present period it is his revolutionary duty to get subs. It is the task in hand at the moment.

It is by this steady plugging in this period that we are firmly sinking our roots into the minds and thinking of the working class. Through the work of our staff of Militant builders we are making the name of the *Militant* known, and we are making known what it stands for and fights for.

Right now we need recruits. We want every comrade to join up. It is really a fairly simple matter to get subs. All that is needed is a little energy. Comrades, we must get subs. We must build the circulation of the *Militant*. It is our chief propaganda instrument. It is the voice in this country of revolutionary internationalism. Its message—our message—must be carried to the Communist and Left wing workers, to the whole working class.

To work! Get subs!

## Pioneer Publishers Notes

### JUST ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND!

We are in receipt of 30 copies of *Whither England* by comrade Trotsky. To our readers and comrades this book needs no introduction. It is a brilliant Marxist analysis of the class forces at work in old England. The predictions it makes have been confirmed by time and are being confirmed by the onward sweep of the class war.

The book is paper bound and runs to 180 pages. It sells for 75 cents. Orders will be filled strictly in the order in which they are received.

### WHAT NEXT?

On July 31 the elections to the Reichstag will take place in the midst of what is virtually civil war. On August 1, we will issue comrade Trotsky's latest work dealing with the present situation in Germany. Its great timeliness inclines us to believe that its sale will be quick. What we want now is in advance sale. Comrades, readers and sympathizers! Order your copies now! Make the sale of the book a success! Get orders for it!

Comrades who are unemployed and cannot afford to buy their own copies can earn a copy by getting orders for four copies and remitting for them. Upon receipt of the order we will send free to the comrade a copy of the book.

### PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

"Problems of the Chinese Revolution" is moving but not fast enough. Once more we ask: How many copies have you sold? To unemployed comrades we make the same offer we made in the paragraph above in connection with *What Next?* What we want is to place this book in the hands of as many workers as we can. To workers already infected with Stalinism this book will be a sort of ideological antidote. To workers immune from the ideological degeneration of Stalinism this book will be a sort of immunization. That is our job—to combat and destroy the poison of Stalinism. This book by comrade Trotsky is a potent weapon in our hands—provided we apply it. If every comrade were to sell three copies a good part of our task would be accomplished.

### Publications in Foreign Languages

A number of the works which we advertise in England are also obtainable from us in Jewish, Russian, Italian and Spanish. Comrades who read English with difficulty or feel more at home in their native languages should apply to us for information about these publications. We may not be able to fill every order but we will try.

### BOUND VOLUMES OF TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS

Do you want a copy of these bound volumes? There are still a few left. Do you know a worker who wants to make a serious study of the principle questions in dispute between Stalinism and the International Left? Do you know a worker unclear on the basic question of Socialism in One Country? Do you know a worker who believes in the idiotic theory of social-Fascism? Do you know a worker who thinks we are counter-revolutionists?

If you know such a worker persuade him to buy a bound volume of these pamphlets by comrade Trotsky and study these questions for himself. Explain to him that while he can buy them singly, if he does this he will be unable to get three of the pamphlets which are out of print and unobtainable except in these bound volumes. These pamphlets are the all-important and basic document. The Draft Program of the Comintern: The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany; and World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan.

## The Dollar Versus the Pound

Wall St. and Lombard St. Fight for World Financial Supremacy

For years the American imperialists have been fighting their British competitors, struggling to obtain Dollar supremacy over the Pound, and now the capitalists of the United States can boast that they have accomplished this task. Step by step, since the world war, the Dollar has fought the Pound in every corner of the globe, taking advantage of the decay of the British Empire in order to gain world domination. The Pound ruled when capitalism was expanding, and was able to draw the best of the capitalist profits and plunder toward London, but America has this dollar supremacy in the decay of capitalism, and with the post war reparation tangle, the present deepening crisis, the American capitalists have only been able to reap a whirlwind of entangling world political problems that their Washington office boys are not capable of untangling.

The tremendous productive forces, the over abundance of capital and of means of production laid the base for the present Dollar domination. This enables the American imperialists to stand on the top of the heap of the exploiting capitalist nations. But it is not an expanding and growing world economic structure, that is pouring tribute into the Wall Street. The tribute paid is the tribute of dying "victims" to a master who will give them a little longer lease on life. This forces the American capitalists to face problems unparalleled hitherto in the world of capitalism. Problems that will cut short the fruits of the victory of Dollar domination.

In an attempt to extract itself from the crisis, American imperialism has been forced to give more immediate attention to problems in South America, Asia and Europe than to internal developments. The capitalists, however, have not neglected the problems within the country. On the contrary, they have handled them remarkably well in the interest of the financiers. Every measure of importance taken has been by and for and of the financiers at the expense of the workers, the farmers, the middle class, and the small industrialist. The financiers the monopolist and the big in-

dustrialists are being cared for satisfactorily. The class nature of the drastic measures taken by the government within the country stand out with distinct prominence but the increasing international problems have required even more drastic steps.

In Germany the class struggle is at a higher level and threatening revolution or imperialist war needs measures equal to the task of insuring the position of the American capitalist. When the American workers will begin to press harder upon the exploiting classes, when the revolutionary movement here will surge upward, the more drastic measures, as well as demagogic steps, will be taken internally. In this case it is up to the Communists to be equal the task.

Several months ago when England was forced off the gold standard, the American Dollar won a signal victory in replacing the Pound. New York supplanted London as the gold center. But the present reparations "settlement" throws light upon the manner in which New York replaced London in the period of decay of capitalism. England has no choice in retreating from the gold standard. This was a move to reorganize the British economic structure. Now England is trying to make a come-back. America is trying somewhat different steps. But the purpose of each is the same—to reorganize in order to be in a position to defeat the other imperialist in the struggle for the redivision of the world. By economic war as long as possible—and by imperialist war when necessary. The lowering of wages, and the reduction of the standard of living in America are necessary capitalist steps in this direction. Our class tasks lie in the opposite direction.

After America obtained Dollar domination, other capitalist nations led by France made drastic attacks on the dollar, hoping to dislodge it from the key position. They were successful for a time in badly shaking the American financial structure. It can now be said that the first victory over the Pound has been followed up by a second victory over the other imperialists in retaining

## PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

BY LEON TROTSKY

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# The Civil War in Chile

## Motive Forces Behind South American «Revolutions»

(Continued from last issue)

The "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" mask of Davila and his former companion-in-arms, Marmaduke Grove, served the one purpose of derailing the working masses from their genuine struggle. This demagoguery also found an echo in the Right wing Lovestone group, which declared at the time that the "Radical Rising in Chile Triumphs" and that "Davila Establishes Anti-Imperialist Regime". It is not strange at all that the Lovestoneite opportunists should fall for all the demagoguery of Chile's bourgeoisie. They can't be expected to see further than their nose. They have in their time seen such "radical" and "anti-imperialist" movements in the antics of Chiang Kai-Shek, Calles, Obregon, Sandino, etc.

But the "revolutionary" flirtations of Davila and Co. cannot deceive the conscious proletariat. Davila and his "socialist" phraseology are not even a novelty for us. For Ibanes (whom Davila represented as ambassador to Washington), when he came to power, used a more or less analogous ruse. He also spoke about "anti-imperialism" and national reformism. But his anti-imperialism was directed against the British imperialists alone (whom his predecessor, Alessandri, had served) and in favor of American imperialism. His national reformism became concretized in throwing the whole weight of the crisis on the shoulders of the working class.

For lack of information, we cannot devote ourselves sufficiently to the role played by the official Communist party in the latest events. We shall return to that subject on another occasion. From the information we can get through the bourgeois and the local Communist press, it appears that the party did not attempt a repetition of its putschist tactics, pursued at the time of the revolt of the navy. If this is so, then the party acted quite correctly, for the situation, nationally as well as on the whole continent, is not at a ripe for an insurrection of an independent character.

In order to understand better the problems of the Chilean revolution we shall give a brief account of the social forces in Chile. The proletariat of the towns and countryside, about 400,000 in number, quite considerable in proportion to the population of the country—about 4,000,000—has not yet assimilated the ideas of Communism and still remains subject to great confusion. This is due in large part to the enormous ideological shortcomings of the official party. The working class movement of Chile is one of the oldest in Latin America. It is known for its strong spirit of militancy and for its abounding revolutionary energy. But very often, due to its ideological backwardness, its revolutionary energy is exploited for the interests of alien class forces, as demonstrated to a certain degree by the latest events.

The Communist party is also one of the oldest parties of Latin America and today the strongest, enjoying a great deal of influence over the working class. But it is still very far from being able to give the necessary leadership to the revolutionary proletariat. For it is itself at a low ideological level. The membership as a whole, as well as the leadership are lacking in a theoretical base. The leadership in its big majority is composed of confused revolutionists and petty bourgeois radicals. In this respect it is worth while mentioning that the situation in the other Latin American countries is not much better and in some even worse. A great share of the responsibility for this state of affairs rests upon the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International. This bureaucratic international leadership, with its national socialist base resulting in the practical abandonment of the international revolutionary movement—Latin America included—contributes predominantly to the retardation and the disorientation of the Communist forces in these countries. Oppor-

tunism and adventurism have their deep roots inside the Chilean Communist Party. And where was the Chilean party to learn otherwise? From the rotten maneuvers of Stalin-Bucharin with Chiang Kai-Shek in China and with Purcell, Hicks and Co. in the Anglo-Russian Committee? From the great wisdom of the "third period" which completely overlooked the revolution in Spain and instead put the insurrection on the order of the day in France? No, the teachings and the tactics of Stalin-Manuilsky-Molotov could not help the Latin American parties rid themselves of the ulcers of opportunism and adventurism. On the contrary, they only helped to perpetuate them.

Even greater than in the fields of daily struggle, is the confusionism on the question of the character of the revolution. In the thesis presented by the South American Bureau of the Communist International on the situation in Chile, there is talk, in reference to this question, of the "agrarian and anti-imperialist" revolution and the "workers and peasants" government. This vital and central revolutionary problem is treated with the greatest confusion and ambiguity by the S. A. B. as well as by the whole Stalinist press of Latin America. It is only a logical consequence, since they are part and parcel of the Stalinist apparatus in the C. I. which is responsible for the presentation of the problem of the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries as a problem of the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and the peasantry". This slogan, which has been recovered from the "museum of Bolshevik relics" (to which Lenin had relegated it with just those words), at first applied to countries whose national economy bears an agrarian character, is today being employed by the Stalinists, not only for such countries, but also for highly developed industrial countries (like Germany or the United States). The Leninist slogan of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which carried the Russian revolution to victory and which alone can achieve its victory on an international scale, is taboo for all the Latin American Stalinists.

Without a clear view of the character of the revolution, the Communist movement will not be able to progress in the methods and tactics of struggle. The equivocal formula of the "agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution" can only lead our parties to a repetition of the Calles-Obregon policy of our Mexican party and the "Bloques Obreros y Campesinos" in other countries. All these also flowed from confusionist policies of the anti-Leninist leadership of the C. I. and its scandalous "auxiliaries" like the Anti-Imperialist League, which considered Mexico under the Calles regime a country "where the process of the liquidation of feudalism is being realized and which endeavors to create its own economy in spite of imperialist designs" (resolution on Latin America at the Anti-Imperialist Congress of Brussels).

We have seen to what extent the Stalinist concept of the "anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution" in Mexico has disarmed our party ideologically. The same danger exists for all the young and

weak Latin American parties. Its continued propaganda spells disaster for the development of the revolution in South America. There can be no intermediary revolution. Neither in Chile, nor on the Latin American continent, nor in any other part of the world for that matter. There can be only two forms of rule—the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of Latin America is as backward and non-socialist as in the rest of the world, and therefore cannot participate at the present stage of history as a leading force in society. It can either turn to reaction and go with the bourgeoisie or follow the proletariat along the road of revolution. It is necessary to end the illusions and the idealization of the peasantry. It is necessary to take a Marxist position on the agrarian problem, so as to be able to adopt a correct revolutionary line in the development of the class struggle in Latin America. Such a position requires the recognition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on a national, on a continental and on a world scale.

In conclusion. The latest events reflect the existence of wide spread intranquility among all social groups and the sharpening of the class struggle in particular. The bourgeoisie is not able to solve the crisis, which determines the changes in the government cliques and which helped carry Davila into power. The misery and the starvation of the producing masses of the cities and the countryside remain as before. The personal dictatorships, or even Fascist dictatorships, no matter what sort of demagoguery they employ, will not be able to revive the carcass of the semi-colonial capitalist system in Chile. All the fundamental problems stand unsolved and are increasing in acuteness. The contradiction will take on even a sharper character in the future.

This opens up broad perspectives for the Communist party. But in order to be able to take advantage of this extraordinary, favorable situation for a progressive development of the Communist forces, it is necessary to have a clear view of the problems of the revolution, not only of Chile, but of the Latin American continent in particular and the international situation in general. It is necessary to adopt a correct strategy and tactic by coordinating and systematizing the Communist activities on a continental scale, since the triumph of the revolution in Chile depends upon that in the most important countries of Latin America, as an integral part of the world revolution. That necessary strategy and tactic can only be elaborated on the basis of the theory of the permanent revolution.

—ALBERTO GONZALEZ.

### FIRST MEETING IN ANTHRACITE

The first meeting of the Left Opposition in that part of Pennsylvania will be held on Sunday, July 24th at 3 P. M., in Luzerne, Pa., the heart of the anthracite coal fields. The meeting will be held in the Italian Reunited Hall, in which comrade Max Shachtman, editor of the *Militant*, will speak on "The Crisis in the Communist Movement". This will be the first opportunity of the workers in that territory to hear the viewpoint of the Left Opposition expressed from the platform. Admission is free to enable the maximum to attend.

# What Is Happening in the Soviet Union

## A Letter from Moscow

lectivization of the peasantry has suffered in the course of two or three years an equally grandiose defeat. This fact enters in an ever increasing scale into the consciousness of the entire nation, and dominates more and more the consciousness of the nation.

All our crises and difficulties following after October 1917 had one and the same profound source: the absence of the jointure or the instability of the jointure between the city and the village. The vacillations in the matter of collectivization (dizziness, and then pulling oneself out of it only to be followed by new dizziness) meant for the hundred-millioned village, commotions on a grandiose scale. Here the revolution reached out to the deepest roots of the national-economic life. The bureaucracy perpetuated everything in order to endow these processes, difficult as they were through the force of objective causes, with the most acute possible unhealthy character. The peasantry at the present moment is indubitably dissatisfied. They do not know what or how to gauge and they feel all too clearly in their everyday existence that those on top do not know what direction to take. I speak in the main of the period preceding the restoration of the private market. The new reform came unexpectedly. Its consequences may be very great. At the moment it is not easy to appraise it. The responses and presuppositions it has called forth from all sides vary considerably and sometimes are directly contradictory. The leadership offers no general appraisal, i. e., does not function as a leadership. But I shall write subsequently about the markets because up to now they are in a large measure more of a symptom than an economic factor.

The chief characteristic of the present situation, particularly in the mood of the party, is the disquieting indeterminateness. The causes for it are ingrained in the international situation, and the economic manifestations as well as the subjective mood of the party. During the last years, the center of gravity in the party shifted ever higher and higher. The more the party became distended, the smaller became the number of individuals that preserved an influence on the life of the state. In the course of a few years everybody was tutored to swear by the "Leninist C. C."; but now the young Comsomol (member of the Y. C. L.) retainers in the apparatus refer to the C. C. with semi-ironical smirks; the matter, you see, rests not with C. C. but with given individuals and groupings within the apparatus.

The first two years of the five year plan undoubtedly uplifted the self-esteem of the upper crust and strengthened the personal authority of Stalin. Our papers reprinted the references of the foreign press to the successes of the industrialization and to its organizers. There is no doubt that this exerted its influence on sufficiently wide circles. The highest crest of this wave can be considered, if you please, the moment of the trial against the Mensheviks. It would be incorrect to explain away their confessions and repentances by cowardice alone. The more honest among them were undoubtedly under the influence of the successes in industrialization and collectivization.

### THE ALL-EMBRACING COLLECTIVIZATION

But, comparatively speaking, from this same time the situation in food stuffs and necessities begins to sharpen acutely. The all-embracing collectivization, represented in itself an extremely contradictory process. Very considerable strata of the peasantry went into the collective farm approximately in the same state of mind with which the unemployed flock into the community soup-kitchens. With only this difference, that in capitalist community kitchens are expended philanthropic crusts of capitalist profits, whereas within an important number of the collective farms the basic capital was eaten up. At the present moment the bureaucracy of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture reckons—secretly, of course,—that only 10% of the collective farms have become firmly established, while the remainder cannot be taken into account. It is quite possible that this is an exaggeration to the other side; a disenchanted bureaucracy is none too bashful in its dealings with statistics. But it is indubitable that the grandiose utopia of an all-embracing col-

The letter which we publish here may be considered as entirely authoritative, being written by a well-informed comrade in Moscow who is in a position to know what is taking place. The next issue of the *Militant* will contain the conclusion of the letter and make it possible for our readers to be oriented more intimately on such questions as the status of the collectivization movement, the internal party situation, etc.

recalled at present by many, but, of course, only among themselves, within a narrow circle. At this moment, in the summer of 1932, it is no less exigent to give oneself a lucid accounting of the actual situation than in the beginning of 1921. But here blocking the road at every step the party regime looms in the way. . . .

The situation in foodstuffs is grave to extremes. Not only in Crimea or Georgia but in the Urals, Ukraine and Siberia. The deterioration in the functioning of the transport system has not been restored by Andreyev. Miracles were expected from this precocious bureaucrat, a former "Trotskyist", who was put in place of the old Stalinist Rukhimovich, but the miracles did not materialize. The root of the matter is in the provisions situation of the workers and the employees. All the arrears in and the failures and unfulfillments of plans, the falling in quality, etc., of the transport and both the light and heavy industry have in the main the same source: the insufficient and irregular provisioning of the workers. Wherever there is a scarcity of the most essential objects for personal subsistence there you inevitably get the development of misuse, plundering, speculation, etc. Such is the atmosphere that surrounds the cooperatives and the government trade units.

At the Congress of the Trade Unions, Molotov alone improvised on the theme that the successes of the five year plan found their expression "in the considerable betterment of the well-being of the working classes and of the laboring village." Molotov, in general, is reckoned as the leader of the Left flank of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is rumored that he personally is against all retreats and modifications in the questions of collectivization and industrialization. But Rudzutak spoke at that same Congress in an altogether different tone, "Why are we so badly off in matters relating to supplying the workers? First of all because we allotted too little attention to this sphere of activity. We were absorbed in gigantic enterprises." In his old letter about the five year plan, C. G. Rakovsky long since sounded the alarm, warning that the industrialization could break off and endanger the entire regime, if the leaders would henceforth "pay little attention" to the problems of provisioning the workers. But Rakovsky is even now in Barnaul. While Rudzutak in Moscow is forced to admit, "The great mass of consumers, the great mass of workers, and collective farms operatives, who are served by poor cooperatives, poor trade institutions are becoming imbued with nasty feelings." There is, of course, no exaggeration whatever in Rudzutak's words. This spring in Moscow factories—even in Moscow where the position is privileged—there took place mass demonstrations of dissatisfaction. And the reasons? Increased prices, scarcity of goods, increased dues and taxes, and particularly the deficiency in victuals. It became necessary to mobilize some 3,000 agitators to get to work on the workers. Of course all these "misunderstandings" have thus far borne a family character. In so far as one may judge, the bourgeoisie and its agents, the Mensheviks did not succeed in getting their hands warm from this; but the symptomatic significance of these manifestations of dissatisfaction is very great. This is apparent if only from the fact that blocks of stone such as Rudzutak have become articulate.

The bureaucracy senses that there is dissatisfaction with it from below and it transfers its growing alarm over to Stalin. While formerly the bureaucracy itself presented matters in such wise as to make Stalin the source of all successes, it is now inclined more and more in seeing in him the author of all failures. There is an evergrowing discord between the official tone in relation to Stalin and the actual attitude toward him. Shvernik, Stalin's commissar in the trade unions announced in his report at the Congress, "One of the most important conditions for the victory of the general line of our party is the fact that at the head of our party, there stands immovably the truest and most genial pupil of Lenin, the leader of the working class, comrade Stalin." The majority of the delegates sat through the pronouncement of these words with wooden faces. All tried to avoid looking at one another. No one believes in the "genius" of Stalin. Two years ago, even last year, many of these same delegates considered, however, useful and necessary to sustain the fable of the genius. In this way the bureaucracy hoped to strengthen its authority before the masses. Now there remains only a thin core of the bureaucracy which continues, like Shvernik, in sustaining a patently fallen idol. The majority of the bureaucracy, even in the party, is seeking to remove itself from the Stalinist faction, in the restricted sense of the word.

### (To be continued)

**NEW YORK BRANCH PICNIC**  
The New York Branch of the Communist League of America will hold a picnic at Tibbetts Brook Park, on Sunday, August 7th. It is planned to get all members, friends and sympathizers of the Left Opposition in New York to attend.

Keep the date open. Watch The Militant for further information.

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## Nine Years of the Struggle of the Left Opposition

# The Ultra-Left Zig-zag in the Comintern and the «Third Period»

(Continued from last issue)

The dissolution of this state of affairs, as we have seen from previous articles, was not long delayed. In almost less time than it takes to tell it, virtually all the leading spokesmen of the Sixth Congress were either crushed organizationally, expelled outright, or saved from expulsion by humiliating capitulation. Just as the leaders of the Fifth Congress lasted but a brief moment in the seats of power, so did the Sixth Congress "Bolsheviks" meet with a speedy end. Bucharin, the political leader of the Congress, the reporter on the program, the president of the Comintern, was denounced a few months later as the leader of the capitalist-restorationist tendency in the Soviet Union (no less!). Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe were unceremoniously expelled as agents of the American bourgeoisie. Roy, who had made a livelihood denouncing Trotsky as an agent of Chamberlain, found himself designated in exactly the same manner. Jilek and Co. in Czechoslovakia, Kilbourn in Sweden, Brandier (and almost Ewert) in Germany, Sellier and Co. in France, and a host of others were expelled or withdrew from the Comintern.

The removal of any Right wing restraint made possible the climb to the heights of absurdity at the 10th Plenum in 1929, to the very peaks of the "third period". In passing, it might be mentioned that even among the Right wing politicians there is a somewhat academic dispute about the origin of the "revision

of Leninism" (from the Right wing standpoint). The American Lovestoneites, who tried to sell the Sixth Congress to the American party, declare that the "revision" began only at the 10th Plenum. The German Brandierists, as well as M. N. Roy, declare that it began at the Sixth Congress. To the extent that this dispute is of practical importance, right is undoubtedly to be found more in the German than in the American sector of the Right wing. The 10th Plenum was the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Sixth Congress, with a number of novelties added by Stalin and Molotov on their own account.

It is sometimes hard to determine whether this Plenum should be examined from the standpoint of politics or the standpoint of farce. It is the plenum par excellence of the "third period", the same "third period" which was at first denounced as an opportunistic idea by the Thaelmann-Neumann delegation to the Sixth Congress.

The "third period", its proponents explained, was characterized by a constantly increasing radicalization of the masses, simultaneously in every country. There can be no fourth period, announced Molotov, for the third period ends with revolution. The present "heightened political sensitivity of the broad masses," added Losovsky, "is a characteristic sign of the eve of a revolution". Molireva, a member of the E. C. C. I., declared: "It is my opinion from the

May events as well as from the recent Polish events that there were a series of elements in them that recall our July days. The fact alone that the Communist parties had to restrain the most advanced sections of the working class in their surge forward, speaks for a rapidly approaching revolutionary situation." This extravaganza is illuminated only if it is remembered that our "July days" were the direct precursor of the insurrectionary October days in Russia. And it must further be remembered that all these fantasies were presented to the official Communist world as unshakable articles of faith more than three years ago!

### Third Period and Social-Fascism

And from this "third period" with its incessantly rising radicalization of the masses in virtually every country in the world, in which France was solemnly announced to be at the head of the revolutionary list (in 1929!), flowed the theory of social Fascism, a disease of senile decay from which the Comintern is suffering to this day. With Stalin's ingenious formula of 1924 in mind, Manuilsky now announced that "The fusion of the social democracy with the capitalist state is not merely a fusion at the top. This fusion has taken place from top to bottom, all along the line." Improving on Lenin, Manuilsky announced that Noske back in 1918 was already a social Fascist.

The master strategist of the Hungarian revolution, Bela Kun, who destroyed that revolution by failing to understand the nature of the social democracy in 1918, now tried some ten years later to repair the damage by advancing an even worse interpretation: "Social-Fascism is the type of Fascist development in those countries in which capitalist development is more advanced than in Italy. . . . In

this stage of development, social reformism dies out; it is transformed partly into social demagogic elements and partly into the element of mass violence of Fascism."

From which Manuilsky drew the conclusion concerning the united front policy that "we have never considered it as a formula for everybody, for all times and people. . . . Today we are stronger and proceed to more aggressive methods in the struggle for the majority of the working class." What the lesser functionaries had to contribute to the question may easily be imagined from these few quotations.

The official motivation for the establishment of the "third period" and all its commandments was false from beginning to end. But this does not mean that there was not a profound reason for the 180 degrees turn in the course of the Comintern. The reasons for the Leftward swing here already been sketched here. Centrism, bereft of any anchor in principles, possessing no platform distinctly its own, was driven to the Left by the pressure of events and criticism. Having no real foundation, it must base itself upon an artificially preserved prestige. In order to maintain the continuity of its prestige, that is, in order to explain away the head-over-heels turn to the Left, or more precisely, in order to justify the change without in any way leaving room for criticism of its preceding course, the "third period" was called into existence.

### A Convenient Theory

By its proclamation, the Centrists were able to justify the "united front from the top" with Chiang Kai-Shek and Purcell as well as no united front at all. Both were justified by one brilliant theory: the arbitrary establishment of "periods". In the "second period", ac-



# Germany on the Eve of Civil War

(Continued from page 1)

In this instance is correct, then the Stalinist leadership is guilty of a heinous crime against the German and international working class. To issue a separate call, to call for action today, when the enemy is at the gates, before constructing a solid and unified proletarian front is an empty gesture.

## Communist Clarity Imperative

The hour of decisive struggle is close at hand. Whoever toys with a situation like the present toys with disaster. It is necessary for the leadership of the Communist party to take a bold step in order not to crash into an abyss. It must tell the working class in all frankness that its policies of the recent past—with its theory of "social fascism" and its tactic of the "Red United Front"—have been false. The party must prove to the workers that it is earnest and sincere that it is capable of correcting its mistake, that it is their only genuine party. That requires an appeal to the followers of the social democrats and the reformist trade unions to put their leaders to the test, by demanding of them that they join in a united front of all the proletarian organization in the fight against fascism.

## The Class Line-Up—International

The imperialist powers are standing on the side, nodding with approval at the preparations for the fascist seizure of power in Germany. France, so loud in its official and unofficial protests to mere parades of German Nationalities in the past, is keeping strangely silent today, when Nationalist reaction spreads out in full force. Why? Because the French imperialists, like all the others, realize what their class stakes are in the impending civil strife. Hitler and his herald, Von Papen, know very well that in the struggle against their own working class, they will receive the full support of French imperialism. They know that in return for this support, they will have to act with their French supporters against the class brothers of the German working class in Soviet Russia. The struggle of the classes in Germany involves the struggle of the class on an international scale. The seizure of power by the fascists in Germany will give the signal for a general mobilization among the world powers against the U. S. S. R.—against the world working class.

It is plain that the seizure of power by the fascists can be answered only by a mobilization of the working class of the U. S. S. R. and of the world. It is under such circumstances, in a situation pregnant with great events of international and historical significance, that the Comintern and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union maintain an ominous silence. Is the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is the Executive Committee of the Communist International to persist in

its silence? Or will the revolutionary movement of the world receive a clear and loud word from its "general staff?"

The workers of Germany are facing a fateful, epoch-making struggle, the imperialists are arming for war, through a robber Japan in the East. The silence of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist movement must be broken. Workers, revolutionists, bombard your Communist party organizations with demands that the Comintern speak out, that the Soviet leadership speak out and act decisively!

Demand the adoption of the Leninist United Front, demand that the Communist Party of Germany put the reformist leaders to the test in action! United

working class action of the Communist and social democratic organizations must be posed in an international manner: a fight against fascism on the basis of the most intimate and concrete collaboration of the German working class and the U. S. S. R. Let the social democrats answer in action. Let the workers who follow them judge them on the answers they give in action within the United Front. That is the only way to avoid defeat in this fateful hour.

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## Democratic Party & Unemployment

The Republicans and the Democrats are two sides of one medal. The only difference between them is that the Republicans are in and the Democrats are out. If one understands this, then it is not difficult to grasp the meaning and purpose of the two old parties.

In the final analysis, they are both employed by the same master—Wall Street. But these parties do not say or even do the identical thing. There is a division of labor between them. The fact that they have special and different duties to perform towards their common master, is particularly noticeable during a crisis.

The Republican party holds the reins of government. Consequently all its statements and actions must not only be directed towards maintaining the status quo (the capitalist system) but also to defend the methods employed during their tenure of office, to perpetuate the system. The task that falls to the Democrats, in this election campaign, is a horse of a different color.

## Problem of Democrats

The pernicious duty of the Democrats springs entirely from present conditions—the economic crisis. Discontent is rife throughout the land. But it is still vague, embryonic and undirected. It is not yet clear to the American masses how to turn or against which enemy their blows should be leveled. The trick of the Democrats is to seize hold of this disgruntlement and to guide it into harmless channels.

The thing to do—and the Democrats make no bones about their little job—is to prevent the masses from seeing things as they actually are. It is not the Capitalist system that is responsible for the unprecedented evils and the unparalleled misery. The profit system is both perfect and eternal. This is the theory of the Democrats. But the Republican party has misused and abused the "precious" system. And this is the main plank in the Democratic platform. The crisis is due to the Republicans, starvation, wage cuts and evictions, and unemployment—all are due to Republican maladministration. Drive the G. O. P. out, put us in, and everything will be hunky-dory. This sort of tripe is being peddled around by the ton, and no doubt it will have its effect.

The economic catastrophe of today is not the first in American history. They have occurred every few years, as long as the parasitic few, known as "capital", have held sway over the large majority of exploited wage slaves. And crises have occurred irrespective of which party was in office. We have known "Democratic" crises as well as "Republican",

The Democrats, with their candidate, Roosevelt, will stand by capitalism to their dying day. But that does not hinder them from selling their demagogic wares in open market. They pose as saviors of the worker and petty bourgeois who are called, the "forgotten man". They will "restore employment, improve present conditions and afford permanent relief to the people". There is as much truth in this statement as there is in one of Baron Munchausen's notorious fables. There is nothing in this program that could accomplish such a miracle. Only the Communists, with their program for the proletarian revolution can solve this knotted problem.

For the unemployed the Democrats have nothing but fake promises and polished words. The shorter working week is promised only as a measure to include government employees. In a previous issue we pointed out the positions of the Democrats on the bill cutting the hours of the civil service employees. But they also gave them a corresponding reduction in wages. And the Democrats want to make this a national program. Morgan is with them. But what about the "forgotten man"?

## Unemployment Insurance

Unemployment insurance is slipped into the platform on the ly—but only as a state measure. Roosevelt has been governor of New York State for four years. Where is the unemployment insurance?

Unemployment relief is held out as a big snare for votes. But—the Democratic mayors of New York, Chicago and Detroit have all cut off immediate relief to the unemployed, even though the demand for it becomes more urgent.

The real program of the Democratic lickspittles has already been shown with unmistakable clarity. It is a program of lead. In Democratic Detroit, when the starving demanded relief, Mayor Murphy's police poured a hail of bullets into their demonstrating ranks, killing four and wounding many others. In Melrose Park, Chicago, Cermak's Democratic cops trained machine guns on the jobless, murdered one and wounded five.

The program of the Communist League is one of action:

The six hour day, five day week—no reduction in pay.

Immediate federal and local relief.

Unemployment insurance.

Recognition of and credits to Soviet Russia.

Vote for Foster and Ford!

This is the program for the workers—the Democrat's is for the bosses. There can be no mistake in the choice of the proletariat.

# Problems of the Unemployed

The unemployment crisis has become an enormous factor in beginning to develop a change of ideology and—what will flow from it—a change of political allegiance within the American working class. These trends of a change are appearing first among the unemployed section. Its course will naturally lead away from the prevailing bourgeois influence. But its direction, whether reformist or revolutionary, as far as the immediate future is concerned, is not yet decided.

Within the unemployment movement both of these two opposites are represented. They are represented on the one hand in the Unemployment Councils initiated, organized and controlled by the official Communist party. On the other, we have such as the Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle and other Pacific Coast cities, the Superior Labor Unemployment Committee, the unemployment movement of the West Virginia Miners Union and the unemployment organizations of the Socialist Party.

It is not the purpose here to describe these latter organizations in their history and development, or to try to make a thorough analysis; that will be found in another article in this issue. Here it is only the purpose to develop a few points by way of comparison.

## The Party Councils

The Unemployment Councils, organized by the party, took on features from its inception which ordinarily should have been to their advantage. But they also took on features, and a good many more, which seriously hindered their development. In both respects it was a matter of party policy. First of all they were founded on the idea that nothing can be obtained by the working class except through struggle and naturally they became militant in character not so much concerned with the purely practical, and usually shortlived, methods of self-help. (In this connection we are leaving out of consideration the Browderian idea of soup kitchens which was, fortunately for the party, also shortlived). The Councils had a semblance of a national scope, being initiated in the main cities throughout the country under a centralized direction. This was all to their advantage.

But one particular feature of disadvantage alone was pretty well sufficient to offset all this. The councils were not at all, in the real sense of the word, organized as united front bodies. As a matter of fact the restrictions and limitations put upon them, with the bureaucratic methods of control entirely prevented them from becoming representative of a mass movement. To this it is necessary to add the adventurist tactical policies pursued by the party and swinging from the extreme of "capturing the streets" to the opportunist method of propagating only unemployment

which constantly reduced the movement to smaller proportions. For these reasons the Unemployment Councils have marked a fairly constant downward curve despite the exceptional opportunities available. By way of comparison we have on the other hand the unemployment organizations mentioned of which perhaps the Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle, Wash., is one of the best examples. Its objectives were distinctly those of "practical" reform measures. It attained considerable success in the methods of mutual self-help such as collections of food and other necessities. It also used its influence in a political way to obtain certain relief measures from the city government. Its practical advances turned it rapidly into becoming a mass movement. But it was not only in the features already cited that it represented an opposite tendency to the party controlled Unemployment Councils, that held

true in almost every other respect. It is a localized movement, loosely organized with few regulations and, while remembering that it is still a comparatively new movement, its existence has so far marked an upward curve.

## The Reformist Dilemma

Nevertheless this movement is about to come to its crossroads. That is above all determined by its distinctly reformist direction and the alternatives it will face at the crossroads are already clearly indicated. It has already begun to take on the political parliamentary features of endorsing so-called favorable candidates for elections. It is speaking of "establishing factories" to produce for the league members. Of course, the means of production are not expropriated that way nor will such parliamentary politics establish a workers government. So in both cases these alternatives can lead at best only to reducing the movement to either a purely reformist parliamentary party or a mutual self-help society, neither of which will afford it the possibility of playing a very serious or positive working class role.

There is, of course, still another alternative at hand, namely; for this movement to change its course and progress toward a revolutionary direction. Of that, however, there will be little likelihood unless the revolutionary, the Communist elements consciously penetrate the movement with this as the distinct objective. But to realize such an objective it would be necessary first of all for the official party policy to change, by an earnest adoption of the united front tactic in the unemployment movement. Both of these measures would go hand in hand and would be entirely in accord with the needs of the working class movement as well as the requirements of a revolutionary policy.

But these two comparisons bring to the fore also the serious question of the stage of development of the broad working class movement today. Have we reached a point at which the Communist party can assume to function as the controlling center of the whole, broad mass movement? Hardly! An unemployment mass movement in the United States is yet in its infancy and its potential political level is so far only a very elementary one. In such a situation the party must still conceive its role and function as the Left wing within a general movement. However, if this is the correct analysis, and it could hardly be contested, then that fact alone so much more reinforces the imperative necessity of the party utilizing its present strategic position of being in control of the Unemployment Councils, to endeavor seriously to build the unemployment movement on a national scale into a genuine united front movement, not only embracing the unemployment organizations mentioned, but all existing working class organizations, political trade unions and fraternal bodies.

But even these questions touch only one side of the problem. There are now special features developing within American capitalist economy, accelerated by this crisis. On the one hand there is the phenomenon of a permanent unemployed army. Its permanency is quite well recognized, and need not be further substantiated by arguments. On the other hand there are the specific measures being applied by American capitalism in an effort to get out of the crisis. The first one noticeable is the beginning toward restoring profits on existing capital, i. e., increasing the mass of profit. In this respect "Broadstreet's" tells us some interesting examples:

## Capitalist Income

"The Baltimore and Ohio . . . in February 1932, nearly doubled its February 1931, net operating income despite a

\$2,750,000 reduction in gross. The New York Central lowered its operating ratio to 74.5, the lowest for any month since 1929, and also increased its net with a smaller gross. Altogether some 20 railroads were able to report higher incomes. Mr. W. W. Colpitts, of Coverdale & Colpitts, railroad engineers, has estimated that if railway carloadings return to but half way between their present level and the 1929 figures, the net operating income for the roads in the United States as a whole would be greater than in 1929."

Here we have a practical illustration of what the restoration of profits means. It represents an enormous increase in the intensity of exploitation; more profits realized with less men employed. The violent depression of the wage level is already well known, and known by actual experience to all employed workers. But by these very facts, the problems of the crisis, the problems of unemployment becomes even more distinctly problems of the working class as a whole, not at all confined to the unemployed alone. And the conclusion which we must of necessity draw therefrom will be that an unemployed movement confined to the unemployed alone is doomed to impotence and extinction. The unity of action of the employed with the unemployed must be assured.

The possibilities for this are available particularly in the stage we are now entering. Its permanent army of unemployed, its increase in intensity of exploitation and its depression of the wage level also bring the immediate and most pressing needs of the working class as a whole down to a more general, a more common level for all sections concerned. This will serve to harmonize its demands.

It is from such considerations as these that the party leadership must draw its conclusions. Its great opportunities it has so far recklessly frittered away, bureaucratically stifled all criticism and driven away again from the party ranks the many workers who came sincerely to Communism but could not agree with such methods. The party is now faced with a serious contest for influence with social reformism within the unemployment movement. The direction this movement will take, toward revolutionary objectives or merely toward reformism is still to be decided. If the party is to cast its weight in the scale for the decision and seriously bring its influence to bear, it must change its course. Not a change toward emulating the "practicalness" of the reformists but a change toward uniting the workers in struggle and bringing forward, more clearly the revolutionary objectives.

The unemployment movement must be thoroughly integrated with the general working class movement, particularly the trade unions. It is a necessary condition that all workers be drawn into a united front movement for the struggle growing out of the unemployment situation. Only the Communists are really capable of organizing such a united front. But for that the party must also become integrated within the general movement. It must penetrate the broad workers' organizations, particularly the trade unions.

—ARNE SWABECK.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition)  
at 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

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

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

Vol. No. 5, No. 30 (Whole No. 126)  
SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1932  
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Single rates, 3 cents per copy.

## The Fascist Firing Squads in Action From Maggiora to Sbardellotto and Bovone

The first time the firing squads instituted by Mussolini following the exceptional laws (November 1926) was ordered to function, it was against Michel Della Maggiora, a Communist worker. Since then (November 14, 1928) the Special Tribunal has several times had recourse to the black shirt rifles for the "defense" of the Fascist state. After the execution of the Communist worker Della Maggiora, we had that of the Slovene nationalist Gortan (October 17, 1929) and of the anarchist Schirru on May 29, 1931. At dawn on June 17, the engineer Domenico Bovone and the mason Angelo Sbardellotto fell under a rain of Fascist lead, shot in the back. Both had been condemned to death by the Special Tribunal under the indictment of being "terrorist agents of the Anti-Fascist Concentration which has its center in Paris".

Under the same indictment, other accused have been condemned to from 10 to 30 years of confinement. In the succession of death verdicts executed by the black shirt squads—from Della Maggiora to Bovone and Sbardellotto—there is a sort of demonstration by blood and fire to the Italian situation.

From the whole Fascist experience, it becomes clear that Mussolini is forced to have recourse to a redoubling of the terror every time Fascism comes to a critical turn. In order to facilitate its task, it makes use of provocations, which have become a system in Mussolini's art of governing. From numerous evidence in our possession, the provocations organized by the O. V. R. A. (a sort of Fascist Okhrana) never or almost never fail to play their part in the various unsuccessful attempts on the life of the Duce and in the many arrests of anti-Fascist militants working secretly in Italy. But

one fact is certain: the impotence of the defense organizations of the Fascist state (O. V. R. A., Special Tribunal, etc.) in their efforts to uproot anti-Fascism. "We must put an end to this rabid growth," the public prosecutor exclaimed at the trial of Bovone, in demanding a death verdict against him. But this "rabid growth" of anti-Fascism does not cease its bloom. It is growing and its roots are spreading. While the jails are bursting with prisoners and the ditches filled in with the corpses of the assassinated, new fighters are produced, prepared to dare anything, to sacrifice everything.

## The Weapon of Terror

The weapon of the terror is being transformed into a weapon against the regime. Yesterday, still with a hesitant hand, a worker was shot, a fighter of Communism, Michele Della Maggiora; today the needs of the butchers have increased and it is necessary for them at the dawn of the same day to assassinate the engineer Bovone, terrorist of the Irish school and the worker Sbardellotto, both accused of having acted for the Anti-Fascist Concentration.

The particular and immediate significance of the two new victims of the black shirt executions rests precisely in the fact that the trial of Bovone and Sbardellotto were trials against the Anti-Fascist Concentration against "democratic" anti-Fascism. The public prosecutor through whom the Fascist state has spoken, demanded a regular punitive expedition against the democratic anti-Fascist exiles. The Italian press has even gone so far as to demand the extradition of the leaders of the A. C. in Paris or at least the carrying out of the expulsion decrees issued by the Tardieu government. The Fascist offensive

against the democratic anti-Fascist parties who compose the Concentration is also a manifest sign of the deep economic and social crisis which is undermining the black shirt regime. The process of the going over of ever larger layers of the population into the camp of the opposition to Fascism is accelerated by the constant aggravation of the economic crisis. All the governmental promises are belied by the facts. No recovery in the field of production, but stagnation and further decline. Unemployment had more than doubled (from 400,000 to more than 1,000,000), the deficit in the state budget has risen to nearly 2.5 billion. The domestic debt has increased enormously (92 billion lire). Taxes are so intolerable that the tax payers can no longer pay them and the state cannot enforce payment. Consumption has been reduced in the extreme. There has been a general decline in stocks; the industries can get no credit; failures are increasing (from 894 in 1917 to 1668 in February 1932).

A problem which strikes at the very heart of the regime is the crisis of the young generations of the petty bourgeoisie—the crisis of the youth that leave the universities and the secondary schools and presses upon the state for jobs, for work. In 1919-1920, the unemployment of the intellectual petty bourgeoisie gave birth to Fascism. After ten years of Fascist rule, a swing in the opposite direction is becoming manifest in the various strata of the petty bourgeoisie to such a point that friction can be observed even inside of Fascism between the "young and the old".

## Fascism Losing Support

Contrary to what is taking place in Germany, Fascism in Italy is losing more and more its social supports, which explains its evolution in the direction of ever more brutal forms of terror and oppression. From the factories, anti-Fascism is penetrating into the universities, among the petty industrialists and mer-

The shake-up of the Fascist cabinet which has just been announced, with Mussolini dropping one of his most prominent ministers, Dino Grandi, plus four other ministers and eleven under secretaries of state, indicates the increasing difficulties which the Fascist regime is encountering in Italy. Mussolini, who has already concentrated in his hands several of the

chants, among the artisans and the peasants. Out of fear of being isolated from its allies—the middle layers—the bourgeoisie itself has become hesitant. The fear of the immediate future is manifest from the attitude of the Rome government in international politics. One expression of it is to be found in the telegram of Mussolini to the Lausanne Conference ("It is necessary to insist and to make a decision, if we are to have world recovery").

One task of the Communist party in Italy consists in understanding how to profit from the vacillations of the middle class forces who are turning away from Fascism, in order to win them over from the bourgeoisie as allies of the working class. But the leadership of the Italian Communist Party is also following the theory of social-Fascism. It also combines all the anti-Fascist, non-Communist parties into one reactionary mass. In this manner it only succeeds in making the policy of the Communist party incomprehensible and in preventing the revolutionary proletariat from extending its influence also to certain sections of the middle classes.

Democratic anti-Fascism (the Anti-Fascist Concentration), in fighting against the Fascist dictatorship, fights at the same time against the proletarian direction of the anti-Fascist movement, that is to say, it fights to prevent the proletariat, the Communist solution of the Italian crisis. Therein consists the

cabinet posts, now takes over the ministry of foreign affairs as well. The international complications of Fascism's foreign policy are being added to the internal difficulties of Fascism at home, which are dealt with in the following article by comrade Feroci, one of the prominent spokesmen of Italian Communism and of the Left Opposition.

real counter-revolutionary function of the A. F. C., its reactionary substance. But it is stupid to present the democratic anti-Fascist movement as a movement in competition with Fascism, as *Stato Operaio* (theoretical organ of the C. P. I.) does. That only makes everything confused, does not teach the masses anything of the real nature of the Concentrationist type of anti-Fascism. Curious competitors, these "social Fascists" who throw bombs against the black shirt regime and who get themselves shot in the back by the same regime. By grouping together in this single reactionary mass the butchers and their victims, by wiping out all distinction between Fascism and democratic anti-Fascism, one only aids the latter in its role of deceiving the working class and of preventing it from accomplishing its revolutionary aims. The Communist party can succeed in showing the real counter-revolutionary function of democratic anti-Fascism only by the way of action, in the process of the struggle, that is to say, by pushing the anti-Fascist struggle to its ultimate consequences up to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian power. For such a policy it is necessary to return to a Bolshevik-Leninist application of the united front with all the proletarian anti-Fascist organizations (reformists, maximalists, syndicalists, anarchists, republicans, etc.) and to alliances with the peasant masses and the petty bourgeois masses of the towns who are under the influence of the

democratic anti-Fascist groupings.

## Task of the Party

The Communist party will gain the leadership of the anti-Fascist masses not because it says so in the resolutions of the Central Committee, but when and to the degree in which it is capable of really placing itself at the head of the masses which are entering into struggle and of guiding them toward the overthrow of Fascism and capitalism. To the degree in which it is capable of proving that the struggle for democracy cannot be conceived as separate and opposed to the struggle for socialism, that is to say, the struggle for the proletarian power, for the creation of a new state, a workers' state. The necessity for the Communist Party of Italy of re-examining its policy once more is demonstrated not only by the Italian events but by the whole international situation. The Fourth Congress of the Italian Communist Party was described by the leadership as the last before we reach the threshold of the Italian revolution. From this description alone, the bureaucratic character of this congress is evident enough. It is time that comrades now pose the demand for a genuine congress of the party with a broad and thorough preparation among the membership and with the direct participation of our opposition. The urgency of this congress is felt by every comrade who follows the Italian and the international situation. The convocation of a congress of our party is also necessary for a discussion of the international policy and that in the U. S. S. R. It should serve as a preparation for the Congress of the Communist International, the necessity of which can well be realized, if one takes into account all the events that have unfolded during the four years that separate us from the unfortunate Sixth Congress.

Our demand must become the demand of all the comrades who are conscientious about the present situation.

—FEROCI.