WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

EMILITA

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Forward in Lenin's Way!

The Left Opposition Alone Carries on the Work of Hyitch

Once again, the working class of Eur-1 The hour is not distant today, when ope is facing a period of colossal his- the hosts of Lenin in Russia will have torical opportunities. The world crisis to answer the call of the hosts of Liebof capitalism has produced a revolution- knecht in Germany. The Stalinist reary situation in Central Europe. Com- gime is revealing itself as an obstacle munism is about to stand another gig- in the way (of the world revolution, antic test. Clarity, firmness, Bolshevik more sharply at the present than ever. boldness are the demands of the minute. The Left Opposition, with Trotsky, the

And it is precisely at this time, that closest collaborator of Vladimir Llyitch the memory of Lenin is alive as the Lenin at its head, is calling for clarity revolutionary inspiration of all working and action. It is sounding the alarm in class fighters. Lenin represents the vic- time. To the German Communists, to tory of the Russian revolution, the the workers of Soviet Russia, to the proflaming torch of the world revolution, letariat of the whole world, the Left It is to his glorious example that the militant proletariat turns at all moment of crisis, as a well of confidence, as a reservoir of revolutionary power.

Above all else, Lenin taught active the defeat of the class enemy. Victory realism in the class struggle. His was can come, will come in the way of the not a teaching of dead letters, but of Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky, living action. He analyzed, he divided in the way of Lenin. his friends from his enemies, he calculated the right moment and the point of vantage and he struck. The dry and impotent formula of "social Fascism", the irrealistic conception of the "single reactionary mass" were unknown to him.

When Lenin arrived in the Petrograd surely. Confident, intransigeant and in our party. firm, he proceeded to carry out the task Our party rests upon two classes, and his resolute, but patient efforts.

letariat for power, is today. unfortun- general to discuss the stability of our ately, entirely forgotten by those who Central Committee. In such an event ternational. The German Communist preventing a split. But I trust that is Party, the section of the vanguard of the international working class that is an event, to talk about. confronted with the greatest took of revolutionary action at the present, is further away than ever from the road of Lenin. Its leaders are inequable of of considerations of a purely personal seizing the importance of the various factors in the situation. The ideologieal devestation brought about by Stalinthem from mastering the political task (central Committee as Stalin and Trotof the moment: the unification of the sky. The relation between them conmenneing and deadly attack of Fascism.

ance by the Russian working class of raising the number of members of the the Kornilov offense, in defeating Russian Hitlerism. He confidently joined in a united front with the social democratic workers and forced their Mencolors. And he proved the superiority of Bolshevik leadership, defeating not with them.

Before the arrival of Lenin, the Rusrearming of the party of Lenin and enabled it to pass through its internal crisis and to lead the Russian working class in triumph. The Bolshevik idea is not dead. The German Left Opposition, under the direct participation of Leon Trotsky, the co-fighter and the comrade of Lenin, is keeping the ideas of Leninism alive. The rearming of the German party is on the order of the day. Its glorious fradition dating back to the days of the Spartacists, to the stirring to their personal qualities. I will only memory of its valiant pioneers, to Rosa, and Karl, cannot fail to raise it to the high level of militancy of those days. The last word concerning the fate of the German working class has not yet been

The Stalinist epigones, rotten to the core and infested by the putrid theory peace: the five year plan must first be completed. What is at stake is not only the five year plan, but the life itself of Workers' Russia. Stalin and his faction have been so entangled by their own mistakes, so disorientated by the policies of vulgar empiricism that they have lost all perspective. The alarm must be sounded. The situation must be saved. The Communist ranks must once more be awakened by the pungent, stimulating ideas of Llyitch.

When Lenin first set foot on Russian soil in 1917, he addressed the following simple and strong words to the masses who had come to greet him:

"Dear comrades, soldiers, sailors and workers! I am happy to greet in your person the victorious Russian revolution, to greet you as the vanguard of expire. The bosses are preparing to cut the proletarian army of the world . . . further into our earnings. For them the The hour is not distant when the peoples, expiration of the agreements, is a signal divided. Each union conducted the struganswering the call of our comrade Karl for concerted action against our condi- gles separately. The Industrial Union Liebknecht will take arms against their tions—for us the expiration of the agree- put up desperate fights to improve the the I. L. G. W. U., must begin a very and in a manner that will bring us exploiters, the capitalists . . . The Rus- ment must be a call to arms against fur- conditions for the workers; the I. L. serious campaign to make the question sian revolution, achieved by you, intro- ther enslavement of the dressmakers. duces a r w epoch. Long live the world revolution

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Hitler Prepares to Strike

Stalinist Leadership Impotent in Face of Impending Struggle

Behind the social volcano of present! a similar scene in the Reich. day Germany, there is unfolding a political scene that has many elements of a farce in it. And that is not at all strange. Times of revolution, days pregnant with human convulsions, always show up the ruling classes and political personalities as a whole in all possible and impossible shapes, like a refraction phrior. So it was in the Russia of 1916-1917 with the buffoonery of the Rasputanade and the equally risible counterplay of the liberal bourgeoisie. So in Spain since last April, with the solemn comedy of the "Workers Republic" and the trials of the "responsibles". In the current uncertain political situation, before the masses have had the opportunity to have their say, we are witnessing

Hitler and the Weimar Constitution

Hitler is defending the Weimar Constitution, the barge of glory of the Bruening to agree to an avoidance of lutely nothing, to bring the workers inpopular elections by extending the term of President Von Hindenburg by Reichstag decree, the new defender of Weimar and constitutionalism just bubbles over with indignation:

"The Weimar Constitution, he says Is the legal basis of the German Republic. Article I states that Germany is a republic deriving all power from the people (sic). Article XLI states that the President shall be chosen by the entire electorate.

"To substitute the Reichstag's verdict for the people's voice would be a manifest contradiction to the Constitution . . . Our self-respect alone, Here Chancellor, obliges us to decline your propositon to agree to the prolongation of President Von Hindenburg's term of office by a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag".

Thus spoke Hitler, whose legions are already lying in ambush, ready to throttle the working class-that same "people". No further bargains with the vacillating parties of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. Tenseness marks the mo- ernment in 1919 itself declared the genment. The high practorans of the Ger- eral strike. Will the social democratic man master must put up a front of leaders go with the Communists now to resoluteness, of intransigeance. They declare a general strike if Hitler comes know what that soon they will have to to power legally?' strike. And they are not underestimating their enemy,

Why Hitler Promises Private **Debts Payment**

The Austrian adventurer also knows that in that battle the aid of the foreign powers would be indispensible to him. And that accounts for the other face of the farce: Hitler reassuring the international capitalist that private debts will be paid, while the "greatest German diplomat since Bismarck", namely the clericalist Chancellor bluntly declares that reparations will not be paid.

The leader of German Fascism is no fool. He realizes very well that a fulfillment of his "traditonal" policy would mean isolation for a government of the "Third Reich". And isolation is just precisely what he fears most, no matter how much the clownish Feders prate about-autarchy. To crush the German proletariat tomorrow, Hitler will not "arch-enemy" of today.

And, to be sure, that is just the direced to Bruening, the National Socialist chieftain, in taunting his bourgeois opponent, remarks;

"Only when Germany can offer something, will she be given something".

For Attack on the Soviet Union What Hitler wants to offer the world offer it, a defeated and spineless proletariat, a Germany that will take the lead in the inevitable imperialist offensive against the U.S.S.R. That is the devil's bargain that Fascism is ready to conclude. And that is the basis on which the French, the British and the American robber governments will agree

to meet it half way. A huge slaughter is being prepared for the working class of Germany, for the workers of Soviet Russia Doubtlessly, the understanding of this immefrom Stalin only in superiority—namely, diate danger is growing among the masses of the affected countries. The will to ricious, etc. This circumstance may fortunes: the leadership is not at its post. It is acting the role of the slackthat from the point of view of preventing er. At a time in which the ground is cut beneath the feet of reformism by the events themselves, the revolutionary finds itself unable and impotent, fails to rally the resolute and determined masses of proletarian fighters for the unpostponable struggle against the arm-

ed and arming class enemy. The Thaelmanns and the Remmeles and all of thefr sorry ilk dabble in sterile theories, attempt to theorize themselves out of "criminals of November 1918"! Answer-their hard pressed position. The Staling the appeal of the Weimar Centrist: inist incompetents offer nothing, absoto motion. They are much too occupied in covering up their own tracks. . . .

Thaelmann & Co. Prepare For Capitulation

Unfortunately, the shakiness, the spinelessness of the official leadership is also sowing apathy and helplessness into the ranks of the Communist, workers. In a series of articles in the New York Evening Post, H. R. Knickerbocker, one of the more reliable and more independent of the bourgeois newspapermen, writes from Berlin: "I asked a German Communist: What

will you do when Hitler comes in?

We will try, he answered, to get the social democrats to declare with us a general strike and run Hitler out the way the general strike ran out Kapp

'But,' I objected, 'Kapp took the government by force and the social democrats were clear in their minds that as democrats, they had to defend the democracy. The social democratic gov-

'Not much hope', he admitted.

'You have 6,000,000 Communist voters. It only took 50,000 Bolsheviks to make the Russian revolution. I know the conditions are entirely different. But why can't your 6,000,000 oppose Hitler by force?"

'We haven't got the guns', was the sententious reply. The Soviet Union is not ready for a German revolution. We think if Hitler comes in he will run the country down so fast that by next automn we can take power.'

But Hitler will then have all the guns."

'Yes, Hitler will have the guns' . . ." It is not amiss to bring the above quotation in its full length. For it is a revelation of the real state of mind the criminals of the Stalinist faction with the national-limitedness of their perspective, have managed to produce among their rank and file. The bourgeois rehesitate for one moment to embrace his porter too, does not fail to see the situation clearly and the questions he asks are certainly appropriate. The tion the foreign policy of the Nazis is in their struggle by the usurpers of leadership in the German Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Thaelmann and Company are capitulating under the pretext that the social democracy influence in the working class must first be wiped out. In the meantime, the Nazis are laughing up their sleeves. Weakness, indecision, chwardliness on part bourgeoisie, is no secret. He wants to of their enemy is just what suits them most. They are preparing to seize all the guns.

Fascists Prepared For Struggle

Knickerbocker tels us in the same article that he asked a National Socialist: "What will you do when you get power?". "He might have launched a long discussion of the party program", he says, "but his only reply was: 'Keep it'." The Fascists are not theorizing now. They are preparing for action. And action, decisive and determined, is the only thing that will save the working class. Elsewhere in the present issue of the Militant we are publishing a document of our German sister section. In it, the German Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) propose a concrete. brief and clear program of action to the Communist Party of Germany. It is worth while studying. Every member of the American party, every conscientious Communist ought to read it carefully and raw his conclusions. Time flies. It is necessary to act. The duty of every revioutionist is clear. Let of the world is to avoid disaster.

-SAM GORDON.

Last Words to the Party

By the stability of the Central Comof the February revolution, he did not mittee, of which I spoke before, I mean find a working class ready to follow him measures to prevent a split, so far as blindly. His own disciples did not even such measures can be taken. For, of grasp the grand sweep of his revolution- course, the White Guard in Russkaya ary ideas. He was not deceived by the Mysl (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) trend nor by the particular stage of was right when, in the first place, in developments. He knew and he stressed his play against Soviet Russia he banked that the masses can only learn from on the hope of a split in our party, their own experiences, and he was de- and when, in the second place, he banked termined to teach them, patiently but for that split on serious disagreements

Opposition directs its voice the voice of

Lenin. It is not yet too late. The Ger-

man party is still capable of victory,

of uniting the proletariat about it-for

he had set for himself. Success met for that reason its instability is possible and if there cannot exist an agree-What Lenin taught, the breath of life ment between those two classes its fall he breathed into the struggle of the pro- be useless to take any measures or in usurp his place in the Communist In- no measures would prove capable df too remote a future and too improbable

"I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a serious character.

"I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability-from this ism since the death of Lenin prevents point of view-is such members of the working class of the country against the stitutes in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be Lorin never stipulated the absolute avoided, and the avoidance of which necessity of the unconditional accept might be promoted, in my opinion, by Bolshevik leadership in the repulsion of Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

"Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am shevik leaders to reveal their true not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand comrade Trotsky, as only Kornilov, but the Kerenskis, the was proved by his struggle against the Tcheidzes and the Dans and Tseretellis Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communications, is dissian party was also derailed, dragged in tinguished not only by his exceptional to the conciliationist swamp by Stalin abilities—personally he is, to be sure, and by Kamenev. But the strength of the most able man in the present Centhe Bolshevik idea made possible a quick tral Committee, but also by his farreaching self-confidence and a disposition administrative side of affairs.

"These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split; if our party does not take measures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

"I will further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them personally as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

"Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Bucharin and Piatakov. an occasion to supplement their know- Jan. 4, 1923



They are, in my opinion, the most able ledge and correct their one-sidedness. forces (among the youngest), and in regard to them, it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bucharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party, but also may to be too much attracted by the purely legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party: but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never has fully understood, the dialectic).

"And then, Piatakov-a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to administration and the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

"Of course, both these remarks are present time, or supposing that these decisive significance. two able and loyal workers may not find

Dec. 25, 1922

"Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less cap- fight is rising. But misfortune of misseem an insignificant trifle, but I think a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, leaders, the official Communist party. made by me merely with a view to the or it is such a trifle as may acquire a

ing to leave the German workers isolated in the battles to come. They want Left Opposition in Appeal to Needle Trades Workers for United Action in Struggle | their voices be heard everywhere. The present course of the Stalinist leader-in the battles to come. They want

Our comrades have represented the ings and gatherings of the N. T. W. tion, in precise and concrete form, of the needle trades situation. -Ed.

Fellow Workers and Comrades:

Again we are nearing the day when we will have to take the cudgels against the bosses: the dress manufacturers, contractors, jobbers, for a better living. The agreements, as bad as they were

ready to repulse and defeat the wage warfare between the two unions left the mere maneuvers! The livelihood of

We are reprinting below a state- cutting campaign of the bosses. Since workers facing the most miserable condi- thousands of organized as well as unment by our needle worker comrades, the economic crisis set in, our living tions in the shops. The Industrial Un- organized dressmakers is at stake! The issued to all workers in their trade. standards have gone down to the very ion struck—the International scubbed; united front movement must begin in the bottom. It is becoming increasingly the Internatinal struck—the Industrial views expressed therein consistently harder for a dress-maker to make a liv- shops remained at work—the result was and repeatedly at various public meeting in this trade: no work in the slow a picnic for the bosses. They increased season and no wages in the socalled their profits while the workers abandon-I. U. The statement is a recapitula- busy season. The former hours of work, won through many bloody battles of the the position of the Left Opposition in workers, have been completely wiped out. Dressmakers work Saturdays, Sundays, and all other Holidays. Union trade centers fare no better. Their upon the existence of the Industrial waegs, Union hours, Union control-have standards of living have gone down just Union. become matters of the past. To let the present onslaught of the bosses proceed without resistance will mean a return to the sweatshop conditions. How long can we tolerate such a situation?

For the past few years, the dressmakers suffered more than was necessary because our ranks have been We learned enough from the past to be boration with the bosses. The ceaselees -- a reality. This is not the time for

ed the best weapon: UNITED ACTION AGAINST THE ENEMY.

The Dressmakers in the other needle as much and just as rapidly as in New York. The dressmakers there, have gone through the same struggles with the two unions in the field and followed the same policies. Therefore the wrong L. G. W. U. officialdom-they will sell policies must be corrected everywhere-New York, Boston, Philadelphia, etc.

United Action Is Imperative

open and frank manner that will be understood and hailed by every honest dressmakers.

The Right wing leadership is not interested in united ranks. They can throw the blame for the bad conditions in the trade not upon themselves, and their class collaboration policies, but

The Left wing must be interested in unity and must champion such unity. The dressmakers cannot afford to leave the strike in the hands of the I. whatever remains of our hard won con-

ditions to the bosses. The unity proposals that were made The dressmakers of the Industrial up till now must be renewed again but or Fascism must avail himself of a copy Union and the dressmaker members of with more vigor, more determination of this pamphlet at once. The price is sooner and closer to a united strike. You G. W. U. pursued the policy of colla- of one united strike of the dressmakers must call upon the Indudstrial Union to G. W. U. pubsued the policy of colla-

(Continued on page 2)

New Trotsky Pamphlet Out As we got to press, we receive the

news that comrade Leon Trotsky's new pamphlet Germany-The Key to the International Situation will be out on sale beginning Wednesday next. The pamphlet is in three sections. It consists of the original work, entitled 'Shall Fascism Really Be Victorious?", the article "For a Workers' United Front against Fascism, and an appendeix bringing a document of the German Left Opposi-

Whoever want to know the Communist solution to the question: "Communism 10 cents per copy, 7 cents in bundles of five or more.

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A Review of the Recent National Tour A Set-back for

The Sweep of the Economic Crisis; Its Effects on the Revolutionary Movement

particularly the stark picture of the contact with the Communist movement proved highly successful. It attracted realities of unemployment. Cities like but nevertheless had received one ob-Chicago and St. Louis, one can say, are ject lesson from the capitalist crisis. A so many questions which in sum and taking on a desolate appearance. The couple of Stalin supporters took excep- substance amounted to almost a full re-Illinois government itself admits 1,049,- tion to our views, but it came in the 000 unemployed in the state, or 15 1-2 form of merely repeating old slanders per cent of the total population. Yet of Trotsky always having been a meneverywhere the signs of a live virile shevik. Unfortunately for the objectors, workers. Those comrades who a short unemployment movement of a mass char- a person who evidently had strayed in acter are quite absent, although a number of councils have been organized in the various cities. Throughout the official party there is an immense turnover of membership. As many as join the the distinction clear, it quite naturally party ranks, pressed by the realities of turned its scorn almost equally against the crisis, leave it again in just as large all three objectors in common. numbers. As a matter of fact most of the new recruits leave its ranks after a very brief sojourn. Upon the party this turnover is making its indelible im-

In the Left Opposition branches this is not the case. We are gaining new members slowly, the new recruits remain in our ranks, but our members are still small. What then becomes of these many "visitors" to the party ranks? Most of them take leave again because of being repelled by the existing bureaucracy or specifically by its blundering mistakes. Some of them learn a valuable lesson in the process and come toward the Left Opposition. A few become so disgusted that they are browbeaten back into their former apathy, but most of them unquestionably remain within the movement, sympathetic to Communism In this sense the movement as a whole has certainly experienced growth. But within the party itself the ideologically low level is particularly apparent. The political life within the units is reaching

In the Illinois mine fields this condition is reflected as well as is also the fact of the party's failure to employ the united front policy. Compelled by the power of job control concentrated in the hands of the union officials, and by the agreement reached between the John L. Lewis and John H. Walker cliques, the Illinois miners are again all back in the U. M. W. Now they may expect a wage cut at the expiration of their agreement in April. But testifying to the opportunities which have been available is the fact that in several local sections progressive elements still have considerable The National Miners' Union is non-existent in that field. Its attitude of boycotting the rebel movements and its failure to meet them on a united front basis brought this result.

Meetings in the Mine Field

Naturally we presented this criticism at our meeting in Staunton, Ill. Present were the party organizer in the mine fields with some of the party members. In the discussion they had very little to say about this question, the organizer had something else in mind. He asked than four public meetings arranged for the direct quesetion: "Do you support the tour with a banquet thrown in for after first voicing his agreement with days which to an extent accounted for our general analysis of the capitalist the fact that these meetings were not crisis, attempted to prove that our posi- as large as they should have been when tion was the opposite. In support of organized by a live and strong branch. this contention, he quoted the following Nevertheless the elements mostly attractfrom our open letter to the party on the unemployment question: "It is false to in the local labor movement. Because center the unemployment program, and of that, the discussions following each are definite and specific. The early and the activities and demonstrations, around lecture became very thorough and fruit the deceptive opportunist petition cam- full. paign to Congress . . . " For us it became quite easy to verify, not only that this was still as correct as when written, but also that the hunger marchers themselves declared that they did not come to congress to present petitions but to make definite demands. The audience present voiced no doubt of our further statement that the workers will more active life into the local railroad obtain only what they are ready to council to organize a fight against the

St. Louis Crowd Responsive

The city of St. Louis has very little

(Continued from page 1) start agin a movement for unity. If the Committee. Right wing will reject our plea, if the Right wing will refuse a conference for ers will know whom to blame for the division in our ranks. We will then wing bureaucrats DO NOT WANT represents the most militant section of the dressmakers. Both unions must be this basis.

We propose that:

1. The N. T. I. W. U| should send a of the I. L. G. W. U. proposing a conference to draw up demands and to elect a General Strike Committee, representative of both unions, each union reserving the right for freedom of criticism.

2. This letter to be printed in thousands of leatlets in a number of languages to be distributed among the wide masses of the dressmakers with a call to them to force the officialdom of the I. L. G. W. U. to accept our proposals.

3. A joint shop conference to follow which would definitely consider and sanction all conference proceedings and de-

4. A huge Joint Organization Committee to be organized of both unions with every worker who is ready and willing to help eligible to participate in the

A tour of the country today reveals evidently had so far had very little in the down town section. The latter by accident very fervently took up the cudgels for the capitalist system which was under indictment of the whole audience. And despite our efforts to make

The Tour Further West

In Kansas City we met a different kind of opposition. The party functionaries spared no efforts to keep the workers away from our meeting. Member from the unemployed councils were warned to stay away. Those who had distributed our leaflets were labeled "dangerous to the working class". But there was no evidence that the workers took that very seriously and those party members who came to our meeting greeting the first remarks with a snicker, soon became attentive and listened very carefully.

In both of these cities there are good opportunities for the movement in general and for the Left Opposition. Our units, however, are as yet weak numerically, a condition which we must, of course, endeavor to overcome. In this respect comrade Clarke, who went to Kansas City to stay for a period, is dotive work. Perhaps there could be no better tribute to this fact than the panicky fear with which the party bureaucrats united front movement which was beginning to develop in Southern Illinois particularly through the assistance of our St. Louis branch.

Minneapolis Movement Growing In this respect we have had similar experiences in Minneapolis. There, our members have for years been deeply rooted in the labor movement and established real prestige for themselves among progressive and Left wing workers. Naturally our members would be of serious account in a Mooney movement actually organized on a united front basis. Because of this, the petty party bureau crats worked overtime maneuvering to keep our branch representation out. By a little trick it was accomplished at the first conference, but with the result that all representation, outside of the party and its auxiliaries, dropped near

soon be remedied and the Mooney movement rebuilt. Our Minneapolis branch had not less ed were those with a militant record stated that the views of the Commun-

the vanishing point. This, however, can

A portion of the Minneapolis stay became devoted to the problems of our ceeded in adding quite substantially to its ranks. Its activities are generaly organized in a thorough manner, particularly centering in the trade union field. Just now it is renewing its efforts to put pending wage cuts.

Excellent Meeting in Chicago

The Chicago Left Opposition branch of a revolutionary movement or of Com- made one important step forward in munist activities. Naturally our Left acquiring permanent headquarters. It Opposition branch there is small. Still, has become a place full of life, meetings meeting. In fact we were greeted by and generally speaking, quite successfulthe hearty applause of a typical Amer- ly. For our tour, one public meeting

Left Opposition in Appeal to Needle Trade Workers

The publicity and propaganda about a united strike, then all the dressmak- wide. The deep-going crisis, the mis- the Fascist dictatorship, which, among proclaim louder than ever: The Right with the bosses, dampened the fighting UNITY with the Industrial Union which must be revived! The bosses must feel somehow, capitalist domination. long before the strike begins that they recognized as bona-fide organizations. On slice from the meager earnings of the the bosses will again bring to the forefront the rebellious fighting power and

class enemy.

The Left wing cannot wait any longer. THE LEFT WING MUT ACT, if it wants to retain the confidence and loyalty of the worker dressmakers! Now is the time to lay the foundation for one union in the trade. A Joint Conference for a united strike of the dressmakers is a real beginning for final fusion of both unions-into one.

ON WITH A UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOSSES — AGAINST DIVISION IN OUR RANKS—AGAINST CLASS-COLLABORATION POLICIES. For better conditions—for a fighting Union of all needle trades workers.

> (Signed) Needle Trades Workers, Members of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

a good-sized audience and brought out view of the Left Opposition platform.

This branch has some recent gains to its credit, particularly among young time ago were expelled from the Y. C. L. because of their fight against the system of bureaucracy have continued their logical development and adhered to the Left Opposition platform. They are now active members of the Chicago branch, comrade Satir is already busily engaged teaching other young workers. While and lack of interest to have the L. U. down in active work carried on by this of steady growth are already quite well

Winding Up in the East

In the Eastern section, we held pub lic meetings in Boston, Phialdelphia, Pittsburgh and Youngtsown. In the latter city we will hence forth have a functioning branch. It begins its activity with small numbers, but that is no deterrent; it has been the history of our whole movement including those branches which are today very lively. In Cleveland we have also taken steps toward the formation of a branch. When we reach the point of recording the gain of a few young recruits in that city, a live existence will be assured.

The efforts made by the little party bureaucrats in Pittsburgh, to break up ing good pioneer work. Our St. Louis our meeting and by similar individuals branch is taking up much more effec- in Youngstown to create friction, our readers already know, came to naught in a rather inglorious fashion. In all of the meetings there was a good sprinhave gone about destroying the Mooney kling of party members present, at several instances asking questions and participating in the discussion. Throughout the tour good collections were made to aid us in further activities. As one example in this respect, we might mention that from seven comrades alone, in Boston a total contribution of \$50.00 was made.

> All in all the tour brought splendid results. First, in again bringing for ward in public meetings the Left Opposition views of problems of the class struggle. Secondly, in strengthening our haps foremost, in knitting our organization as a whole more closely together. | name of . . . I declare this meeting adappealing to the District Council General President Hutcheson!

Stalinism . . .

On Jan. 18, I was asked by my Local

Union to give a report on the Marine Workers' Defense Committee. At once the chief leader of the T. U. U. L. took the floor and made a motion that my report be delayed. His reasons were: that their delegate was not present and from what information they had so far, the committee should be withdrawn. He was followed by one of his lieutenants who also spoke in favor of withdrawing from the Committee. I was granted the floor next. I explained that since their delegate had only attended one of thes three meetings, he could not give much of a report, and that I was asked by the Committee because of his absence there have been periods of a certain let send another delegate in his place. Therefore I urged that action be taken branch in the past, its future prospects immediately. The membership which is now familiar with the case, became uneasy. They could not understand the dishonest maneuver of these two wouldbe revolutionary leaders of the T. U. U. L., refused to entertain the amendment. An appeal from the decision of the chair was demanded. The vote was taken and guess what happened—out of about a hundred and twenty-five (125) members, about eighteen (18) belonging; to the T. U. U L. eighty-eight (88) voted for hearing the report immediately and file myement in Illinois had been decifive (5) voted to postpone it. I must say that I can hardly find words to express my gratitude to those members of the T. U. U. L. whom their conviction forbade to raise their hand with the five (5) allies of the hangman. We also owe a certain amount of respect to those members who claim they are not familiar with the case. Yet as workers, rather than to throw their lot in with the hangman they abstained. Now came my report. In order to clear up some of the misunderstanding, I had to quote the statement from the Daily Worker* mentioned in some of the T. U. U. L. members protested. They were ashamed of their own quotation. I stressed the work of the Defense Committee and also read off the letter from the I. L. D., in which they now offer to defend the Marine Workers.

I did not even have to re-appeal when some members shouted "Brother chairman, I make a motion to donate them another fifteen dollars and to substitute the one delegate".

The chairman again refused to enter--ARNE SWABECK. | when two members had jumped on the

Resurge of Mine Struggles

Miners Learning, Gathering Forces for Coming Fight

point of strangulation by the abominhand by their narrow and bureaucratically limited policy, the U. M. W. A. because of its job control is being looked upon by many miners as

the only organization left for them. the union will undoubtedly revive the Left wing within it and open up real possibilities for militant action among view of all these developments and tional convention of the U. M. W. A., ed below is especially interesting and important. More articles by the same comrade and by other comrades in the mine fields will follow. -Ed.

The district convention of the U. M W. A. was held soon after the rank and sively defeated by the Lewis-Walker-Op-

platform and tried to take the gavel away

from him to reopen the meeting. in ten minutes another "third period" therefore it was virtually without a prohad taken place. Casualities were as fol-gram. lows: compound fractures of two chairs 2. Hordes of opportunists, disgruntled and three tables legs, a few minor scull fakers, swarmed into the movement conbruses. The peace treaty is set for Jan-taminating the healthy proletarian base. uary 21. And now a few words on the to see our party controlled by elements chairman. He helped to "make history" that do not understand the need of unifor our L. U. He placed upon it the ted action under the circumstances. blackest spot of any of his forerunners. 3. The combination of the reaction-Never in its darkest days had a chairman ary forces of the U. M. W A., the bosses of this Local taken such action. And and their government. These forces now, to prevent any such recurrances drove back into "line" nearly 35,000 we have to recall him and elect a new chairman at our next meeting. Should the T. U. U. L., whose battle he fought, and who supported him in exercising his "legal" rights under our constitution to adjourn the meeting, feel that we are doing them and the workers in their tain the motion. Instead he picked up camp an njustice by this more they can ity. Of course, this is the general probranches everywhere and lastly, but per- the constitution and started, "In the again exercise their legal rights, by

-W. H. H.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE STATE

the Militant that Communists, sympath- pression of the masses. izers and Left wingers still inquire on

the question of the State. They further the hunger march to Washington?" The good measure. But it occurred just ask what is the position of the Left answer was in the affirmative. He then, during the period of the Christmas holi- Communists. The comrade inquires: "Is the aim of the Communists, after a successful proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to continue to build a State?"

> In reply to the comrade, it can be ists relative to the State, or government, modern leaders of scientific socialism or communism have answered clearly all that is involved therein. The first to do so were Marx and Engels in their hisbranch and its function. It has suc-toric "Communist Manifesto" and in Engels' "Socialism-Utopian and Scientific", which comprises a section of his larger work, "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring)"

Class Society and the State

The Communists see in the State an organ of domination of one class in society over another. Till the advent of power by the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the State had always been an instrument of power of a ruling and exploiting class over the mass of exploited people. This has been the situaa splendid meeting gathered for our and study classes take place regularly tion in all preceding class societies: slavery, feudalism and today capitalism. Modern capitalism in its stages of ican andience composed of workers who was held at the headquarters and one growth, and largely even yet, expresses itself through the parliamentary-allegedly through the methods of "universal" suffrage-form of government. But alwork and activities of the Organization, ready, in its imperialist epoch and its decadence or decline on an international scale—it is resorting to another form the demands must be spread far and of domination or dictatorship, that is, takes of the N. T. W. L. U., and the other things, shows more plainly the hand-in-glove work of the I. L. G. W. U. bankruptcy of the economy of capitalism today and compels it to resort to spirit of the dressmakers. This spirit special repressive forms to maintain,

The Communists understand that the will not succeeed in cutting off another State is but the outgrowth of the existing social and class relations which dressmakers. A united struggle against arise out of the conditions of production and distribution of the means of existence. This is so under the Soviets in letter immediately to the Joint Board hatred of the workers against their the period of the proletarian dictatorship, even as in capitalist society itself. No Communist desires a State or repressive organ for its own sake. But unlike the Anarchists and Syndicalists, they know that the mere denial or negation of the State and its role, does not do away with it.

The Proletarian State

The proletarian State, the Soviet Union, too, is an apparatus of one class class, and, in alliance with the peasantry there, protects the interests of the usemanner of capitalism but, in the main, Communists and proletariat, led by the

A comrade from Bethlehem writes to, an industrial form or the political ex-

The dictatorship of the proletariat, in and internationally. the attitude of the Communists toward Russia in the form of a Soviet Government-Workers' Councils-represents the transition form between capitalist society and the final establishment of classless—hence governmentless — society, that is: Communism. The Soviet state strives for the complete elimination of all forms of capitalism and capitalists petty or large. At the same time, as one of its outstanding achievements, the Soviet government assists in the establishment of the social and economic functions of the working masses. So long as classes in one form or another exist, a governmental apparatus or State will exist. Its final elimination or dissolution can only be the result of a long process in which the useful producers -workers of brain and muscle-finally establish all the necessary bases of social production and distribution, without any kind of exploiting factors or remnants, and thereby develop a condition wherein no form of governmental apparatus is required. In other words, to paraphrase Marx and Engels, the adminsitration of men (government) is to be replaced by the administration of things. that is, the administration of the processes of production and distribution or the establishment of a social and industrial commonwealth in which political government, as we understand it now, becomes wholly unnecessary. Society will function through social and industrial forms. On this question Daniel De Leon, the American revolutionist, has made great contributions which have been attested to by Lenin.

the State. Engels has described the prouminous material on this and kindred icism of the Gotha Program" and other works. The point of view of the Left Opposition is amply expressed therein.

The Soviet Government Today There remains nevertheless the situa-

tion in the Soviet Union today. That Stalin and Stalinism have to a large degree converted the Soviet apparatus into a bureaucracy which less and less of the proletariat, does not do away with the fundamental fact of the necessity for the proletariat to create a State, a Soviet government, for its own ends. Stalinism has abused the proletarian democracy in the Communist party, in the Soviet goevrnment, in the unions, against another. The proletariat has etc., but despite the terrible abuses, desucceeded the bourgeoisie as the ruling spite the usurpation of powers by the bureaucracy,—the Soviet government remains a WORKERS' STATE. Despite ful producers and endeavors to elimin- all that happened, the Left Opposition ate all forms of exploitaion and exploit- has full faith in the regeneration of the ers. Soviet rule is the highest form of Communist party of the Soviet Union and democratic proceedure yet developed. It the Communist International. The vigis not a parliamentary form, after the ilance and understanding of the worker-

Left Opposition, we have reason to believe will yet remedy the situation with in the Communist movement in Russia

The Viewpoint of the Opposition

In "Problems of the Development of the U.S.S.R."-a draft of a thesis of the International Left Opposition on the Russian Question-comrade L. D. can think of nothing better to recommend to our Bethlehem comrade and to all other interested workers than a close the American working class is well felt study of this thesis.

like all political institutions, is also a product of the productive relations of that the national government in a public society. The bureaucracy that has de statement says that the American Red veloped in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the Soviets, etc., is not an independent historical factor; it can ing" money to aid the bituminous minonly serve a class. The zig-zag course ers. The State Committee on unemployof Stalinism has nevertheless, because of pressure from the Left Opposition and the proletariat, developed on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletar-

The fundamental danger of the bureaucracy, in addition to all the crimes against the Russian and international proletariat committed by Stalin and his faction, is that, "even if it can not itself become the foundation of state power, it can, with its policy, make it extremely easier for the power to be ransferred from the hands of the class into the hands of another," namely, the passing of Soviet power into the hands of the bourgeoisie. "The present-day Respecting the gradual elimination of Soviet apparatus is a bureaucratic, plebiscitarily distorted form of the dictatorcess as a withering away or vanishing ship of the proledariat. At the same Miners' Educational League. This is a of the State. Our readers can find vol- time, however, it is a potential instru- duplicate of the Staunton Sub-district orquestions in Lenin's brilliant work, the Opposition, points out, the proletariat in various mining towns every Sunday "State and Revolution", Trotsky's "Ter- and the worker-Communists will resist The benefit of this organization is great rorism and Communism", Marx's "Crit- such a development to the limit, and The topics are always of interest to the crimes of Stalin and the bureaucracy.

unfolded on the basis of the abrupt derepresents the basic historcial interests cline in the political activity of the Soviet proletariat after a number of years of the highest exertion of forces, upon a series of defeats of the international revolution, upon the stabilization of capitalism and the strengthening State, has made a mockery of proletarian of the international social democracy" Nevertheless, "the bourgeoisie could stitution such as that come to power in the U.S.S.R. in no other way than with the aid of a counter-revolutionary upheaval. The proletarian vanguard retains the possibility of putting the bureaucracy in its place, of subordinating it to its control, of insuring the correct policy and by means of ing the party, the trade unions and the Soviets." ---М. А.

Reports from the mine fields tell, erators and Department of Justice comof a restablishment of the influence of bination. Scores of plain and simple the U. M. W. A. in recent months. unionists had been rounded up, grilled This organization, controlled to the and jailed because of their so-called

"sympathies" with the Communists. It able Lewis machine for years was is fact that the rank and file moveconsidered to be on its last legs only ment wanted the alliance of the Coma short tin, ago. Due to the split- munists but the official party bluntly reting up of the advanced militants fused, condemning the movement as a among the miners, the Stalinists al- betrayal. It was several weeks before lowing the "progressive" fakers a free the anger of the rank and filers could be overcome and gradually we were able to convince the miners that there was a difference between the "Communism" of the official party and the Communism of the Opposition. The result is The new influx of membership into that today the miners know a great deal more of "Trotskyism" and its differences with the false teachings of Stalinism. If we were not able to make greater the miners on a nation-wide scale. In organizational gains in the struggle it was because of the numerical weakness in view of the approaching interna- and the difficulties of going out among the "raw material" and showing them the the article by comrade Allard publish- differences between the factions. This problem, I assume, is uinversal. But still, it is a bigger problem among the American workers, due to their political backwardness

Causes for Retreat

We may summarize the struggles of the Illinois miners under the leadership of the rank and filers, their weaknesses and failure to capture the union, as fol-

1. The rank and file leadership was weak in understanding the most elemen-A free-for-all was in full swing and tary problems of the working class-

miners who had through their local unions endorsed the rank and file file office.

4. The official party's hostility and stubborness in demanding the unconditional control of the rank and file movement. The party refused to be a minorgram of the T. U. U. L. and there is nothing new in the outrageous manner they gave help to the enemies of the Illinois miners. To me, this was the most tragic experiment in the labor movement,

The present situation in Illinois is

surely heading toward another movement that will be fought bitterly. The contract expires March 31, 1932. The Illinois district represents the last semblance of absolute job control in any mining field in the country. We can go farther by saying that it is the last section of the American unskilled working class that has job control. The union is at stake The miners' organization in this state will not be fighting for better conditons, nor to hold what it has, but it will fight for its very rights to exist Trotsky has dealt concretely on the as a union. The leadership of the union causes and cure of the situation existing surely is not very much concerned, as in Russia and in the Comintern. We most of the present staff have recumulated wealth and are "independent"

Conditions are horrible. The plight of by every revolutionist. There is no need It is there pointed out that the party, to dwell on that here. It is highly significant, however, to point out the fact Cross has changed its policies relative "to an act of God" and is "appropriatment also emphasizes the "dire need of the bituminous coal miners". This is not an accident or an unrelated incident. Whether the coal miners' conditions are worse than those of the rest of the American working class is not the question that concerns the capitalist class. It is of supreme importance, however, that the coal miners have a strong tradition of struggle. And since the Wall Street crash and even prior to that time, some section or other of the industry has at one time or another been involved in bloody guerilla warfare. That is the dynamite that strikes fear into their hearts.

The Miners' Educational Leagues

In Franklin County, over 20 local unions are affiliated to a Franklin County ment of Bonapartism." But, the Left ganization. It holds meetings regularly "between the present function of the ap miners. The thinking of the miners is paratus and its possible function, the stimulated and raised to a higher level blood of civil war would still have to The tolerance towards Communists is exflow". The proletariat will indeed not cellent and every form of political phillightly give up its power because of the osophy is permitted expression. This minority right is in line with our pro-In brief, comrade Trotsky proves, "The gram and is receiving great sympathy strength of the Soviet bureaucracy has throughout the whole union. A general Left wing program has been adopted to present before the international conven tion. Resolutions on the Soviet Union Criminal Syndicalism, Unemployment Mooney, Against the Appointive Power restriction of length of time in office abolition of the International Executive Board, numerous revisions of the con reading "share of our products" to "the ful social value of our products", etc., etc. are some of the things the Educationa Conferences have adopted and sworn to fight for in the International gathering This Left trend has been brought abou due to the prevailing conditions, natural decisive and hold reforms, of regenerat- ly, but also by the great pressure of Left Opposition comrades and other clas conscious militants in the field.

-GERRY ALLARD.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

ROSA LUXEMBURG

On the Anniversary of Her Assassination by the German Social Democrats

Left crystallized another stage in the opposition to imperialism. The best ensuing debates on the significance of known resolutions emanated from the imperialism. The Right wing openly de- Stuttgart (1907) and the Basle (1912) manded "equal rights or our industries Congresses of the Second International. in the colonies" (Quessel at Chemnitz At Stuttgart, Rosa Luxemburg intro-Congress 1912). To oppose colonialism duced the amendment on behalf of the was utopian, Luddites smashing machin- Russian and Polish delegations. There ery. Kautsky defined the Centrist posi- was never a word breathed in these retion in the Neue Zeit (1912). Imperial- solutions of "national defense" as a ism is the endeavor of an industrial justification for socialist truce with the capitalist nation to annex agrarian ter- capitalist state in the event of war, which ritory. As such it is only one form of did not prevent the traitors later from capitalist expansion. From the "economic covering up their enlistment on the side viewpoint" there were tendencies to- of God and Kaiser with quotations from wards the formation of an all-embrac- Marx, Engels and Lassalle, referring to ing world trust, a super-imperialism that 1830, 1848. Officially the International would eliminate competition and strug- pledged itself to utilize the war crisis gle. He urged rapprochement with the which was characterized as a product of sections of the bourgeoisie who were in the imperialist struggle for markets, to his opinion not interested in imperial- the overthrow of the capitalist system. ism, to be achieved by the advocacy of The outbreak of the war confirmed beyond the policy of disarmament and the Un- a doubt that opportunism was the fore-

For Rosa Luxemburg, imperialism was not merely a policy preferred by a narism of the diagrams in Marx's second reproduction of social capital as a whole, she indicates the manner bywhich capitalism achieves a certain equilibrium be- gether with Karl Liebknecht who had tween the two great sectors of economic activity (a) production of means of pro- democratic Reichstag faction by his reduction (b) production of articles of fusal to vote the war credits, Rosa Luxconsumption, and is enabled to absorb emburg began the work of the underthe ever-growing mass of commodities. ground and illegal organization that led These diagrams, Rosa proceeds, are a theoretical fiction and misleading to boot. If capitalism could profitably realize prison, together with Karl Liebknecht, its surplus value within its own framework, how account for the fact that never-to-be-forgotten heroic war demonproduction outstrips consumption, and explain the fact of the struggle for they were immediately imprisoned. markets and colonies. There would be no objective impediments to capitalist accumulation nor any immanent necessity of the social revolution.

Marx's analysis is based on the assumption of an all-inclusive capitalist world with but two classes, where in reality it functions in a non-capitalist environment. It is to this latter "third person" that capitalism must turn to market its surplus. Imperialism is the political expression of the process of capital-accumulation in its struggle for the rest of the still unoccupied non-capitalist territory and is thereby a new lease of life for capitalism and its gravedigger at the same time.

The theory of Rosa is open to serious objection, on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Undeniably, as a matter of historical fact, capitalist development does proceed by the systematic extension of its base. To extricate itself from its internal contradictions every national capitalism turns to the reserves of the world market. Lenin had occasion to advert to the problem of the external market in his polemics against the Narodniki (populists) and the legal "Marxists" The conditions that give rise to the foreign market are not the impossibility of realizing a profit, abstractly considered, but extended circulation of commodities and the tendency of capitalist production to the growth of the productive forces break down the old regional and state barriers. Production is anarchically carried on for an unknown market, resulting in the disproportional development of the various branches of industry and recurrent crises of over-production. The higher organic composition of capital, technical progress, leads to a fall in the rate of profits. defense of the republic" there followed The fusion of banking and industrial a policy, continually more aggressive, capital known as finance-capital, which of repression against the working class arise under conditions of the concentration of production, seeks to counter-act this tendenecy by means of monopoly, in abroad in the struggle for markets and dicalist leaders of the C. N. T., who have nal "Ahora", expressed the opinoin that colonies for the export of capital (raw materials, cheap labor, cheap land). War is not merely the armed conflict for party, the bourgeoisie keeps ocnsolidatthe annexation of agrarian territory but ing the ground which it has gained, and the struggle of monopolist finance-capi- lying in wait for the opportune moment tal for the repartition of the world mar- to upset the democratic cart and to inket, in other words the contradiciton between the productive forces matured for The Socialists and Democratic Illusions a socialized world economy and the nationally limited, capitalist methods of illusions are still quite alive among the appropriation.

the fact is that the contradictions of as auxiliaries to the exploiting class. her conception of "third persons" but capitalism lead to proletarian and colonial revolutions while the greater part of the world is still composed of "third

The clouds of the coming war were oisie would find itself deprived of one

rolling up ominously. There is no lack; interests of the ideology of the future tional socialism". In the posthumous The differences between Centrists and of documents of the pre-war socialist Third International which in his mind ited States of Europe under capitalism. runner of social patriotism. The virus of adaptation to the legal and constitutional conditions of the bourgeois state row clique, but the last phase of capi- had rotted the very foundation of the talism, pregnant with revolutionary con- international. Rosa Luxemburg had ensequences. The limitations of this arti- tertained more than a premonition when cle preclude the detailed discussion her she uttered the warning note at the party views merit as set out in her vigorous Congress of 1910, "we thunder against "Accumulation of Capital" (1912). It militarism in time of peace but when must suffice here to state that she con- war really breaks out . . . " The referceived the problem of imperialism to be ence was to the seizure of Chinese tera problem of the realization of surplus ritory by German imperialism. And later when she attacked the official leadership profit under finance-capital, as Lenin for its passivity in the Morocco crisis revolution against feudalism. But the sees it in his well-known brochure. She (1911). In the acid test of 1914, Kauttakes as her point of departure the critic- sky hastened to lend additional "justification" to the socialist rogues with his volume of Capital. Dealing with the inimitable thesis that the International was an instrument of peace, not war.

> The Left wing stood by its guns. Toroused the chauvinist fury of the social to Spartacus and the split in the social democracy. When she was released from she organized and participated in the strations in Berlin in 1916, for which

It was at that time that Rosa produced her brochure "The Crisis in the excellent work of Marxism. But in the peasantry." Of the November revolu-

was already clearly projected, he submits certain of its views to keen though tinct current is not directly enough relapse, thus leaving the problem of the open. He also takes exception to the ialism no more national wars were possible. In this imperialist war it was true that Russian imperialism stood behind Serbian nationalism. But it was wrong to dogmatize. The wars of the French Revolution were national in their inception and became imperialist under Napoleon. The imperialist Seven Years War between France and England led to national wars later (imperialist war is of course possible on the basis of serfdom or primitive capitalism). If all wars are to be branded as reactionary it would afford an obillusions and militate against the struggle of the workers and the colonial peoples. Finally he criticises Junius' selection of the 1848 slogan that the best means of national defense was the united German Republic to be achieved by class struggle. This was in place as a watch-word of the bourgeois democratic slogan now must be the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war for the realization of socialism.

The response of Rosa Luxemburg to the October revolution could never be in doubt. She was no stranger to its problems. When the character of the future Russian revolution was debated at the London (1907) Congress of the Russian social democracy and Lenin defended the position of the Mensheviks, Rosa in bloody civil war. Rosa and Karl Luxemburg along with Lenin represent ed the viewpoint of the Bolsheviks. Her formula for the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia coincided with Trotsky's the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. The mensheviks attempted to build up a difference of conception between that formulation and Lenin's. But the latter himself in 1909 wrote "the formula 'prolepseudonym Junius. Lenin in Switzerland mains entirely within the bounds of the The day of the reckoning with the social German Social Democacy" under the tariat supported by the peasantry regreeted it cordially as by and large an very dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy approaches.

could muster in a historical moment of courage, energy, capacity of action has been completely accomplished by Lenin, Trotsky and their comrades. Their October insurrection was not only the actual salvation of the Russian revolution but also rescued the honor of internawork on the Russian revolution published by Paul Levi, she submits certain policies of the Bolsheviks to sober criticism. Her friends Warski and Clara comradely criticism. He considers it a Zotkin say that she had revised these defect that social opportunism as a dis- views and had not intended the document, written in prison, for publication. lated to the current social patriotism as That is very likely but in any case hisan explanation of the betrayal and col- tory has proved that her criticism was substantially incorrect. Thus she failsplit in the International dangerously ed to distinguish between the strategic aspects of the agrarian problem and the thesis that in the era of unbridled imper- problem of a collectivized rural economy. She took a position on the national problem that resembled Bucharin's rater: that self-determination under capitalism was unreal. Only socialism could realize the self-determination of peoples. Similarly her views on the red terror the monopoly of legality by the Communist party, the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly. She would in all likelihood have been compelled to modify these views in the light of a more intimate study of the problems of the dictatorship. Some of her criticism of Lenin's policies however which completejective basis for pacifist and disarmament ly missed the mark might be applicable to the seamy sides of the policy of the Stalin epigones.

tion Rosa wrote: "Whatever a party

In 1918 came the revolt of the Kiel sailors and soldiers of Berlin. It opened the prison doors. The socialist traitors atempted to persuade Wilheim to man capitalism into the channels of a constitutional monarchy they yielded to the idea of bourgeois republic. Their hatred of Bolshevism outmeasured everything else. They particularly feared Spartacus which had constituted itself as a separate party with the slogan of All Power to the Soviets. Noske, surrounded by the Hohenzollern generals, unleashed the white terror. The Spartacists were shot down by the thousands were murdered in the most bestial fashion. Her body in a disfigued condition was dragged up months later from the Spree river.

German menshevism and the bourgeoisie has triumphed. Vae Victis! But the spirit of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht marches on in the millions of German workers who today are again confronted with the problem of power.

-MAURICE SPECTOR.

For Communist Action!

Documents of the German Left Opposition

brother section raised its voice in must contain: warning and made positive proposals pression, these ideas are irresist bly forging ahead. They are bound to become the common property of all revolutionary workers. —EJ.

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C. P. G.

Dear Comrades:

Victory is possible, victory is probable, everything must be done to assure it. Only in this manner can revolutionists pose the question.

The question of the victory over Fascism in Germany is also the question of the fate of the U. S. S. R., regardless of whether it is considered from the economic, the political or the purely military point of view. But that means that so as to be able to assure the future of socialist economy in the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Union must stake all its strength on the victory over Fascism of stay to the last. Failing to guide Ger- the European revolution with which it is inseparably linked. This alone can be the strategic line of the Communist party.

The C. P. must adopt a position of departure that rests upon irreconciliable and ruthless struggle against Fascism, for the purpose of destroying Fascism in the inevitable and open sruggle for the conquest of power.

The united revolutionary class action of the proletariat must be organized against the victory of Fascism.

This can be realized only when all revolutionary forces, no matter in what camp they stand at the moment, unite for this common action that stands on the order of the day. We know full well that the premises for such an action are extremely unfavorable. But in spite of this, the C. P. G., as the hisview of the seriousness of the situation make the attempt to realize a genuine fighting unity of the working class To this end, we submit the following proposals:

The C. P. G. is immediately to ap-

We are reprinting below excerpts, proach all political groups, trade unfrom several documents of the Ger-lions and workers' organizations who deman Left Opposition, which appeared clare themselves prepared to fight against a few weeks ago in their organ "Per- Fascism, with the aim of a common apmanente Revolution". With firm peal for the formation of a Joint Council Communist conviction, our German of Action against Fuscism. This appeal 1. The creation of Committees of Acfor a change in policy to the Central tion consisting of representatives of fac-

Committee of the German Communist tories, trade unions, political groups Party. The ideas of the Left Opposi- and other workers' organizations. It is tion rest upon the experiences of the of the greatest importance, that all the great Russian revolution. Despite per- existing tendencies in the revolutionsecution by the state and the bureau- ary working class of each locality actucracy, despite calluminatin and relally be represented in the Committees of Action. 2. The Joint Council of Action

is to be constituted at a congress of delegates from these Committees of Action in the entire country, which should be convoked without delay. This congress is to represent the proletarian concentration against the concentration of the reactionaries.

3. The congress must be organized in advance as the proletarian counterparliament in the event of a Fascist Reichstag, or against an extra-parliamentary or parliamentary Fascist government.

4. The congress must solve three tasks concretely:

(a) the preparation of the general strike to prevent the seizure of power by Hugenberg and Hitler:

(b) the formation of one common, non-party workers defense corps; (c) the elaboration of a common minimum program with regard to the next steps to be taken by the Committees of Action.

Under a correct leadership, such a defense action contains all the necessary elements with which to lead the proletariat, in view of the objective possibilities described above, not only against Fascism, but to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as a whole.

Such a policy is possible only after a radical change in the course of the party. The experiences of the French C. P. speak an unequivocal language. Despite the "third period", despite the ultra-Left trade union tactic, despite "social Fascism" and similar slogans, the party has been forced by the pressure of objective toricaly chosen oragnization must in conditions and partly also, on the basis of sound proposals made by the Left Opposition, to change its coruse radically. (See the proposal to the Socialist Party of France for common action on the second ballot, the Parliamentary Congress for the establishment of trade unon unity). It is high time to draw the consequences in Germany and to reestablish the unity of all genuine Com-

We declare emphatically that, despite profund differences in a whole series party, "Young Spain", announced re-licanism. With the fall of monarchy of questions we will support with our reservations, every step undertaken by the party in this direction with all our strength and that we are completely and entirely at the service of the party in

> With Communist greetings, for the LEFT OPPOSITION OF THE C. P. G. (BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS)

The National Committee. (Continued in the next issue)

Shachtman Lectures at Opposition Forum

On Friday, January 14, comrade Max Shachtman spoke at the Labor Temple on the impressions he acquired during a four weeks' stay in Spain. An audience of about a hundred workers listened attentively to comrade Shachtman's description of the miserable conditions of the Spanish workers, the betrayals of the Spanish social democracy, the impotence of the syndicalists and anarchists and the criminal blunders committed by the official Communist party under the direction of the Comintern led by Stalin.

Comrade Shachtman brought back heartening news of the growth of the Spanish Opposition which has now more than a thousand members, and of its fight for the unity of the Communist ranks. Significant was the fact that comrade Trotsky was extremely popular with the Spanish workers, that editions of his pamphlets were literally cobbled up. In Spain, as elsewhere the workers despite the slanders and lies of the Stalinists refuse to believe that Trotsky and the Opposition are counter-revolutionaries.

The struggle of our Spanish comrades carried on under much greater hardships then we face here must be an inspiration to us to double and redouble our efforts to regenerate the American Communist party and to reunite the Commun-

A Correction

Due to unforeseen technical difficulties, Entered as second class mail matter the leading news article in our last issue, entitled "Japs Subsidize Russian ed form. Unfortunately, the necessary corrections could not be made in time. But we shall come back to this subject dealt with in this article in the immeeigh \$2.50. Five cents per copy. diate future, in more extensive form. -THE MILITANT.

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

Council of Ministers after the resignation of Maura and Alcala Zamora there were many who interpreted the change of ministry as an evolution to the Left. Maurin went so far as to say that the new government was "typically pettybourgeois" and to put it on a level with the Kerensky government. We, on the contrary, from the first moment maintained that this solution of the crisis meant a step forward in the direction of the big bourgeoisie and of its bloc with the socialists.

"In reality", we said in the third number of "El Soviet", which was confiscated by the governor of Barcelona, represent ing the so-called "Kerensky government", "the real master of the situation is Lerroux, that is, the big bourgeoisie. Still the time has not yet come to take off the mask, to take over completely the reins of power in the name of those who see in Lerroux, as he said in his speech at Santander, 'the lifebuoy in which the shipwrecked man sees the hope of salva-

The facts have proven, and keep proving, that our evaluation was correct. On the adoption of the "law for the and of systematic strangulation of the the absence of a strong Communist stall its unmasked dictatorship.

Today this is not possible. Democratic petty-bourgeoisie masses and a large part Rosa Luxemburg's theory has certain of the working class. The bourgeoisie points in common with Kautsky's as finds it necessary to maintain these il-Lenin's has with that of Hilfering. She lusions temporarily, making use of a could explain the seizure of a backward political force which is not completely ngrarian region but how would she ex- discredited among the masses, and by plain the lust for Lorraine or Belgium? its name at least, represents a guarantee She seeks to establish absolutely object of radicalism. This political force is tive barriers to capitalist development by the socialist party, whose leaders show themselves disposed as usual to serve

Still, to form an exclusively socialist government would be a risky adventure. Inevitably it could do nothing else than ing serious preparations, not only to continue the policies of the bourgeoisie, govern on the political stage, but to in fact the dictatorship of Primo de persons". Her theory does not throw and the socialist party would discredit take over the power, to become the di-Rivera. Still, since this experience did

When Azana became President of the of its most important reserve weapons.

The socialists, who are fully aware of this, are horribly afraid of taking over the entire responsibility for the state power, and declare themselves for a concentration government, over which they should preside. Largo Caballero was in a hurry to state that such a government, by its very composition, would be unable to realize the party program. Yet, according to the declaration of the Minister of Labor, "the party, having made greater renunciations than any other for the welfare of the republic, will accept this sacisce too for the 'national interest' ".

Under these circumstances the socialists, free of all responsibility for the policies of the government, will contribute to maintaining democratic illusions among the masses and will make it possible for the bourgeoisie to consolidate tatorship. The Azana government was ocratic revolution for good and to crush the first step in this process; the government presided over by the socialists will be the second.

Lerroux, the Spanish Miliukov

The events of the last few days fully confirm this evaluation. While public opinion is being prepared for a Largo Caballero government, and the alertdemocratic revolution. Neurished by the ness of the masses is being put to sleep, weakness of the working-class organiza- Lerroux, in an interview given to the tions, the incapacity of the anarcho-syn- editor of the reactionary Madrid jourlearned nothing from experience, and the socialists in power, "far from being the proletarian revolution, threw thema difficulty" would be "prudent collaborators". In a few truly classic words, stripped naked, without reserves—the class character of the regime; "I can assure you", he said, "that I am realizing the prophecy which I made years ago when I said, (too emphatically, as some thought), 'I will govern'. Now I can say that I am governing, since government and not the power". Lerroux One can have the power and not the government. One can have the government and not the power. I have the govis the representative of the big bourge- capital—this class is incapable of carry oisie, the Spanish Miliukov; the workers must not forget this.

Let them not forget, too, that the the masses on the tambourine of the the revolution. "socialist government", Lerroux is mak-

dangers of a blody battle", show clearly practice. what are the intentions of the promoters of this new organization.

it does not give this fact all the attention which it deserves and fails to see in the announced intention of this group more than a mere manifestation of boasting.

It is more than probable that "Young its position and to prepare, behind the Spain" will fail to recruit the 500,000 socialist screen, a genuine Fascist dic- men which it needs to put out the demthe proletariat. Still they can become an imposing force tomorrow. The worst thing we can do is to close our eyes to this incipient danger. In 1920, and even in 1921, the Italian revolutionists looked with disdain on the Fascists, whom they saw as nothing more than "bandit gangs" without real force. These "bandit gangs" took the power at the end of 1922 and dragged along with them the large petty-bourgeois masses, these same masses who had followed the socialists and who, disillusioned by the downfall of selves into the arms of Mussolini.

Are there factors in Spain which are capabe of favoring the development of a and profitless putach. strong Fascist movement? There are beyond a doubt.

Whither, the Party Bourgeoisie?

The first factor, and the most important, is the petty bourgeoisie. As in Italy, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie constitutes the immense majority of the population. Because of the very role which it fulfills in the economic ernment and not the power", Lerroux life of the country-dependence on big ing out its own policies, and constantly and the proletariat. To win it over, or Max Shachtman Maurice Spector vacillates between the big bourgeoisie leader of the "radical" party is no at least to neutralize it, is a task of platonic individual. When he entertains fundamental importance for the cause of

class movement of 1917-1920 it supported March 3, 1879. into necessary relief either the national itself irretrievably in the eyes of the or colonial problem.

working masses. With it, the bourge of the Fascist type. The constitution of the nationalist its situation, it developed toward repub-

cently, is the first important step in this and the proclamation of the republic, direction. Its organization, based on a the petty bourgeoisie gave free rein to its militia of 500,000 men, who are to "wear democratic illusions and hopefully fola distinctive costume with the attri- lowed the demagogues of the left. Still butes of the legion, a gray-green shirt the illusions are disappearing, and and a collar of the same color", is these great fluctuating and indecisive any instance whatsoever. modeled on Italian Fascism. The warn- masses find themselves irresistibly drawn ing to abstain from joining, made to to that social class which offers a clear "the timorous and cowardly, and those and concrete program, and has the unwho are not capable of facing all the shakable determination to put it into That class can only be the big bourge-

oisie or the proletariat. The big bourgeoisie has this program: the crushing which might have fatal consequences if of workers' organizations, the consolition of capital. The instrument for the realization of this program is being forged by Lerroux and his "Young Spain". Nothing is easier than to attract the disilusioned petty-bourgeois masses with this progam, conveniently seasoned with a good dose of demagogy. Let us not forget that, at the beginning, Italian Fascism declared itself anticapitalist and republican.

Still, there is a second factor, no less important: the proletariat, which has a unique opportunity to give definitive battle to the bourgeoisie and to take the power. The objective circumstances could not be more favorable to such an end. But subjectively it is disarmed. From a trade union point of view it is divided: the leaders of the U. G. T. collaborate openly with the bourgeoisie, and those of the C. N. T. either fall into a reformism which fully equals that of Largo Caballero and Co. (the Peiro-Pestana group) or into adventurism (the F. A. I.) which can only lead to a bloody -ANDRES NIN.

Barcelona, Nov. 27, 1931

(To Be Continued)

THE MILITANT

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Martin Abern James P. Cannon Arne Swabeck

November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at After the ruin of the great working New York, N. Y. Under the act of Whites", appeared in garbed and distort-

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The conviction of William Hightover and the sentence of life imprisonment is the second heavy defeat suffered by the miners and the entire working class of announced this depredation in a char-America in the Kentucky murder trials. These are no mere law cases. The courtroom, during these historic trials, is an question of the day. arena of the class struggle. In reality, although not formally, the right of the workers to organize is at stake. The whole prosecution is designed to victimize men for asserting this right in action and to intimidate others by the ferocious "justice" measured out to the

The attention of the entire working class ought, therefore, to be centered on the chief "witness for the defense" be compelled to hear and to heed. But such a movement is not to be seen or undisturbed secuity.

roading of a working class militant. tracted from the record of the class difference. struggle in America. Whoever has illusions about this, whoever wants to confine the defensive action of the workers to the presentation of legal evidence and the collection of funds for lawyers's fees, is at best, a harmful, if well-meaning, fool. It is high time to appeal these cases to the working class. A nation-wide action of the workers is an impostponable obligation which they owe to the defendants and to themselves.

The chief obstacles in the way of effective protest action of the masses are the disunity in the labor ranks, and the partisan disputes which take no account of fundamental class interests. This deplorable circumstance is expressed in the obscene factional quarrel over the case between the Stalinists and the I. W. W. They have acted like tradesmen haggling over private property. The Daily Worker prints not a single word about the trials and conviction of Jones and Hightower. By that deliberate silence they take upon themselves a part out the year, so to speak-Weisbord ad- average from 9 to 10 pesetas a day. of the responsibility for the outcome. In all this the Stalinists are true to themselves, for it is their mission to soil and discredit the banner of Communism. The conduct of the I. W. W. officials is no better. They content themcome at their defeuse conference, but not better yet, a rope. the delegates of a Communistic organization. In the self-satisfied contemplation of this victory over the factional foe they lose sight of the defeat suffered by the class and the basic reasons for

The life-sentences in Kentucky are warning signals of a furious offensive pelled group from the Communist party, Left Opposition, the Ultra Left nor against the awakening labor movement. the Proletarian party is now proceeding the Right wing currents this they The laboring masses, attacked from ev- through a period of internal struggle and themselves admit. Neither can facts deprived of their rights, have no way P. P. pivoted around a section of the out but to fight. They must find the socialist party of Michigan as part of rent of Communism, nor as the Marxian way to fight unitedly, as a class, "An in the Left wing majority expelled by the group in America. The P. P. Opposition jury to one is the concern of ali"-this Socialist Executive Committee minority. itself is the best denial of this. The P. glorious motto of the Knights of Labor And now the P. P. is repeating the promust be revived and inscribed on the cess on a smaller scale with the Ker- etical differences with the C. I. and alhanner of the workers once again. Differences and disputes over methods and expelling the majority. All the Bureau all its policies. This shows, generally theory-which are unavoidable in the crat methods of the socialists or Stalinprocess of clarification-must not prevent unity and solidarity in the common fight against the class enemy. If the confight for it they will soon find the way to sweep the disrupters aside and create the conditions for the united front of labor. Then they will be able to halt and transform them into future victories

A SORRY ADVENTURE

It is just about a year since Weisbord. having failed to convince us by argument, set out to prove by example that he alone possessed the secret of organizing a mass movement and steering it on the straight revolutionary path. If we still remain skeptical it is not because his adventure has been devoid of interst or because he failed to make conment in general. You have to give him credit for trying. He didn't prove his own case, it is true, but he proved something else. What his exploits lacked unique humor that was all the more infectious because of its apparent unconsciousness, like the comic act of a sadfaced clown. Therefore we maintain against those who want to cross him off as a total loss, that the man has his uses. Revolutionists remain human, all too human; we need diversion and amusement. We live parlous lives, beset with griefs and difficulties, and one who can make us laugh is not to be utterly scorned. A brief account of the life and deeds of Albert Weisbord during the

As the world knows or ought to know, the herculean endeavors of Weisbord have recently culminated in a split of P. P. Opposition can say this shows his organization. From this we learn that the total membership of the mass movement—at the time of the split was the weakness of the national center of thirteen people. Out of these thirteen, six seceded or were expelled, leaving will claim the rest unless drastic steps a net membership of seven in the parent organization, including Weisbord himself and his immediate family. Thereupon-it is alleged-some members of the split-off faction, who had never be-

past year is justified by this considera-

ANOTHER DEFEAT IN KENTUCKY | whose sole instruction in revolutionary ethics had been imparted by him, made an uninvited visit to the headquarters and carried off some books. Weisbord acteristic manifesto and submitted it to the whole revolutionary movement as the

We are not in favor of burglary and larceny and it is easy to incite us against practitioners of these arts-principle in this matter being reinforced by personal grievances. We were just on the point of passing judgment on the alleged culprits when Weisbord forestalled us by an appeal to other authorities. The incomparable revolutionist took his whilom comrades and pupils to court and there this courtroom spectacle in Kentucky; prayed for the justice that had been denied him. And then, to make sure that this lesson in Marxism would not be restricted to the defendants, the judge heard. The judicial hirelings of the and the court attendants, he published coal operators grind out the convictions a letter in the New York Forward exand prepare others in an atmosphere of plaining his action. He went to court, he said, on the advice of Roger Balddwin. A purely legal defense, however com- That ought to satisfy anybody who is petent, unless it is reenforced by a satisfied with Roger Baldwin as a moral, determined and clamorous agitation, pre- legal and political authority. Moresents no serious obstacles to the rail- over, he protested, it was a civil suit and not a criminal case which—as they say This can be laid down as an axiom ex-] in Missouri—is a distinction if not a

> So what can we do now? We have never yet testified against anybody in court and cannot go as witness. We are also barred by ethical scruples from expressing any opinion which might prejudice the case of the defendants. And besides, if it is a matter of law, cannot the seceding faction claim minority rights in the property? We have heard of cases where minority groups of stock holders sued for an accounting and division and were granted it. We raise here also a hypothetical legal question: Suppose the defendants plead insanity and cite as proof that they were still suffering from the influence of Weisbord at the time of the alleged offense? would be a cruel judge indeed who would turn a deaf ear to such a plea.

would be enough for one man for one year-or for a life-time. But no, the of a 48-hour week, the Spanish worker comic resources of our hero are inexhaustable. On top of all this-to round dressed a letter to the Communist League In Madrid, the capital of the country, proposing that we get together and talk which has relatively few industrial work-

In Spain: «The Democratic Republic of the Workers»

A First Hand Account of Conditions Under the Socialist-Republican Regime

This is the first of a series of articles on the situation in Spain by comrade Max Shachtman who has just returned from a visit to that country.-Ed.

Spanish colleagues when, a few months ago, the prominent socialist parliamentary leader, Luis Araquistain, speaking for the Constitutional Committee, presented the committee's report to the Cortes at Madrid which incorporated inworkers could be expected to perform istence of a handful of months. But the least that one can demand is that the a republic so lofty in intention should improve the status of the class whose not that, then at the very least, it should not stand very much in the way of any endeavors the workers themselves may make to ameliorate their conditions. By even such a simple and empirical test. has already proved to be one of those cruel deceptions with which the bourgeoisie has always fed those over whom

it rules. What do the conditions of the Spanish workers actually look like, now that Alfonso Bourbon has been driven from the throne, his henchmen dispersed, and the republic proclaimed?

The Conditons of the Workers

The far from revolutionary International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations places Spain, in a recent survey, postively wretched. The home of one at the bottom of a list of some dozen representative European countries, with tive of the average, consisted of one regard to the standards of living of the room, probably 12 feet by 7, illuminated the nesting place of crime. Along the working class, lower in the scale than some of the classic countries of misery in the Balkans and the Baltic states.

With the Spanish peseta now equal to less than nine cents in U.S. coin, the One may think that these performances industrial workers average about 8 pesetas a day which means that on the basis would average something like five dollars a week. In Valenica, the workers

but half of that wage. In Saragossa, | day. But of what value is the 8-hour | ter the Bolshevik revolution, even the where the cost of living is somewhat higher than elsewhere, a painter will earn 8 pesetas a day. In the smaller city of Palencia, building trades workers like masons, carpenters and painters re-The social democrats throughout the ceive only some 6 to 7 pesetas. Day labworld beat the drums mightily for their orers in the cities may get an average of 7 pesetas a day, often less.

But these are not the worst by any means. Agricultural laborers not only have a highly seasonable employ, but when they do work in the fields they will get from 3.5 to 4 pesetas a day, to the fundamental law of the land the and in some districts as low as 2.5 peseproclamation that Spain was henceforth tas a day (about twenty cents a day "democratic republic of the workers". in U. S. coin!), together with their Not even a genuine republic of the board and the highly doubtful pleasure of sleeping in barns and stables with miracles for the proletariat after an ex- the live stock. In Madrid, I saw a sight which can only be compared with the very worst days of the sweat-shop inpolitical regime guides the destinies of dustries of New York's forgotten East Side. In a room of a communal family give some indications that it plans to flat, a half-dozen young girls, not one of them out of her teens, were crowded republic it announces itself to be. Or if together, at work, making waists, with greatly inferior quality,, but many of the no ventillation and the most meager illumination. These children-most of them were that, literally-get 2.5 pesetas town. That is, only those workers who for eight hours of work, but since they are actually born in the town may taste work "a day and a half" each day, or the new "workers' republic" of Spain 12 hours, they carry off the magnificent pay of 3.75 pesetas at the end of each back-breaking, eye-tearing day. Such a sight is far from unique in Madrid: the system is quite wide-spread. And what must conditions be in the less modern sections of the country?

Such a wage standard is better understood when the reader learns that a rather modest meal at a very modest restaurant costs two pesetas. A dozen eggs are three pesetas. The housing era dictatorship, are becoming frequent conditions of the average worker are of our most active militants, representa--if one may say so-by an air-shaft window four feet square, with miserable sanitary facilities, and permission to use innumerable groups of four silent men, the communal kitchen for cooking. The average worker lives in similar flats, containing four families, who are distributed in five rooms, one of which serves as the joint kitchen. The comrade I speak of paid the average rent for the one room—forty-five pesetas a month.

The misery of Unemployment

For those who are fortunate enough things over with a view of unity. This ers, the building trades workers, the most to have work, life is still "bearable", propasal he blandly informed us, is highly-paid in the city, get anywhere so to speak. But what about the undesigned to be a "bridge" to the Communifrom 13 to 15 pesetas a day. The metal employed? With a munificent gesture. ist League. But he is separated from workers in Vizcaya, probably the most the Republican-Socialist coalition governus in such a way that a bridge can highly paid in the country, receive from ment has introduced the 8-hour working a cloth" from begging in the streets. But Communists have nothing to do with the hardly be the medium of connection. 15 to 17 pesetas a day. Workers in the day. It cost it little, since most of the mendicancy is still widespread, in spite defense. Any scoundrel of faker is wel- What this fellow needs is a ladder or, famous textile mills of Barcelona get workers had already acquired that stan- of the prohibition. Along the Ramblas about 10 pesetas a day, while women dard. In some cases, the law made con- in Barcelona, infants, as wild-eyed and -J. P. C. | workers in the same mills will average ditions worse by lengthening the working

work for one hour a day?

are almost indescribable. Industries are able—that between forty and forty-five percent of the industrial and agricultural the time. In Vizcayla, they say, there is a full week at a time, and this in a section whose mining, metal and building trades industries make it proportionately more important, industrially speaking, than Barcelona itself. When the situation was not quite so acute, the municipalities would give free food to the jobless. Now the food is not only of a municipalities are confining the food rations to those who are "natives" of the of the thin bounty of the "workers' republic".

Misery and suffering march in the train of this situation, which has even more dramatic and sensational results. Protalism under all conditions, rages like a pestilence. The streets of Madrid, for instancy, literally run with these unfortunates like a great sore. The 'ataco", or payroll holdups, which were brought to an end by the Primo de Rivoccurences again, just as the individual pillaging and pilfering of stores by desperate jobless workers is on the increase: here as everywhere, poverty is most magnificent streets of Madrid, on its Broadway—the Gran Via—one sees each holding a corner of an extended white cloth into which the passer-by sometimes throws a copper which is to appease the fierce hunger of the unemployed worker before whom the national constitution so eloquently proclaims "his" republic. So that the sensibilities of the bourgeoisie shall not be made to suffer, and in order that the miserable realities shall not too rudely reveal their disphrase, cities like Barcelona and Bilbao have formally prohibited the "four with love to make such a horror-stricken todo, infants and their elders by the hunor by economic compulsion, in the degrading busines of begging.

The Two Revolutions

-But was your workers' republic any retort of all manners of social democrats and their apologists. The comparison of the Spanish "workers' republic" with the Russian proletarian dictaorship af-

working day to those who cannot find casual one, does not speak a single word in favor of the former of its artificers. Unlike Spain, the Russian workers pro-Unemployment in Spain at the presenct claimed their republic after three years moment is terrific and the consequences of the most horrible and exhausting war known to history, a war in which the paralyzed, there is an acute financial flower of the Russian working class and crisis, the peseta continues to careen peasantry was driven to the slaughter by along the downward path. I was reliably a deprayed royalty and a cynical semiinformed-accurate statistics are unavail- feudal militarism, and decimated by the millions. The Russian revolution took place amid the economic ruin brought workers, some 1,000,000 of them, are about by czarism, a heritage which it completely unemployed, while another has not yet been able to throw off comtwenty percent are at work only part of pletely. The Russian revolution saw the light of day at a time when half or more not a single worker who is employed for of it was occupied by hostile foreign troops, ravaging the country and locking out the Russian government from occupation of some of the most essential industrial and agricultural regions. The Russian revolution was almost coincidental with the establishment of a strangulating economic blockade which sought-and for a time succeeded-to cut Russia off from the life's blood of

Yet, in spite of these enormous differences, quantitative as well as qualitative, which constituted such mountainous obstacles to the progress of the Russian workers' republic, one may say without exaggeration that the Bolshevik regime gave the working class and the peasantry infinitely more in one week stitution, an inescapable curse of capi- than the Socialist-Republican revolution and regime have even thought of giving the Spanish workers and peasants in the whole nine months of their existence.

the world market.

At the very outset, the Bolsheviks established a workers' control of production which was a veritable control. and not the class-collaborationist burlesque which the Socialist minister of labor, Caballero, has so solemnly presented as a gift to the employers under the guise of benefiting labor. At the very outset, the Bolsheviks, gave the peasants the land for which they hungered by simply expropriating the large ladowners and the church something which the Spanish bourgeoisie and their socialist assistants will never think of doing anywhere but on paper, if there. The dis-estabilshment of church and state in Russia was a trenchant reality and not the elaborate farce that has been played in Spain, where the church continues to have a stranglehold on the country's industries and agriculture, not harmony with the farcical constitutional in its own name so much-it has yielded in the form—as in the more legal name of its known adherents

In a word, the difference between the two revolutions and the two republics they produced is the difference between raggedly clothed as any of the Russian the proletariat in power which crushes "homeless waifs" over whom the world the bourgeoisic and their social dembourgeoisie and the social democracy ocratic guardsmen, and the bourgeoisie in power which, with the aid of its social democracy, crushes the proletardreds are engaged, either professionally iat. However extensive the advertising campaign which the international social democracy is carrying on for its Spanish colleague, this fundamental distinction cannot be covered up.

-MAX SHACHTMAN.

The next article in the series will appear in the Militant next week under the title: "The Republic Establishes Law and Order."

The Proletarian Party Opposition

split. The element that made acher minority controlling the aparatus, ites are used by Keracher and Co.

This party, after a decade of existence as a sect devoting its time to theoryscientious workers in all camps will theory that now proves to the majority dedicate themselves to this principle and of its own members to be void of living Marxism, can only exist as a counterpart to bookshelf "activity". The deep world crisis closed in from all sides on this placid conditon causing internal the defeats in Kentucky, and elsewhere, motion that broke through the isolation. The first convention in Detroit was a replica of the Stalinist methods of proployment, etc. The revolt from this position of "theory" reacted to its op-I they proceed forward or backward. posite of "mass work" in a hope of Where are they today and what are they breathing new life into the P. P. The P. P. Opposition comes fom a party of inactivity. While we were a minority expelled by the bureaucrats who did not allow our position to reach the party. throws light upon the process of con-The P. P. Opposition now constitute the tributions of a certain kind to the move- majority of this party. This explains to with them and have not yet outgrownan extent the reason they swing to "mass activity" and their accusations that the Left Opposition are too "theoretical and too much concerned with the Russian isin the heroic quality they made up in a sue" but this does not justify or give them a Marxian base for their action-

quite the contrary. the Left, through expulsions and withtry. The base of the Left is in the headquarters city and here it faces the greatest internal contradictions as well as the greatest possibilities. They have an open forum two block from the P. P. headquarters with a weekly attendance of over 200 while the P. P. has declined radicaly. Before the P. P. Opposition could organize itself nationally, Cleveland and New York had moved into the official Communist party. The Chicago weakness on their part and dismiss it at that but facts prove it only reflects the P. P. Opposition and disintegration are taken at once to correct their international perspective.

Since the party fastly chopped off part of Cleveland and New York we should ited States, but in order to build a party ask, where do we catalog the P. P. longed to any organization before and Oppositon among the Communist cur- must have above all—a correct inter-

After a decade of existence as an ex-1 rents? It cannot be cataloged with the characterize them as an independent cur P. has tactical differences but no theor ways abstractly endorses the C. I. and speaking, that they are a sectarian grouplet of the official Communist party and concretely speaking a right-center sectarian grouplet suporting Stalinism. Stalin's socialism in one country has its counterpart in the P. P.'s National Con-

munism. On the one hand, the expulsion of the Left Opposition from the C. I. was the most detrimental to the world revolution and the Soviet Union, on the other hand we can say the struggle within the P. P. and its majority under the influence ceeding over the disputed questions: on of the P. P. Opposition is healthy and the analysis of the crisis, the trade un- a step forward for American Communism. key to the problem and will determine if heading for?

The P. P. Opposition is not a homogenious grouplet by any means. The action of Cleveland and New York already tradictions they brought out of the party or contradictions that may kill them as a grouplet, depending upon what their most advanced force does in the next several weeks. To join Centrism was no step forward, it was only a jump from the tail to the body, unless they go into th party with the intention of correcting The split in the P. P. is national with the revisionist position. Another section of the grouplet under Bereiter's influence drawals, holding the majority over six have accepted the Grossman theory as units and contacts throughout the coun- the latest in Marxism. The Scandinavian grouplet and some American elements that dropped out of the P. P. before and others that were expelled make up some healthy element that would be an asset to the American Communist movement. To go forward the P. P. Opposition must answer the question of an International program, a question still unanswered in their group. It may be much nicer for some to have their own "play house" and play the game according to their own rules than to be a faction of the Communist International as the Left Opposition and take all the dirt and slander that goes with it. However, there is no choice for a Marxian, we do not make history out of the whole cloth, neither do we make a party out of the whole 5 cents per copy cloth that will carry through the successful proletarian revolution in the Unto accomplish our task in America we

national program to be rounded out with revolutionary strategy and tactics for the

-HUGO OEHLER.

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HALL, 1435 NO. WESTERN AVE. Auspices: Chicago Branch, Communis League of America (Opposition)

ST.LOUIS

"Labor Fakers Betray the Shoe and ion question, immediate demands, unem- Now adrift, the P. P. Opposition has the Railroad Workers" will be the topic at a mass-meeting held Wednesday evening, January 27th, 7:30 P. M. at the Main Library Hall, 14th and Olive Streets, St.

> Martin Payer will speak, with John Scott as chairman.

> Auspices: St. Louis Branch, Communist eague of America (Opposition).

Kansas City

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1 FASCISM OR COMMUNISM IN **GERMANY?**

SPEAKER: GEORGE CLARKE of N. Y. 914 Grand dAvenue

Second Floor Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

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Unemployment and Communism On February 25, 1931, 400,000 workers; surance had lapsed; the struggle for rein the United States according to the lief was equally unsuccessful. The crisis Daily Worker demonstrated for Unem- was still deepening; the misery of the ployment Insurance. Compared with the masses was greater and more widedemonstration of the year before, this spread. Bourgeois demagogues were

er claims 1,250,000 workers in the March decrease was hailed by Browder as an advance (Daily Worker, March 6, 1931.) On the basis of this "advance", Brow der on March 12, in the Daily Worker, motivated a turn from the fight for Unemployment to a system of organized

This in part is what Browder wrote "Where the city authorities reject the demands for the relief of specific cases of starvation—the council must set up derstand exactly what this resolution a food collection committee which proposes with regard to unemployment. will undertake food collections from the larger capitalists and corporations of the locality, particularly in those institutions where the unemployed were formerly at work. When the committee is unable to get food from the corpora tions and large capitalists they shall then begin to solicit small merchants and the petty bourgeoisie generally, calling upon these elements at the same time to join the Unemployed Council in demanding relief from the government treasuries and in demanding unemployment in surance nationally."

This "fight" for relief reached its highest expression in a recent New York demonstration in which a worker carried ployed and unemployed workers for it. a placard, reading: "We want more, not less relief".

While the dwindling party supporters were struggling to carry out Browder's directives, the fight for unemployment insurance was confined to resolutions passed at narrow, sectarian conferences, and to articles in the Daily Worker and other party organs. The masses no longer could be counted by the hundred thouasnds, not even by the schooled exaggeraters who write editorials "Against Exaggeration". They had disappeared from the struggle.

Browder's strategy, as could have been foretold by a pioneer, ran its course without results. By the end of the summer of 1931 it was clear to all that competing with capitalist charities for pinch- Unemployment Insuance. —". STAMM. penny doles could not advance the revolution. The fight for Unemployment In-

showed a great decline. The Daily Work- threatening to take over the leadership of the movement for relief and Unem-6, 1930 demonstration. This tremendous ployment Insurance. At this point, the party decide to revive the fight for Unemployment Insurance.

Its first assault on capitalist greed was the National Hunger March. This was organized around the slogans of a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the T. U. U. L. on October 3. On the basis of this document the revived fight for Unemployment Insurance is taking place. It is important to un-Has the party learned from its mistakes? Does it repudiate the opportunism of Browder and Co.?

If the party's efforts to win Unemployment Insurance demonstrated anything, they demonstraed that the party could not unite the masses around the slogan of unemployment insurance alone. There is no qusetion that Unemployment Insurance is what the masses need to alelviae their misery and to serve as a bulwark against strike-breaking. It is true that under certain conditions the workers will fight to Unemployment Insurance, but it is also true that the party failed to build a broad movement of em-

One reason, of course, is the stifling bureaucratic regime in the party and its organizations wrich drives away thousands of workers sympathetic to Communism. Bueaucracy played its part but it is not decisive. The basic reason is to be found in the illusions of the masses. The masses are not yet convinced that "prosperity" will not return. They still believe that the crisis will lift, bring in work for them. They do not understand that we, like England, will now be blessed with a permanent army of unemployed. The masses think in terms of work. Unemployment Insurance is predicated upon the permanent unemployment of large sections of the working class. For these reasons, the American workers are slow to fight for

(To be contil.