



Our Second Conference

A Milestone in the Progress of the American Opposition

The delegates from all over the country who came together for the second National Conference of the Left Opposition will assemble under the banner of an organization which has not been so strengthened in every respect, so sure of its ground, so confident of its victory, at any time since its foundation. Through all the vicissitudes and weak points that stand recorded in the more than two years since our first national conference, we look back over a period of the consolidation and growth of our influence. The Marxian wing of the movement, reduced to a numerically small section by an unprecedented combination of circumstances, has established a place for itself from which all the violence, suppression and slanders of the Centrist apparatus have been unable to tear it.

The voices of the prophets of doom are greatly stilled today. The Right wing which, while in power in the party, combined with the Foster faction to expel us—summarily from the party, is itself out of the ranks today. At the bottom of its defeat lie the invincible ideas of the Left Opposition, from which the Centrists were compelled to borrow wholesale in order to combat the liquidators. In a remarkably short time, in this country, at least, the march of events has revealed itself upon the Lovestones in no conclusive a manner that it no longer brooks discussion. When they expelled us, it was with the declaration that we were, or soon would be, in the camp of all the enemies of Communism; that we would soon be on the same side with Muste, with Brandler, with Lore, with Salutsky, with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy—against Communism and the Communist party. Hardly had the ink dried on their accusations, when they themselves adopted the course with which they charged us. Today, the Right wing faction is the American section of the Brandlerist "International". In the needle trades unions it conducts a struggle, hand in glove with anti-Communist and pseudo-progressive cheap-jacks for the liquidation of the militant unions. In Paterson, it sits cheek by jowl with Muste, Salutsky, Lore and the A. F. of L. skates, playing the bass role of informers against the Communists, smoothing the road towards the betrayal of the silk workers by the trade union hierarchy. The faction which, after its expulsion from the party, made the charge of "sectarianism" its highest trump against us, itself occupies the place of a tiny sect tagging along at the heels of "progressives", protesting the value of its special kind of services against the revolutionists.

As against the Stalinists of the Centrist faction, the Left Opposition has also made considerable progress. Having usurped the tremendous machinery of the Comintern, with the official stamp of the Soviet Union upon them, the Stalinists have had tremendous opportunities to advance the influence and the prestige of the Communist movement, particularly in the last three years. But the official stamp and the apparatus have proved to be inadequate. Correct revolutionary ideas, an ever greater absence of which is the mark of Stalinism, are the essential pre-requisite to revolutionary progress. In this field, the apparatus-men have made one blunder after another. The influence of the party in the great unemployed movement, in spite of the increase of joblessness, has declined to a low point. The strikes led by the party have not merely ended in defeats, but have been marked by fatal mistakes which a correct course could easily have avoided. The magnificent opportunities offered to Communist leadership for taking the initiative in a nation-wide united front movement, have been systematically sabotaged by the Stalinists, and in its place, the sectarian, disastrous formula of the "united front from below" has been substituted.

Our Position Confirmed

On virtually every occasion, the forecasts and the proposals made by the Left Opposition have been confirmed by the events themselves. In the trade union field primarily, in the field where the party's attitude towards the daily problems of the working class is put sharply to the test, the viewpoint of the Opposition has not only been justified as against that of the Stalinists, but our persistent principled criticism has slowly made its way through all the bureaucratic barriers and finally found expression, even if to a limited degree, in the turn from the extremely false positions adopted by the party leaders at the height of the "third period" follies. The latest demonstration of the power of our ideas has been the turn made by the party in our direction, by its advocacy of the development of trade relations with the Soviet Union in connection with the Five Year Plan and mass unemployment in the United States.

In general, where the Stalinists have continued, with increasingly harmful results, to pursue their classic course of zig-zags, condemning today what was gospel yesterday, spreading confusion on every question, the Left Opposition has been able to maintain a steady course on the fundamental principled questions of the revolutionary movement, the ideas gaining in influence and support in a

widening circle of Communist workers. Our own ranks have experienced a gratifying consolidation, especially in the realm of our ideas in which lies our greatest strength. Questions upon which lack of clarity existed, upon which we even had a false position, or which were disputed for some time, now approach a final and correct conclusion, and there is no doubt that the conference will put its definite stamp of approval upon the results so that they may henceforth be regarded as settled questions for us. The Opposition was not and could not be born as a full-fledged, matured political body. It was assisted in the process of its growth by the invaluable experiences, both positive and negative, of the Opposition groups in other countries, and primarily the experiences of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists. Without this active internationalism—participation in the ideological and organizational life of the movement as a whole—the past period would undoubtedly have been marked by considerable difficulties and even by crises which we were able to avoid.

The second conference meets with a firm Marxian nucleus established in this country. The struggles we conducted against the Right wing and Centrist factions have steered our faction in intransigence and in principle. To no small degree was this process advanced by our own internal struggles, against the facile confusion of Weisbord, for instance. Of incalculable aid in this, also, was our Militant, which we have once more succeeded in establishing as a weekly paper, and the series of Marxian works—pamphlets and books—which we turned out and which found such an encouraging reception among the Communist workers.

"The Left Opposition is the only progressive force in the Communist movement." The American section has already succeeded, in spite of our numerous and manifest shortcomings, in laying the solid foundation for new steps forward. We have an unshakable faith in the power of our ideas and the sureness of our victory, provided we remain true to ourselves. These ideas will become a real power when they penetrate the masses. This aim we will realize, not by an impatient leap over stages of our own development, not by "clever maneuvers" and high-sounding schemes, but by an unyielding adherence to our fundamental line in principle, by the hard road of preparing the Marxian kernel of revolutionists, by re-popularizing the ideas and methods of Marx and Lenin, the ideas which made the Russian revolution and built the Communist International. In this historic task we have assumed, we are sure to win the support of the revolutionary elements in the Communist party and the Left wing around it, and we shall bend every effort in that direction.

Our conference will mark a milestone on this road, that will enable us to tread it more surely and more swiftly in the coming period.

R.R.s Prepare Wage Cuts

The policy of class collaboration, whose classic home has been the four railway brotherhoods, will soon be confronted by a decisive conflict of interests under the pressure of the crisis. In the first half of this year, gross revenues of the railroads fell off 28.7% compared with 1929, and 18.1% compared with the first half of 1921, the worst previous crisis. Operating profits were \$238,000,000, compared with \$563,000,000 for the first half of 1921. At this rate, for 1931 the railroads will earn \$616,000,000, or less than 3% on their official valuation of over \$21,000,000,000.

Bondholders are in a panic, not to speak of stockholders. Banks, insurance companies, trust funds, individually and through their organizations, have sent delegations to Washington to picture the sad fate of the widows and orphans whose investments are being ruined. Finally, the situation has resolved itself into two alternatives—either an increase in railroad rates, or a cut in railroad wages. The Interstate Commerce Commission closed hearings at Chicago on Sept. 5, and is expected to hand down a decision next month. The railroads ask for a 15% increase except for coal and coke, on which a set of schedules is to be worked out may average more than 15%.

Position of Labor Leaders

The railroad brotherhoods of course are supporting this move, and in general "defending" the railroads. Last March, Robertson of the Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, addressing the National Association of Owners of Railroad and Public Utility Securities stated that waterways, if allowed to develop at all, "should complement the railroads under their ownership and operation", and that "the railroads, under regulation and with the proper spirit of cooperation shown toward their employees, should control and manage the coordination of public transportation facilities."

The acute crisis in the railroads is

War Clouds Dark in Manchuria

The political lease granted to Chiang Kai-Shek by imperialism for his services as butcher of the Chinese proletariat seems to be at an end. The coincidence of several important internal and external developments in Chinese affairs has forced Nipponese capitalism to dispense with the services of their Chinese bourgeois lackies and to take matters into their own hands.

As has been well known for some time, Chiang Kai-Shek was linked to the Japanese by all sorts of political and personal entanglements, and even by family relationships. The fact that Chiang is at present being undermined by his imperialist patrons marks the seriousness of the situation. For some time now, his power and that of the Central government at Nanking have been undermined considerably by the tenacious and persistent struggle of the partisan detachments of the revolutionary peasantry, by the new alliance of the Kuo Min Tang "Left" at Canton, as well as by material disadvantages heaped on top of these, such as the recent flood disaster. All of which, by

(Continued on Page 4)

Expulsions Campaign Begins in I. L. D.

A few days after Hacker, the New York district organizer of the I. L. D., had "split the beans" about expelling all Oppositionists from the ranks of the organization, he sent down one of his lieutenants to Young Defenders Branch No. 3 and then to the Steve Katovis Branch to expel the disrupters who had been among the most active members of their group. The Stalinist agent who pressed the charges against comrades Bord and Craine—members, and active ones at that, of the I. L. D. for several months—against comrade Harry Milton who had applied for membership in the I. L. D., was none other than the discredited Malkin. After having been expelled from the Left Opposition for making backstage deals with the Right wing fakers of the A. F. of L. Furriers' Union at a time when the Left wing was under fire, he is today wearing the badge of official Communism in order to hide his treachery. We have warned the party comrades of Malkin before this. However, Malkin did manage to attack himself the name and dubious honor of being a servant to the Hackers and Fosters.

The bluntness with which the charges were pressed is exceedingly remarkable. The comrades were simply expelled for belonging to a political organization other than the Communist party, and this in the face of all the I. L. D. says about not being a political organization. On such a basis the I. L. D. expects to win over all workers to its banner. It was not until we pressed them to point out the detailed "crimes" we had committed that we were given lies as to our various

caused by two things: the sharp falling-off in traffic, and the increasingly effective competition of passenger automobiles and busses for the passenger traffic, trucks for less-than-carload (l.c.l.) freight, and barges run on land waterways, rivers and canals, for carload traffic. In 1929, it is estimated that over 650 billion ton-miles (tonnage moved times miles hauled) of freight were transported in the United States. Of this

(Continued on Page 4)

EXPANSION PROGRAM

The National Conference of the League which opened this week marks another achievement of the organization, following directly in the tasks outlined for ourselves in the Expansion Program. We declared that when the Fund reached a certain point, we should have strengthened the national office and the staff, the branches of the League, and that we would have returned the Militant to a weekly basis. All of these tasks have been realized up to now and we are determined to finish the campaign in proper style. With the \$1,500 mark reached, our national conference was to be held, and now this task is being realized too.

The fund now exceeds \$1,400. With the balance to be raised for the total of

NEW YORK FORUM

A new series of Forum lectures, under the auspices of the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), will begin its third season on Friday, October 2nd, 1931 at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue. Prominent and well known leaders of the American revolutionary movement will deal with the most important current events and interpret them in the light of Marxism. All workers are invited to attend and participate in the discussion.

Steel Wages Slashed Throughout Land

The heaviest single blow dealt in the national wage-cutting campaign of the capitalist class has just been delivered by the United States Steel Corporation, which announced that, effective October 1st, wages of all its employees, approximately 220,000, would be cut ten percent. A few hours later, the second largest steel corporation in the country, Bethlehem, announced a similar cut, effective the same day, for its 50,000 workers. The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company has followed suit.

The so-called independent steel barons have already announced that the cut will be universal throughout the industry. The president of the Pittsburgh Steel Company expressed the sentiments of the "independents" by saying that "we could

not ignore such a handicap as a 10 percent wage reduction by other firms. It will be necessary for us to take similar action to keep our operating costs at the general level."

A virtually identical wage cut was announced simultaneously by the United States Rubber Company, the largest in that industry, with 25,000 employees. The "five-day week" is to be established in its plants, with an equivalent cut in wages which would amount to about one-eleventh of the present scale.

To cap it all for the most ruthless and widespread wage reductions ever announced in one day, the General Motors Corporation has announced salary cuts ranging from ten to twenty percent. "Hourly wage rates of the corporation

are not affected," according to the president, Mr. Sloan, but it will be recalled that the Steel trust announcement of wage cuts was preceded by an exactly similar announcement a number of weeks ago.

The steel industry cuts were forecast and analyzed in the Militant two weeks ago, when we wrote in part as follows:

"Wages per ton of finished steel have declined steadily, during the same period. In 1922, wages per ton were \$42.36, from which they dropped to \$27.45 per ton by 1929; last year, the company could not fire workers as fast as the demand for steel declined, and the average wage per ton rose slightly to \$31.60. Corresponding to the steady decline in wages has been an increase in the proportion of profit to the gross sales of the corporation. As recently as 1924, the Steel Corporation paid out in wages 35 cents out of every dollar that it took in, and retained as profits 12 and a half cents. By 1929, the share of labor had declined steadily to 28 cents, and the share of bondholders and stockholders had increased just as steadily to over 17 cents. Last year, because of the inability of the big corporation to adjust its activities rapidly to the shrinking market for steel, mentioned above, the share of labor was 35 cents and profits 15 cents. . . . We conclude that the steel companies are about to engage in a drastic campaign of wage-cutting which will place a militant steel strike on the order of the day."

Now the cuts have been officially announced, in spite of all the pious pledges made to the contrary. However, it is reported, is considerably "shocked" by the announcement, because of the promises made by the steel makers to maintain wage standards. No intelligent worker was ever deceived by these promises, made mainly for the purpose of offering a pretext to the A. F. of L. leaders not to mobilize the resistance of the workers. If any doubts ever existed about the deceptiveness of the Hoover conference and the solemn pledges of capitalists and labor leaders, the recent action will remove them for good. Hoover will soon recover from his "shock". The steel workers, who have been unemployed as it is, or else working only two, three or four days a week, will receive a "shock" of much more durable and disastrous character.

A Signal to the Bosses

The wage cut announcements by these huge corporations, with whom are allied in one way or another virtually every powerful industrial enterprise and big banking interest in the country, is far from the end of the reductions campaign; it is the signal given by the masters of American industry for a systematic, nation-wide, relentless undercutting of the standards of living of the whole working class. When these people speak, it is not the corner grocer cutting the wages of his clerk, but the Taylors, Morgans, Farrells, Schwabs, Graces, Sloans, Davises—the real dictatorship of the capitalist class in America—who have sounded the keynote.

What we have written in the past is being realized today. The textile workers and miners were driven back with such violence, with the hope that the spirit of the workers would be broken when the wage cuts in the bigger and even more basic industries would be proclaimed. Today it is steel, rubber and motor cars. Tomorrow it will be the railroads. The next day, all the others will be confronted with the same fate. Unless the resistance is organized now, the struggles in the future will be considerably handicapped.

Who will stand as the organizing center of this defense of labor's standards? Surely not the A. F. of L. leaders. For years they have lulled the workers into a false security. They have stripped the unions of every militant fighter who sought to arouse the vigilance of the workers. They tied the organized labor movement to the footstool of the capitalists. Even now, in the face of this brutal series of wage cuts, instead of a ringing call to the workers to dress their ranks for a bitter fight, all they can say is: "I am very much disappointed" (Hugh Frayne); the "U. S. Steel Corporation has taken a very foolish step" (Joseph Ryan); "it is a great mistake" (John Sullivan); "I can only ex-

(Continued on Page 3)

Refused Admission

On Sept. 11, I filled out an application for membership at the Steve Katovis Branch of the I. L. D. I was instructed by the secretary to appear at the next week's meeting. The following Friday, I appeared before the branch and was told to wait until new applicants for membership appeared on the order of business.

The meeting began with the organizer making a special announcement that a representative of the D. E. C. of the I. L. D. was to address the meeting on the subject of the "disrupters".

To the astonishment of the writer, the representative of the I. L. D. proved to be none other than M. Malkin recently expelled from the Opposition.

The chairman introduced the speaker and Malkin took the floor. This is the substance of his speech:

That the N. E. C. of the C. L. A. had made a motion that every member of the C. L. of A. join the I. L. D. and organizations sympathetic to the party for the purpose of disrupting and splitting them. That Morgenstern and Goodman had been handing out a leaflet attacking the party and the I. L. D. in Philadelphia and that the I. L. D. would not defend such renegades. That the C. L. of A. in Philadelphia had built an opponent organization and was fighting the I. L. D.

That when comrades Cannon and Shachtman were at the head of the I. L. D., they pursued an anti-class defense policy and that was the reason they were removed from the leadership.

That all members and sympathizers of the Trotskyists were renegades and counter-revolutionists and were not eligible for membership in the I. L. D. and any such individuals already members should be expelled.

That the C. L. of A. and the Opposition the world over were against the Soviet Union against the C. I. and enemies of the working class.

That we had united with Muste, the A. F. of L. and the police in Paterson and that we were fighting the party and the National Textile Workers Union there.

That any organization or individual that did not support the party could not belong to the I. L. D. and if they were already members they should be expelled. He then presented a resolution which he said must be supported by every one present.

The substance of the resolution was as follows: The C. L. of A. is a counter-revolutionary organization and enemy of the I. L. D. and the working class. Any member of this organization is ineligible for membership and if already a member should be expelled. That the C. L. of A. was opposed to the principles and ideals of I. L. D. and that the members of this organization joined for the pose of disrupting the I. L. D.

There was also a motion to the following effect: That Harry Milton, who had made out an application for membership in the Steve Katovis branch of the I. L. D., not be accepted, because he was a member of the C. L. of A.

The floor was then thrown open for

(Continued on Page 2)

A SPAGHETTI DINNER

To greet the delegates to our Second National Conference.
Stuyvesant Casino—2nd Ave., and 9th St.
Saturday Evening, September 26 1931
Admission Fifty Cents
New York branch: Communist League of America (Opposition)

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

IN SPAIN

Progress of the Left Opposition

The Spanish Communist Opposition is very grateful for your tremendous assistance. It may be said in all frankness that without your generous demonstration of generosity, it would not have been possible for us to accomplish many of the tasks that we are realizing. This shows conclusively that the International Opposition has known how to arouse the spirit of international solidarity which has been annihilated by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Your solidarity is a lofty example which we will not tire of repeating to the comrades in every country so as to serve to stimulate them. All the comrades of the Spanish Communist Opposition have been notified about the aid lent by you, and we believe we are interpreting their expressions of thanks. We shall soon send a message of greetings and appreciation to all the North American comrades for publication in the *Militant*. And now let us proceed to a brief sketch of the situation of the Opposition in Spain and the work it is carrying on.

The Propaganda Tours

At the present time, comrade Henri Lacroix is on a propaganda trip. He has gone through Barcelona, Zaragoza, Bilbao, Santander, Oviedo, Gijón, Leon and Salamanca. Comrade Fersen is passing through the province of Galicia, embracing Pontevedra, Vigo, Santiago, Lugo, Ferrol and La Coruña. Another comrade will leave one of these days for Extremadura and still another for Andalusia and Levante.

All the impressions of our organizers are tremendously good. In all these places we have good nuclei of militants, very enthusiastic and active. We believe that by December the Spanish Opposition will have one thousand members, but a thousand enthusiastic members and active militants. In our country, this signifies an extraordinary success. The country which mainly preoccupies the Communist International for its "Trotskyist" tendencies is Spain. They believe the main "danger" in Spain is "Trotskyism". And I do not think they are mistaken. So fearful are the Stalinists that they do nothing but sent deceptions. At this very moment we have three in a delegation from the Communist International to Spain.

Our Weekly Organ

We have a splendid piece of news to give to the Spanish and the International Opposition: On the 25th of this month, [September] will begin the publication in Barcelona of our weekly paper, called *El Soviet*, which Andres Nin will edit. We have decided to continue to publish *Comunismo* as a monthly and a weekly organ. *Comunismo* has succeeded in gaining a great authority in Spain, and even the members of the official party acknowledge that it is the most valuable theoretical journal that has ever been published in Spain. Up to now, the Spanish Communist papers were composed almost exclusively of translations from articles of foreign comrades. And the workers like to see that in our review, Spanish questions are dealt with by comrades of the country. This gives us a great theoretical prestige.

But *Comunismo* is not an organ that can reach the masses and is only a theoretical review which is very necessary for the political training of the militants. In addition to *Comunismo*, we need a fighting paper in which we can deal with all the daily questions of proletarian and peasant life of Spain. And that is what we are going to have from the 25th of this month.

The Spread of Our Literature

Comunismo Publishing House is getting on magnificently. Our pamphlets meet with a great reception. In this way, we have decided to intensify the publication of pamphlets. We want to publish two a month. Moreover, we want to give the official party an example of how the work should be done. While the party is engaged merely in publishing translated pamphlets on Russia, we are publishing pamphlets on timely subjects of Spanish labor, written by Spanish militants. This also gives us a great prestige.

We are going to publish the following "What Are the Soviets?", "What Are the Factory Committees?", "What Is the Left Opposition?" by Forsen, "The Legend of Trotskyism" by Esteban Bilbao, "Whither the National Confederation of Labor" by Henri Lacroix, and "Communism and Anarcho-syndicalism" by Juan Andrade.

—JUAN ANDRADE.

Madrid, September 24, 1931

SPANISH REVOLUTION

The Revolution in Spain . . . 10c

The Spanish Revolution in Danger . . . 15c

These two pamphlets will give the reader an invaluable analysis of the present situation in Spain and the prospects of the further development of the revolution. The standpoint of the Opposition, in contrast to that of all the other groups involved in the present Spanish situation (the official Communist party, the Maurin group, the syndicalists, and others), is presented with the exceptional clarity and penetration for which the author is so well-known.

Send Orders and Funds to the
PIONEER PUBLISHER 884 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Germany and the Approaching Winter

Even Bruening, the eternally smiling hunger Chancellor of German imperialism, has declared, under the protest of his social democratic lackeys, who feel themselves hampered by it in their work of deception: Germany is approaching a winter which is the worst time in a century. This declaration refers, of course, not only to the economic, but also to the political sphere.

Those of our American comrades, who have attentively studied the reports from Germany, will say skeptically about such prophecies: but the same thing was announced a year ago. Did not everybody say the same thing a year ago, after the outcome of the September elections? Were not deceptive pictures conjured up before us at that time? How was it possible, in spite of this, the winter in Germany passed by orderly, without an attack by Communism or Fascism? Did the objective, the economic situation of Germany improve in this period? No, American comrades, no deceptive pictures were conjured up before you at that time. No, the objective situation did not improve. If the purely economic development were to be considered, a completely distorted picture of the situation would be the result. Nothing better demonstrates the incorrectness of all theories of spontaneity and collapse than the German development and the unshakable truth of the doctrine of the importance of the party.

To get a clear picture of the situation then and today, we recommend the reader to look once more into the work of comrade Trotsky, "The Turn in the Communist International and the Situation in Germany."

The key to the German development lies completely in the subjective attitude of the German working class and in the policy of the reformist S. P. G. and of the revolutionary C. P. G., which is however misled by the Centrists. There is no other way to introduce an analysis of the present situation than by a description of political history since the September 1930 elections.

The Development of German Fascism
After September 14, which produced the tremendous election success of the National Socialists (Fascists), the question of the Fascist seizure of power was put on the order of the day. The bourgeoisie itself discussed the question in all frankness, it is already obvious from the fact that in certain provinces it agreed to coalitions with the Fascists, that it was making serious preparations in this direction.

It should be remembered in this connection that the election results, numerically at any rate, were annihilating. Not only the Fascists, but also the Communists grew tremendously, and even the S. P. G. was drawn into the electoral struggle under the banner of opposition. The proletarian members of the reformist party were, besides, in open rebellion in face of the Fascist danger they called for arms.

The S. P. G. it is true soon swung over to support of the government. In spite of this, the bourgeoisie made up its mind on the question of Fascism only when it was made clear by extra-parliamentary struggles whether the reformists could once more hold the masses in check in the economic struggles and on the streets against Fascism, or if the success of the Communists would be more than an electoral victory, so that in the face of the threatening civil war, nothing would be left to the bourgeoisie but the Fascist bloodbath.

A young worker took the floor and made the following statement: that he did not support the Trotskyists, but that he had a right to join the I. L. D. and that he was in favor of my admittance; that he was against the expulsion of any one because he was a Trotskyist.

Another worker took the floor and said that he did not understand the difference between the C. P. and the Trotskyists but he did know that the Trotskyists led the revolution in Russia.

Several others took the floor and spoke in favor of my admittance. I was then given the floor for five minutes.

I declared that the C. L. of A. unconditionally supported and defended the Soviet Union, that we supported the C. I. and the Communism and that we considered ourselves Communists and were fighting to be reinstated in the ranks of

mentary struggles whether the reformists could once more hold the masses in check in the economic struggles and on the streets against Fascism, or if the success of the Communists would be more than an electoral victory, so that in the face of the threatening civil war, nothing would be left to the bourgeoisie but the Fascist bloodbath. "A revolutionary party, during the crisis of a regime, is stronger in extra-parliamentary mass struggle than within the framework of parliamentarism" (Trotsky). Unfortunately, this does not hold for the C. P. G. In the two large strikes, of the metal workers in Berlin and the mine workers in the Ruhr, as a result of its false trade union tactic, it was not possible for it to tear the workers away from the reformists and thus to prevent their betrayal. After these two defeats, the will to struggle of the German workers was broken and the question decided for the time for the bourgeoisie. To this is to be added, that also on the field of the struggle against Fascism, everything was lost, for the C. P. G., with its sectarian tactics, did not understand how to create a united front with the social democratic workers and thus to drive a wedge into the S. P. G.

We have here a striking proof of the practical lack of significance of parliamentarism, for the actual relationships of forces were determined by quite different factors and did not correspond in the least to the composition of parliament.

The Fascists quit the parliament, their ministers quit the government. This was nothing but a clever, masked retreat. Only fools, like the ultra radical Fascists, Stennes and Straser, and the former pseudo-Opportunist, Landau, who see in Fascism an anti-capitalist force, and therefore ascribe to it a certain independent role, could see in this the prologue to a Fascist seizure of power. Since then, German Fascism has been living in reserve, patiently adapting itself to all the wishes of the bourgeoisie with whom it stands in principle on "legalizing" itself and merely filling its same basis, sacred private property, leisure hours with the murder of workers. How lacking in independence and entirely obedient it is to the call of finance capital, so hated by its supporters, is best shown by its attitude in the July bank crash, when the power was easy to take, but which was not seen by this party.

Does the defeat of Fascism in the Prussian referendum already mean that all is over with it? With such an assumption, we would fall into the error of the C. P., which every moment proclaims the decomposition of Fascism on the basis of its objective contradictions. In reality, however, Fascism will collapse only on the basis of a victorious advance of the proletariat, or when the bourgeoisie no longer requires its services; but nothing of the kind is visible in the next period.

The Present Method of Domination and Strategy of the Bourgeoisie

Extra-parliamentarily, the bourgeoisie rules today on the basis of the betrayal of the trade unions. "Parliamentarily", through the medium of the Bruening gov-

ernment and its emergency decree system, which is rendered possible by the agreement of the S. P. G. Based thus upon a nominal parliamentary majority, the Bruening government has long ago sent parliament home, and settles all questions by decrees. In this way, it has cut wages and salaries, diminished unemployment insurance, removed the democratic rights (freedom of press, self administration, etc.), and all this with the aid of reformists. The reformists are today, therefore, the basis of the regime, their liquidation constitutes the key to power.

The social democrats justify their betrayal of the working class with the claim that in this way the bourgeoisie will not proceed to Fascism that this is the lesser evil. Naturally, the bourgeoisie can forego Fascism if it succeeds in attaining by degrees the same measure of exploitation and oppression that Fascism would bring it in one day, but with a greater risk.

In reality, the reformists do not fight against Bruening or against wage reductions, because every struggle today would raise the question of the capture of power by the proletariat or of a reaction with relentless sharpness; but the reformists, no matter what the price, want no capture of power by the proletariat, no social revolution, for they have long ago grown into capitalism. The bourgeoisie, for its part, pays the social democracy badly for its services, by humiliating and exposing it on every occasion (armored cruiser, plebiscite). What comrade Trotsky wrote in 1929 about the strategic line of the bourgeoisie is being completely confirmed:

"The bourgeoisie finds that the disciplining of the workers by the social democracy places high expenditures upon it. The bourgeoisie as such needs Fascism in order to hold the social democratic party in check and, if necessary, to push it aside. Fascism wants to capture power and is capable of doing it. After seizing power, Fascism will surrender to finance capital. But this is the path of convulsions, which also places high expenditures upon the bourgeoisie. This explains the vacillations of the bourgeoisie, the internal struggle in its ranks; and thereby is determined the policy it will probably pursue in the next period: to force the social democratic party, with the aid of Fascism, to help reconstruct the constitution in such a way as to combine for the bourgeoisie the advantages of Fascism and democracy. Fascism in essence, democracy in form: in this way it hopes to free itself of the increased expenditures for democratic reforms and if possible also from the increased expenditures of the Fascist upheaval. Will the bourgeoisie be able to take this road? Certainly not to the very end or for a long period of time." (Trotsky, "The Austrian Crisis, the Social Democracy, and Communism.")

The swindle of the lesser evil is facilitated for the reformists by the fact that the C. P. showed itself incapable of analyzing the situation correctly, and also branded the Bruening government without further ado as a Fascist dicta-

torship. In fact, the Centrist analysis is false because the Bruening regime, which supports itself upon the reformist workers, has a different social basis from Fascism, which rests upon the despairing petty bourgeois masses, because its ideology is pseudo-revolutionary and not conservative, like Bruening's. Its methods are terrorist and not pseudo-parliamentarian, like Bruening's. With the declaration that Bruening is exercising a dictatorship, nothing is said. For us Marxist-Leninists, every bourgeois regime up to now has been a dictatorship. It is a question here of the special methods. And these are different with Bruening and MacDonald from those of Hitler and Mussolini. Politicians who set themselves to be stabbed, when they are to be poisoned, can very easily fall victim to their own mistakes, and are worth nothing as strategists of the revolution. (To Be Continued).

Berlin, September 1931

—ERVIN BAUER.

The Floating Baron

Almost every other day brings a new indication of the progress which German Stalinism is making—if not in the ranks of the social democratic workers, at least among the chauvinistic military camarilla and the blue-blooded nobility. But all the Lieutenant Scheringers whom the semi-nationalistic program of the Stalinists win to its side, are not an unmixed blessing, nor do they all stay put for any length of time. An example will illuminate the point.

One of the recent conquests of the German Communist Party was the Baron von Frankenburg and Proschwitz who, in the fury of his newly acquired enthusiasm for national-Bolshevism, was scheduled for a number of meetings under C. P.'s auspices, on the subject "My Path from the Fascists to the International Red Aid and the German Communist Party." Last August 31, the Herr Baron, or "comrade" Baron von so on and so forth was slated to speak again at a mass meeting in Halle. He never appeared. Between the announcement of the meeting and the day it was to be held, the Red Baron had turned Black once more and was back in the camp of the Hitlerites. Whether the Nazis intend to hold meetings where the Baron will speak on "My Path from the C. P. G. and the I. R. A. to Fascism," we do not know, but we do know that they are making merry over the reconversion.

How many of the other Barons, Counts, Lieutenants and Generals the party will gain by its nationalist capitulation, it is hard to say. In fact, it is easier to say, quite confidently, that at least nine-tenths of those it wins over on this basis will either poison the life of the party or find their way back to the swamp they came from at the decisive moment. But then again, the permeation of the Communist workers with the illusions and toxins of Stalinism is not helping but postponing the advent of that moment.

I. L. D. Expulsion Campaign Begun in New York

(Continued from Page 1)

discussion. Immediately a party member took the floor and said that the question under discussion was of no importance, that there was no need to waste time discussing such a trivial matter, and that we immediately proceed to a vote.

The writer demanded the floor and pointed out the extreme importance of what was being discussed and that before they come to any decision it would be wise to give me the opportunity to defend myself.

A young worker took the floor and made the following statement: that he did not support the Trotskyists, but that he had a right to join the I. L. D. and that he was in favor of my admittance; that he was against the expulsion of any one because he was a Trotskyist.

Another worker took the floor and said that he did not understand the difference between the C. P. and the Trotskyists but he did know that the Trotskyists led the revolution in Russia.

Several others took the floor and spoke in favor of my admittance. I was then given the floor for five minutes.

I declared that the C. L. of A. unconditionally supported and defended the Soviet Union, that we supported the C. I. and the Communism and that we considered ourselves Communists and were fighting to be reinstated in the ranks of

the party. That we supported the principles and ideas of the I. L. D. and joined for the purpose of participating in the work of the I. L. D. I then attempted to answer the slanders made by Malkin but was constantly interrupted and prevented from speaking.

Malkin then took the floor and started to continue his lies and slanders. The party fraction ably assisted Malkin in this noble task, after which the resolution and motion were voted on.

With the exception of one vote against, both the resolution and the motion were adopted.

The result of the vote can be readily understood, the members present, who had had no opportunity to study the differences between the C. L. and the party, and on the basis of the statements made by Malkin which I was prevented from answering, voted for my expulsion. It was perfectly obvious that they felt something was wrong and they voted very reluctantly. It can certainly be said that with such methods it is easy to understand the sad state of affairs existing in the I. L. D.

—HARRY MILTON.

Who Is Malkin?

There is no malice—we believe it was Macaulay who wrote it—like the malice of a renegade. Maurice Malkin, who was recently expelled from the Left Opposition in New York, is now touring the branches of the International Labor Defense as the prosecuting attorney in the new campaign of expulsion of the "Trotskyists" from the organization. He is the specialist for the Engdahl, Fosters and Hackers. He knows the "insides" of the Left Opposition, and pretends to the ignoble role of informer. The ardor of his defense of the I. L. D. bureaucrats and their sectarian splitting course is excelled only by his venom against the Opposition, his cynicism, his revolting falsehoods. By their deeds they shall be judged. And also by those they choose to do their deeds for them. A few words about who Malkin is will give added point to the expulsion campaign.

Malkin, who now claims to have been

misled by the "Trotskyist leaders", was one of the first party members to join our ranks, proudly claiming his adherence to the views of the Opposition "long before anybody else". At that time, he was under indictment in the famous Mincola furriers case, but when he announced his adherence to Opposition, the I. L. D. officials embarked upon a disgraceful course of sabotage of the case. A meeting called to protest the impending imprisonment of Malkin and Franklin was deliberately called off by the I. L. D. so as to keep Malkin from speaking there. After Malkin had been in prison for some time, he kept writing the most bitter letters of complaint, to us and to the I. L. D., for the latter's neglect. One or two of his prison letters, printed in the *Militant*, knew no bounds in their violent criticism of the party and defense leaders. Suddenly, we were stunned to read in the *Daily Worker* a statement by Malkin repudiating the Opposition and rallying to the party and its policies and leadership. Before we could catch our breath, Malkin wrote to us, telling us that his statement meant nothing, that he was still with the Left Opposition, that he wrote it only because he had virtually been blackmailed by the party leaders, who threatened to cut off relief from himself and his aged parents unless he capitulated; he begged us to keep it all quiet, lest his relief and liberation be endangered.

Outraged as we felt, we realized that Malkin, in many respects so irresponsible and impressionable, was undoubtedly demoralized by his prison term, and rightly or wrongly, we decided to refer to his case ambiguously in the *Militant*, with the promise to tell the full story some day.

Malkin was finally released from prison, and the kindest thing that can be said about the release is to say nothing about it. . . . He rallied to the Opposition again, and again his condemnations and attacks upon the Stalinists exceeded all bounds. He assumed no less, the mantle of the ultra-Leftist. He conducted a veritable campaign in the New York branch against the leadership and policy of the Left Opposition because we "would not fight the party", because

we were a "tail to the party", and more without end. In the meantime, he did his best to discredit us and the movement in general. The demands he made upon the Industrial Union, because he had served a short term in prison, were literally unspeakable. His shady associations with S. P. spokesmen like Norman Thomas became the talk of the needle trades market. Finally, he committed a crime which not even considerations for his prison service could permit anyone to overlook. At the very height of the united agitation of the labor skates and the Lovestonites to liquidate the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, when it was under the severest fire, Malkin, on his own initiative, went to see Begun, of the A. F. of L. Furriers' Joint Board, about getting back into the reactionary union, which still has a rule against re-admission of the Communists. The deal Malkin offered to make with Begun may be judged from the fact that Begun promised to take Malkin, a known Communist, back into the union at a low initiation rate.

Singularly enough—and yet not so strangely—his capitulation to the reactionary fakers coincided with a recurrence of capitalist mood towards Stalinism. The New York branch of the League decided to expel him as a renegade and a traitor, and to warn the workers against him.

Our public statement to the workers put a spike in Mr. Malkin's plans. The furriers' union deal did not go through. Our declaration also prevented the party bureaucrats from re-admitting him into the ranks. The Central Control Commission turned down his re-application. The party fraction of the furriers in New York, in May 1931, voted unanimously against admitting this unprincipled and treacherous person into the party.

This is the individual selected to do the dirty work of informing on the Opposition and directing their expulsion from the I. L. D., doing the work for the same leaders and policies that Malkin once denounced in such unmeasured terms that were we to reprint some of his letters, even he, in whom every spark of revolutionary conscience and honor is extinguished, would burn with shame.

GREECE

The Opposition and the Party

From August 25, the *Pall Ton Takseon* [Class Struggle, official organ of our Greek Opposition group, the Archio-Marxists—Ed.] is to be issued semi-weekly, on Tuesdays and Fridays. The Tuesday number will appear for the moment with two pages. We hope, however, with the assistance of our sympathizers, to insure its appearance with four pages.

Davlos [The Torch]. Our monthly review is also on the press and we shall not fail to send you a number of copies. It is precisely for our review that we want your collaboration. In the *Pall*, we frequently reproduce translations from the *Militant*. But articles especially written for us by foreign comrades would create a good impression on our ranks and discouragement in the party's. Should your articles be of interest to the Greek-Americans we could send you a quantity of the paper to be distributed among them.

Persecutions and action. For some time now we have been able to show jail sentences in order to shut the mouths of the Stalinists. Now, the slanders about "Archio-Fascism", or the provocations, are not believed even by the most ignorant sympathizer of Stalinism. We have had the influence of large strata of workers in our organization and the International Left Opposition. Our participation in the May Day and August 1 demonstrations, saved the dignity of Communism from being turned ridiculous by Stalinism. Were it possible to obtain some good faith from them and less sabotage action, the results would have been better. In many localities, the initiative was taken by us. Our organization's victims have been condemned to 100 years imprisonment and deportation. Sentences of six and seven years are now common in Greek courts.

On August 15, at Salonica, there took place a march of a Black Hundreds organization called the "Steel Helmets" in Greek. It is only our section at Salonica that collided with them, throwing rotten tomatoes and eggs at them. Several comrades, men and women, were arrested, beaten by the police, and convicted of violating the Special (Anti-Communist) law. The party was absent from this demonstration.

International Labor Defense. Under the press of our activity, the ranks of the party compelled the bureaucracy to open to us the gates of the International Labor Defense. It is true that they make efforts not to permit the entrance of comrades whom they call leaders and "cadres" and who, they say, are conscious traitors while the members are "deceived" by their Archio-Fascist leaders. The aim is to separate the cadres from the ranks, but this idea is characteristic only of the feeble-mindedness of Stalinism. In prison, too, they refuse the admission of valuable comrades to the I. L. D. cells, which contain the assassins of our comrades Iadas and Georgopadakas.

Federation of Food Industries. By the propagation of the slogan of unity of the class trade unions, we have compelled them to accept the unity of the food unions, and we hope that, the forces under our influence being greater, we will obtain the leadership of the Federation of Food Industries, which adheres to the red trade union center.

Party membership. From our contact with the party membership in the I. L. D. circles, as well as in the prisons, we have realized the low intellectual level of the party members. They have very poor notions of Communism, to say nothing of Marxism. But we have succeeded in getting a hearing and in the Aegina Island prisons, we started courses which are attended by all of them. In this prison, there are 70 of them and 11 of ours. There the views of the Left Opposition and the international problems are put for discussion. Unfortunately, the low level of the ranks of the party makes it difficult for us to get many recruits from them. They believe in the infallibility of the party like those ignorant Christians who say "credo quia absurdum". But we hope that if we are not separated by the prison management, the results will be good.

Mitylene By-Election. At the Mitylene by-election, our comrades worked hard in hand with the party. Result: 4,700 votes as against 1,300 at the general elections in 1928. The government candidate obtained 10,600 votes.

—P. PSAKIS.

Athens, August 28, 1931

Why is he the man chosen for the work? Because that is the way imposed upon him to buy back his membership in the party. When he has sufficiently demonstrated his baseness in character and thorough lack of self-respect, Foster and Co. will consider him fit candidate for the party again.

What a wretched character one must have to carry out the task assigned to Malkin!

What better can be said of those who order him about and sneer in his face, his masters who are worthy of those they hire!

What an infliction upon an organization whose destinies, to however small an extent, must be guided by such individuals—the only ones fit to carry out the disastrous policy which has been decreed!

Labor's Perspective in the Struggle for a Respite

With ever sharper turns and jerks American capitalism is endeavoring to find its way out of the present crisis. The convulsions already recorded by its efforts give eloquent testimony to the explosive character of the present epoch.

To what extent it can gain a respite from the general crisis period and to what extent it can take advantage of the possibilities still open for further expansion on the world market should not be judged a priori. Moreover, it cannot be judged at all on the mere basis of such possibilities without regard to the problem of class relations. But for purposes of determining the general direction and to work out a correct strategy it is necessary to examine the economic and political processes.

While even the "best" of the bourgeois experts have not as yet succeeded in establishing any concrete evidence of a change in the cycle, there is evidence aplenty of preparations for the shifting of its burden. None of these so far point to acceptance of a condition of "stabilization" on a lower plane for American capitalism. This is not yet the general direction of the economic and political processes.

To be sure, the general declining character of capitalism cannot be overcome. And any respite even for American capitalism will necessarily imply the lowering of the present level of the American workers as well as the reduction of the ration of other capitalist powers in world economy. This process is already in operation in both directions.

The American bourgeoisie is definitely aiming at replacing the bourgeoisie of Europe and particularly that of England, primarily, in order to take possession of their markets. But what this implies comrade Trotsky has so aptly pointed out: "It is precisely the international strength of the United States and its unbridled expansion resulting from it, that compels it to include powder magazines throughout the world among the foundation of its structure—the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggles in Old Europe, uprisings of the colonial masses, wars and revolution."

We have witnessed, as ominous signs for the European bourgeoisie, a series of convulsive economic and political crises coupled with direct intervention of American capitalism within the most recent period. Notably so in England and Germany, with France not escaping pressure from both the American colossus which in every instance emerged the victor, further strengthening its hegemony. Behind the apparent international action to assist the financially hard pressed powers, there develops the sharpened antagonisms across the various state borders and keener competition for armaments. There have been rapid, frenzied swings from the rule of social democracy as an instrument of capitalism to that of open reaction, as these powers, each struggling more desperately for their diminishing rations in world economy, attempt to put ever heavier burdens upon their own proletariat and reduce its standard. Unquestionably there has been an immense sharpening in existing class relations. The objective situation is becoming increasingly revolutionary. These results, which express the contradictions of capitalism in general, are made so much more turbulent by America's ruthless advance in Europe.

What are the prospects of development within the United States in this struggle for a respite? While the further ebbs and flows of the economic cycles may take place in strong leaps, some of the important aspects of the course for the immediate period are already indicated. And most likely, within these leaps the attitude and the actions of the working class will become a factor of far greater decisiveness than during the past decades. The sharper and deeper the changes in the future cycles as well as in the general economic and political conditions, the sharper the actions of the masses will be. Its outcome, however,

depends decisively upon the extent and ability of Communist leadership.

The process toward the reduction of the working class level is definitely in motion. That is also one of the signs of efforts toward an economic revival of American capitalism which, of course, holds possibilities of success in so far as another upward conjuncture is concerned. But depending as it does in a large measure upon the degree of the reduction of this level, the attacks upon the workers can be expected to reach yet a much more acute stage. It is therefore logical to assume a tenacious growth of resistance in this upward conjuncture, when the workers find more solid ground under their feet, when the threatening clouds of large scale dismissals from factories and shops seems to disperse and when the demand for Labor power begins to increase. This is so much logical to assume in view of the fact that the working class has experienced a rude shaking from its false sense of security, induced by the capitalist "prosperity" alone and, not having exhausted its forces in serious defeats, finds itself compelled to meet attacks formerly not dreamed of. Unquestionably the prospects of such broad economic struggles also holds prospects of new life to the labor movement in general as well as possibilities for a rise in the level of class consciousness.

Growing resistance of the workers at the beginning of this crisis or during its first rapid progress downward could not be expected. That was the period of mass dismissals from the factories with the prosperity illusions still strongly imbedded. How false was the party leadership's analysis when, already prior to the crisis, it proclaimed the "mass radicalization" of the workers and in its seventh convention thesis, in attempting to analyze the crisis, stated: "Its effects are broadening and deepening the counter-offensive of the exploited working masses." And further to make sure of no misunderstanding, it proceeded to list the evidences (?) of "the revolutionary upsurge of the working masses of the United States". How equally false were its strategic conclusions for the "conquests of the streets".

Yet, in this coming period of growing resistance and sharpened economic struggles, the workers, despite the false analysis and conclusions of the leadership, will move at an accelerated tempo toward the Communist party. And while the impact of the struggle may for a time, as far as the masses are concerned, relegate the questions of strategy to the backward there will nevertheless be a growth of the problems of correct leadership. Moreover, at each decisive turn, or changes of objective conditions, the

questions of strategy will again be posed in full force—more so at each particular mistake and failure recorded. And from the Centrist bureaucracy now in control of the party there are no signs whatever other than those belonging to its career of false concepts and stupid blunders.

Unfortunately, however, the field for mass leadership is not left open exclusively for the Communists. There are yet the social reformists of various types and appearances to be taken into account. While in certain advanced European capitalist countries we witness many strong manifestations of disintegration of the social democracy, that process has not yet reached such a point here. To what extent the workers here will pass a period of reformist illusions depends largely upon the objective developments and the ability of the Communists. It is therefore no accident that in recent strike struggles, as in the mine fields and in Paterson, where the party leadership failed in its greatest opportunities, the penalty became a strengthening of social reformist influence. It was to be expected that such would first be reflected in the trade union field and in economic struggles of resistance. But it is also a portent of serious consequences for the future. Particularly in the first stages of masses moving Leftward, the reformists also move Leftward, hoping to lead them. They bring forward their most effective "Left" coverings, but when the masses make more definite demands, when the tendencies to go beyond the bounds of reform appear and assume revolutionary implications, they change their tune. It is precisely in this situation, in these very first beginnings of such manifestations, that the party leadership has shown itself utterly incapable of utilizing the united front policy which would strengthen the Communist influence as against that of the reformists.

It can therefore not be too often asserted that with each step of development of present objective conditions, the position of the party and its policy becomes of ever greater importance. Commensurate with this grows the importance of the role and function of the Left Communist Opposition. Has the party spent itself in its "Third Period" assaults upon a "revolutionary upsurge", existing only in the sphere of false evaluations of its leadership? This, of course, is what all the capitalist agents within labor's ranks as well as the social reformists and with them, although in a different manner, the Right wing leaders of the Lovestone camp would like to have us believe. For us, however, it is pertinent to recognize the weakness of the party's position despite the growing favorable objective situation. A false strategy running counter to the actual

developments of the working class movement inlets a heavy punishment. And all the protestations of the Centrist leadership of great disproportion between the party's numerical weakness and its large ideological influence to the contrary notwithstanding, the workers have in many respects, since the early part of the crisis, cast an adverse vote in regards to the party. They have voted by their absence from its mass organizations, by their decreasing response to calls for demonstrations; their vote became decisively adverse in the mine fields and in Paterson after the party leadership's failure to become the proponents of a united front struggle.

Forced by the pressure of objective developments and by pressure of our correct criticism and intervention, the Centrist party leadership has found itself compelled to relinquish its "Third Period" analysis and conclusions. Has it come to a position more in accord with the actual needs of the mass movement? Has it come to a correct understanding of the Lenin policy of united front, which in this developing period will become so particularly essential? There is no such evidence. But there is evidence of the continuation of the zig-zags of the past now turning toward the right. The serious effects of its adventurist position compel it to turn in the opposite direction. This is also expressed first in the trade union field. Above all, the Centrist leadership stifles the party's ideological and political life; its continued tip-toed position, in the opposite of the objective curves, keeps it from rapidly advancing the working class ideological level in a revolutionary direction. Because of this, it will be equally as unprepared when the masses move Leftward.

However, there will be new decisive jerks and turns also in the working class movement in the immediate future, perhaps of a convulsive character. This is clearly indicated in present perspectives, and at such decisive instances the questions of strategy will be posed in a forceful manner.

This imposes heavy obligations upon the Left Opposition. Our strength must first of all become the one of correct Marxian evaluations and conclusions. There will be plenty of decisive issues and situations and in all instances our direction must be the one of all efforts toward the restoration of the party to its revolutionary path. It is our party, and this is our task. A concentration on the decisive issues must first of all be our object, coupled with the most direct intervention. For that we still require an immeasurable development and strengthening of our forces.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Mobilizing the Labor United Front

Every day brings new indications of well prepared attacks against the working class by the leaders of American capital, by the so-called "captains of industry". If attention is given to the development of this campaign of attacks, the line of boss strategy, will become as clear as daylight before all workers, and the organization of their defensive struggle will, thereby become more effective and strike its mark.

The burning need of the hour, in the face of the torrentous onslaught of the old, experienced and crafty bourgeoisie, is the hermetic unity of the working class, which has yet to be achieved. Equally important is the ever watchful alertness of the party of the class, of the Communists, in directing the forces of the defensive.

Double Responsibility

Incomprehension of the perspectives facing the working class, a false analysis of the situation, failure to grasp the tasks involved, faulty preparations, are bound to prove costly not only to the Communist leaders of the proletariat, but to the entire working class as a whole. This double responsibility staring us in the face, these circumstances that constantly keep every revolutionist on edge today, alone force the Left Opposition to stress before the membership of the Communist party, one hundred fold the importance of the Leninist united front tactic, the necessity of returning to the principles of the International of Lenin and of Trotsky, and to increase our criticism of the Centrist bureaucrats blindly following the Stalinist apparatus, with all the greater impetus.

A working class divided, is an easy prey in the claws of the capitalist vultures. The fighting unity of the workers spells their end. The struggle for the conciliation of the backward laboring masses with their revolutionary vanguard is a struggle on many fronts.

Aside from the necessity of uniting the reformist with the revolutionary workers, there are a good many other problems involved in constituting the workers' front. We shall deal here with only two aspects of the question of unity.

The bosses aim at breaking up the ranks of the proletariat is being carried on under various forms. One of the most vicious forms is that of pitting the white against the black workers. How they go about this is most easily demonstrated by a few unemployment statistics. The Monthly Labor Review of the U. S. Department of Labor quotes the following from a report on an investigation made by the Urban League:

"Wherever figures were given, the percentage of the unemployed among the Negroes exceeded their percentage of the total population and in some cases, the disproportion was very marked. Thus, in Baltimore they formed 17 per cent. of the population and 31.5% of the unemployed; in Charleston, S. C. 49% of the population and 70% of the unemployed; in Chicago, 4% of the population and 16% of the unemployed; in Philadelphia, 7% and 25%; in Pittsburgh 8% and 38%, etc.

Not only are Negro workers the first ones to be fired when personnel is reduced, but very often they are replaced by white labor. The boss, by playing on the race instincts of the white workers, in this manner tries to set up a barrier between white and black, from which he alone ultimately gains. Now the Negroes make up about 10 percent of the entire population of the United States. In very many industries, their percentage is even far weightier. In resisting the attacks of the bosses, who live from the labor of the white and the black workers alike, the inclusion of the Negro toilers in the ranks of the struggle is indispensable. The unity of Negro and white workers is a matter of do or die. The task of the Communists is not so much to make the Negro worker race conscious, which all the blabber of the Stalinists about "national minority" and "self-determination" drives at, but much rather to expose the class character of the oppression against the Negro before the Negro himself as well as before the white workers. That is the only way of achieving the solidarity of the white and the black workers against the capitalist enemy. All the frame-ups, all the lynchings, all the massacres of Negro workers in the street must be explained and combated from this angle. The fight against Negro persecution and for the unity of the white and the Negro workers can only be carried on under the banner of the class struggle.

Foreign-Born Workers

Another method of dividing the workers against themselves is the campaign to deport foreign born workers. The labor faker Doak as secretary of Labor in the Hoover cabinet, announces 20,000 deportations of foreign born workers within the period of a few short months and hopes thereby to arouse the basest

national instincts of the native workers. When the native born worker considers, however, that the percentage of foreign born labor in the United States amounts to about 15 per cent of the entire industrial population and more, it becomes clear to him that this whole business of deportations is merely a reactionary ruse. Here are a few figures of the percentages of foreign born in different industries:

Iron and Steel manufacturing	58%
Bituminous coal mining	61%
Woolen and Worsted m'frg	62%
Cotton goods	62%
Clothing	69%

The question of the unity of native and foreign born labor, is therefore, when we remember that foreign born labor amounts to about 9,000,000 workers in good, round numbers, a question of vital importance in the resistance of the American working class to the onslaught of capital. These hard figures are convincing enough to drive out primitive prejudices from the minds of the American worker. They mean: Hanging together or hanging alone. When the American worker understands this, he will undoubtedly raise his voice against the system of deportation, the cruelty and barbarism of which is enough to even make the conservative bourgeois intellectuals on the Wickersham Commission filled with disgust.

SAM GORDON.

A Letter About the Spanish Revolution

According to the information of comrade N., the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party has made a decisive turn in its policy. . . .

From the words of comrade N., it follows that the Spanish Central Committee, which formally retaining the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship", changes its policy decisively on two points: first, it takes the road of struggle for democratic slogans; second, it is ready to apply the policy of the united front.

We have here a clear and an indubitable victory of the Left Opposition. How deep and serious is the turn of the Spanish Stalinists, is another question. Moreover, any answer to it depends to a considerable degree upon our policy. But at any rate, the very fate of the turn is a direct fruit of the criticism of the Left Opposition. . . . Only the faction of the Left Opposition is a progressive force within Communism. . . . Upon its successes depend the successes of Communism, and particularly the successes of the Spanish revolution.

But how shall we react to the turn of the Spanish Stalinists? On this score, we already have a serious experience, true, primarily an experience in mistakes. When the French Stalinists, to a considerable degree under the influence of our criticism, decided to retreat from the fantastic policy of the "third period", the old leadership of the Ligue declared in advance that adventurism is being replaced by opportunism and that the Left Opposition should go its way as if nothing had happened. At the time, we criticized this formalistic and lifeless policy, which had as its consequence the fact that the French Ligue missed a situation favorable to the highest degree for approaching the proletarian core of the party. Let us hope that this mistake will not be repeated in Spain.

In a brief letter, comrade N. underlines two facts, having an exceptionally important significance for the policy of the Spanish Left for the present period: the official party has taken, or at any rate, has proclaimed a series of steps directed towards the policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists; on the contrary, the leadership of the Catalan Federation sinks all the deeper into the confusion of opportunism and petty bourgeois nationalism. The official party, heretofore, has done everything to identify the Left Opposition with the blunders of Maurin. At the present time, we are offered an exceptionally favorable possibility to dispel all misunderstanding. . . .

The Left Opposition should subject the turn of the Spanish Central Committee to a serious analysis—without naive credulity, but also without sectarian prejudices. Whatever is conquered by us should be clearly stated by us and taken into consideration. Where differences remain, they should be characterized without any softness and embellishment.

The faster and the more decisively the Left Opposition reacts to the turn in the direction of an approach to the party, the more advantageous it will be to the Left Opposition, to the party, to the Spanish revolution.

—LEON TROTSKY.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

How the Life of the Y. C. L. Is Strangled

Somewhat many a sincere League member begins to ponder over the curious anomaly we have in the Y. C. L., namely a lot of "activity" but no results, may even going backward. Time and again we have "discussions" on what is wrong with the Y. C. L. and as yet we are just as stagnant as ever.

The "Inner Life"

The discussion article of comrade G. Ray on "Education and Young Communists" drives home a point which is even taboo to discuss in the Y. C. L., namely the exact conception of what really the Y. C. L. should be. It is almost axiomatic that the Y. C. L. should train Communists and not be a Junior Communist Party as it is. At present we have no "inner life" nor any life for that matter. Gone into oblivion are the beginners' classes, study circles. Gone are wall papers, pictorials, etc., as "sheer nonsense" although it is not said as much. The inner life of a typical unit consists of in a discussion at regular intervals on our tasks. One wonders why not read last year's or last month's speech, since they are so identical. A typical unit meeting lasts for several hours with tedious reports and bickerings on this and that failure. There is no enthusiasm at the meeting. The comrades yawn and clamor for adjournment whenever an opportunity occurs. Is there any wonder then, that every unit can tell a tale full of woes about how it recruited such a number of real "American Young Workers" who vanished after two or three meetings. It would have been a miracle if they stayed there listening to boring reports, and bureaucratic orders. The unit meeting resounds with the echo of "you must do this tonight, that tomorrow night, etc. No provision whatever for a class or a study circle. The comrades finding themselves overwhelmed with work grumble until they go voluntarily or involuntarily.

At the present time the Y. C. L. "functions" on a "three months' plan" basis. Were the results not so tragic in undermining the influence of the Y. C. L., it

would be indeed a very comical spectacle. The life history of a "three months' plan" is something like that. The District E. C. (always from above, you see) decides upon a plan for the District say 150 members. The number itself is small, but—here is the rub—the emphasis should be not on numbers but on method of getting and most important keeping these new members. But no "not in this country". The D. E. C. gives out the quotas "get so many from here, so many from there" and presto! The Unit Executive concretizes it by deciding upon the places to concentrate. Everything is decided upon and the plan with nothing but figures is presented to the unit. The unit will of course accept this lifeless planning, for, let it reject the plan and form a new one and the District will promptly reject it on the ground that it is not "concrete enough". The result of such a mechanical plan is that after a few meetings where mere reference was made to the plan, it is forgotten and plans for a new plan are being hatched.

When such a disastrous policy is applied to the so-called "mass work" it plays havoc and certainly injures our work.

Paradoxical as it may sound, as a result of (planned) activity we spread our activities in every possible direction (the "third period", you know), starting something here, something there, and abandoning it just as quickly for a new field of concentrations. This characteristic prevails in every phase of our work. Just to take a few examples at random, I want to describe how a Y. C. L. unit does factory work. The unit "discovers" a "good factory" and like a bolt from a clear sky "shock brigade" start "storming" the factory with Young Workers, Labor Union leaflets of every description, etc. Contacts are made and our league comrades are jubilant, for the rank and file expects results after his hard work. The contacts are called to a meeting. The young workers come enthused thinking that work will be done but no policy is presented or if it is, it is as clear as mud. The workers get disappointed and after a few meetings they leave us for good. The unit then gets another factory with exactly the same process being repeated. Colonizing comrades in factories and then selecting one for work, seems to be relegated for the easier and more boastful way of "storming". Thus, in many a section of New York the Y. C. L. recorded gains and even organized shop organization committees; now they are all gone.

In our Negro work we see Young Liberator's formed and disbanded, Scottsboro block committees, with the workers enthusiastic, but after a while we "cool off" and leave it for "better and more urgent work".

Hullabaloo and Noise

These cases can be multiplied manifold. Conferences for Y. I. D. are called. Much hullabaloo and noise accompany the

preparations. But to the "united front conferences" are but shadows of conferences. League units and a few oracles of I. W. O. and Young Liberator's are the exclusive element represented. The District will probably give out for neglecting I. W. O. work, not understanding that it is their fault by not explaining what club work should be all year round.

Thus, in every phase of our work this activity, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing", pervades. The members get discouraged, phlegmatic, carrying on their work in a forced manner. Really a picture not inspiring to outside young workers. The question for every Y. C. L. member to ask is why these endless defeats? It is certainly not the fault of the young workers but that of our wrong approach in method and tactics.

—A LEAGUE MEMBER.

Wage Cut in Steel

(Continued from Page 1)

Press great regret and profound disappointment" (Matthew Vooli)

Organized the Fight!

"It is inconceivable that the workers will take this blow without resistance," says Vooli, and Sullivan "hopes it will not tend to stultify the growth of radicalism". It is not hard to agree with this statement. It is just as easy to say that neither will nor any of us crones will organize this resistance. It will have to be done by those hundreds of thousands of steel workers who showed their mettle in the magnificent steel strike of 1919 which was carried out in spite of the sabotage of Gompers and Company.

That a national steel strike is the only possible answer to the wage cut announcement, is indisputable. But such a step would be prejudiced irremediably if it were precipitated artificially, without a previous organization of the necessary pre-requisites for it. (What the situation demands more than ever is a carefully conceived and executed fight against the steel manufacturers, organized on a united front basis. Should the official Communist party pursue, in this situation, the narrow, sectarian, isolationist course it adopted in the recent miners strike, the results in the steel industry would be even more disastrous. It is the height of idiocy to proceed from the idea that the Communists can have nothing to do with anybody who does not agree entirely with everything the Stalinist leadership puts forth as gospel truth.

The militancy of the steel workers, nobody can dispute. They proved that once and for all time in 1919. It is necessary to crystallize the bitterness of the workers, organize it carefully, direct it into struggle against the wage-slashers and their agents, and conduct a struggle which has every prospect of arousing the whole working class of the country to a realization of its task in the crisis.

Books

by Leon Trotsky

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

86 pages, two-colored paper cover 25c

Introduction by Max Shachtman

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

A Criticism of Fundamentals

Introduction by J. P. Cannon

140 pages hard paper cover 35c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

80 pages, paper cover 10c

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

208 page book—cloth bound 1.00

paper bound .50

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA

Introduction by Max Eastman

864 page book formerly \$2 now 1.00

MY LIFE—600 pages

5.00

COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM

The Trade Union Question

Introduction by James P. Cannon

64 pages, paper cover 15c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IN DANGER

64 pages paper cover 15c

PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.

48 pages, paper cover 15c

Special Rates in Bundles of 5 or more

SINCE LENIN DIED

By Max Eastman

1924 50c

158 page book printed in London

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street

New York City

The Real Situation in Russia

By LEON TROTSKY

864 pages. Sold formerly at \$2. Through special arrangements with the publishers can be had from us now at \$1 PART I—The Fear of Our Platform PART II—The Real Situation in Russia and the Tasks of the Communist Party PART III—Stalin Falsifies History Only a limited number of these books at this special price. Order now

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th St.

New York City

Railroads Prepare for Wage Cuts

(Continued from Page 1)
the railroads took over 75%, 16 p. c. moved in rivers, canals and the Great Lakes, 5% by pipe-lines, 2-12 p. c. by interurban motor trucks.

Trucks of course cannot compete with railroads in moving trailroads or coal or barge-loads of iron ore. They can and do compete effectively in the l. c. l. traffic, which in 1929 contributed only 2-12% of the tonnage but took up 25 p. c. of the total car loadings and supplied over 10% of the revenue. The effect of diversion of this valuable l. c. l. traffic from the railways is therefore out of all proportion to the volume of such traffic that the trucks capture. Besides, a large part of the total investment of the railroads in freight houses, terminal facilities, etc., is based on the handling of l. c. l. traffic, and the costs of operating these facilities increase disproportionately as the relative amount of traffic handled diminishes.

The barge lines, on the other hand, attack the big bulk products such as coal, stone and sand, grain, etc., which accounted respectively for 33 p. c., 8 p. c. and 5 p. c. of the total tonnage handled. Pipe-lines, which have been in use for over fifty years, further compete with the railroads in transporting oil and oil products, which made up nearly 5% of the total tonnage. Railroads cannot compete with pipe-lines in carrying crude oil, but until recently had the carrying of gasoline and other refined oil products to themselves, except for some water competition. Now gasoline pipe-lines are taking away this business rapidly.

This newly intensified competition comes after a long slow development which has resulted in slowing up the rate of increase of railroad freight traffic as a whole. In thirty years the amount of railroad mileage in this country has shown no increase. Up to the war, however, the amount of freight traffic handled doubled every twelve years. From 1912 to 1920 traffic increased at a rate that would have doubled it in 14 years; the high mark of 410 billion ton-miles set in 1920 was not reached again till 1923, when it touched 413 billions; the next peak was 1926, at 444 billions, and the latest and highest was 1929 with 447 billions.

Comparing index numbers of industrial production with similar indexes of railroad freight traffic, with 1923 as 100%, the ratio between the two declined until in 1929 the index of freight movement was only 92% of that of industrial output. This was due in part to the spreading of population, in part to the migration of industrial plants, eliminating cross-movements of goods (e. g., cotton from the South to New England mills and cotton goods back to the South), but also in large part to the effects of competition from other forms of transportation.

Freight Rate Decline

meantime the average freight rate received by the railroads per ton-mile has been going down steadily for ten years, from 1.275 cents in 1921 to 1.063 cents in 1930. Rates have been cut partly by orders of the I. C. C., partly by railroads refusing to charge as high rates as they were legally permitted to charge in order to get a particular shipper's business. The steady decline further reflects the steady pressure of competitive means of transportation.

In the face of all this, it is the rank-and-file hypocrisy for the railroads to state their case as, "Give us a rate increase or we will have to cut wages, as we are not earning the 5-12% on our investment promised to us by law."

Actually, a 15% rate income for the railroads is a 15% subsidy of all their competitors—trucks, buses and barges—which can either raise their rates to meet those of the railroads, or use the 15% difference to solicit traffic competitively with even greater success by keeping their old rates. Even here the railroads as a group have no outside competitor, competition among railroad themselves would prevent them from taking full advantage of any permitted rate increase, in the same way as it has kept the railroads up to now cutting rates among themselves.

Already one small road, the Louisiana and Arkansas Railway, has attempted to cut shopmen's wages, and was slapped over the wrist in July of this year by an "emergency board" appointed by Hoover, for refusing to submit to arbitration as duly provided for by law. It is even whispered that the president of the road, Harvey C. Couch, an electric power magnate and banker as well as railroad reorganizer, was summoned to the White House for a talking-to by Hoover.

The railroads in recent years have been making the speed-up take the place of outright wage-cuts. In 1924, when the railroads hauled 48,534,000 carloads of freight, they employed an average of 1,773,391 men; in 1929, hauling 52,823,000 carloads, or 9% more, they employed 1,686,760 men, or 5% fewer; last year they employed 1,510,688, and this year about 300,000 less. Wage rates, however, were kept relatively stable, averaging \$1.743 per man in 1929 and \$1.715 in 1930.

Class collaboration—the Baltimore and Ohio company union the capitalist ventures of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers under the Stone regime, the

execution of the labor policies of Hoover by the ex-brotherhood official Doak, the united front of "labor" and capital for higher railroad rates and against competition from other forms of transportation—will be put to the test whether or not the I. C. C. grants the railroads their rate increase. With a 10% wage cut just announced by U. S. Steel and Bethlehem, the way is prepared for an intensive drive against living standards throughout American basic industry. The pressure will be hardest where low profits, huge fixed capital, developed capitalist stagnation and keen competition are combined. The militant record of the railroad workers in spite of their leadership in past years guarantees effective resistance to the next onslaught of American capitalism against the working and living conditions of the proletariat.

—B. J. FIELD.

Party Breaks Meet in Malden

BOSTON—

At its last meeting, the Malden branch of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, upon the suggestion of comrade Dublin, one of its members and a known member of the Boston Left Opposition, voted to have comrade S. Gordon lecture before them on the Negro and Unemployment. As soon as this leaked out to the party district office, orders were immediately issued to mobilize the party fraction of the L. S. N. R. to prevent Gordon from speaking at all costs. The fraction thereupon instigated the branch secretary to notify the rank and file of the organization that the lecture had been called off, without any previous decision by the branch or any other such bothersome "bourgeois" procedure.

The meeting was attended by about half a dozen party members of the fraction and only two non-party Negro comrades, while the organization is supposed to have a membership of more than forty, mainly Negro workers. Immediately, the party fraction put through one of its members, Pizer, who had not attended a single meeting since the formation of the branch, but who had been sent down for the special purpose described above, to preside at the meeting. He quickly rattled through the business end, and then, concerning the decision passed previously, he declared brazenly (after the nth turn towards workers' democracy in the mass organizations) that the branch in Malden had no right to choose who should speak for it, the L. S. N. R. is an organization closely affiliated to the Communist party, there is a United Front Scottsboro Committee in Boston, all speakers must be approved by that committee before they can speak before the branch (!) Amidst protest this tool of the bureaucracy proceeded, as chairman, to make an amendment to the motion passed invalidating it. Amid further protests, the party fraction rushed the amendment through in such a whirlwind fashion that a number of sympathizers who had gathered to hear the lecture just stood there dazed.

Comrade Dublin, after some difficulty, obtained the floor, denounced the maneuvers of the nether bureaucracy, and demanded that Gordon be allowed to make a statement before leaving. The chairman shouted him down, arousing the indignation of a non-party Negro comrade present, by the name of Hindon, who got up, expressed the purpose of the organization as a united front organization to be a struggle against the capitalists and not a fight against others who want to participate in this united front, and also demanded that Gordon be given the right to make a statement. This comrade too was shouted down by the chairman, and counseled in a threatening manner "not to allow his sentiments to get the better" of him (!). The pretty trick of the bureaucrats had been carried through, disruption and confusion had been thrown into another "non-party" mass organization, with the sole end in view of preventing the Opposition from making its voice heard before the workers.

Some of the party fraction tried to provoke the comrades. We interferred, calling out loud that we leave all fighting to be turned against the bosses, among the workers we demand only discussion, and we'll get it yet! It is quite clear that the only achievement of the whole tactic pursued by the party, is further discreditment, further isolation from the masses, further confusion of the ranks of the revolutionary workers. The incident is very typical. Our answer, the answer of the Opposition, to such wretchedness, must be: a tenfold increase in our activities, a powerful concentration of our efforts to penetrate the ranks of the party, to put a stop to this suicidal policy which is leading the party and the revolutionary movement to destruction. Many and heavy tasks are facing us, the objective situation presents enormous possibilities for real and rapid advance to the revolutionary goal. We must not allow this petty violence, this dissipation of the forces of the revolutionary vanguard to go on. The life of the movement depends on this. We must gather our forces quickly and act soon and effectively.

—S. G.

NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Militant will contain, besides the regular material, a full report of the second National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition), which is now taking place in New York. In addition, the conclusion of comrade Trotsky's article on Germany will appear.

"The People's Revolution" Instead of the Proletarian Revolution

(Continued from last issue)
Such an at first sight "sudden" zig-zag of July 21 did not at all fall like a thunderbolt from the clear sky, but was prepared by the whole course of the past period. That the German Communist Party is governed by a sincere and burning striving to conquer the Fascists, to break the masses away from their influence, to overthrow Fascism and to crush it—of this, it is understood, there can be no doubt. But the misfortune lies in the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy strives ever more to act against Fascism with its own weapon: it borrows the colors of its political springboard and tries to out-yell it at the auction of patriotism. These are not the methods of principled class politics but the methods of petty bourgeois competition.

It is difficult for one to imagine a more shameful capitulation in principle than the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy has substituted for the slogan of the proletarian revolution the slogan of the people's revolution. No shrewd conceptions, no play on quotations, no historical falsifications, will alter the fact that this is a betrayal in principle of Marxism, with the object of the best possible imitation of Fascist charlatanism. I am compelled here to repeat what I wrote on this question several months ago: "It is understood that every great revolution is a people's or a national revolution, in the sense that it unites around the revolutionary class all the virile and creative forces of the nation and reconstructs the nation around a new core. But this is not a slogan, it is a sociological description of the revolution, which requires, moreover, precise and concrete definition. But as a slogan, it is inane and charlatanism, market competition with the Fascists, paid for at the price of injecting confusion into the minds of the workers. . . . The Fascist Straasser says, 'Ninety-five percent of the people are interested in the revolution, consequently this is not a class revolution but a people's revolution.' Thaelmann sings in chorus. In reality, the workers' Communists should say to the Fascist worker: 'Of course, ninety-five percent of the population, if not ninety-eight percent, is exploited by finance capital. But this exploitation is organized hierarchically: there are exploiters, there are sub-exploiters, sub-sub-exploiters, etc. Only thanks to this hierarchy do the super-exploiters keep in subjection the majority of the nation. In order that the nation should indeed be able to reconstruct itself around a new class core, it must be reconstructed ideologically and this can be achieved only if the proletariat does not dissolve itself into the 'people', into the 'nation', but on the contrary develops a program of its proletarian revolution and compels the petty bourgeoisie to choose between two regimes. The slogan of the people's revolution lulls the petty bourgeoisie as well as the broad masses of the workers, reconciles them to the bourgeois-hierarchical structure of the 'people' and retards their liberation. But under present conditions in Germany, the slogan of a 'people's revolution' wipes away the ideological demarcation between Marxism and Fascism, reconciles part of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie to the ideology of Fascism, allowing them to think that they are not compelled to make a choice, because in both camps it is all a matter of a people's revolution."

"People's Revolution" as a Method of National Liberation

Idea have their own logic. The people's revolution is put forth as a subordinate method of "national liberation". Such a way of putting the question opened an approach to the party for purely chauvinistic tendencies. It is understood that there is nothing bad about the fact that despairing patriots approach the party of the proletariat, from the camp of petty bourgeois chauvinism: various elements come to Communism along different roads and paths. Sincere and honest elements—along with arch-careerists and irresponsible failures—are undoubtedly to be found in the ranks of those officers of the White Guards and Black Hundreds who have, in recent months, apparently turned their face to Communism. The party, of course, could utilize even such individual metamorphoses as an auxiliary method for the disruption of the Fascist camp. The

By LEON TROTSKY

crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy—yes, an outright crime—consists, however, of the fact that it solidarizes itself with these elements, identifies their voice with the voice of the party, refuses to lay bare their nationalistic and militaristic tendencies, transforming the thoroughly petty bourgeois reactionary-utopian and chauvinist pamphlet of Scheringer into a new testament of the revolutionary proletariat. It is precisely from this base competition with Fascism that the apparently sudden decision of July 21 arose: You have a people's revolution and we have one too; you have national liberation as the highest criterion, and we have the same; you have a war against Western capitalism and we promise the same; you have a plebiscite, we too have a plebiscite, even a better one, "red" through and through.

The fact is that the former revolutionary worker, Thaelmann, today strives with all his strength not to be outdone by Count Stenbock-Fermor. The report of the meeting of party workers at which Thaelmann proclaimed the turn towards the plebiscite, is printed in *Rote Fahne* under the pretentious title, "Under the Banner of Marxism". However, at the most prominent place in his conclusion, Thaelmann put the idea that "Germany is today a ball in the hands of the Entente". It is consequently a matter, primarily, of national liberation, but in a certain sense, France and Italy also, and even England, are "balls" in the hands of the United States. The dependence of Europe upon America, which has once more been revealed so clearly in connection with Hoover's proposal (tomorrow this dependence will be revealed still more sharply and brutally), has a far deeper significance for the development of the European revolution than the dependence of Germany upon the Entente. This is why—by the way—the slogan of the Soviet United States of Europe, and not the single bare slogan, "Down with the Versailles Peace", is the proletarian answer to the convulsions of the European continent.

But all these questions nevertheless occupy second place. Our policy is determined not by the fact that Germany is a "ball" in the hands of the Entente, but primarily by the fact that the German proletariat, which is split-up, rendered powerless and degraded, is a ball in the hands of the German bourgeoisie. "The main enemy—is at home!" Karl Liebknecht taught at one time. Or perhaps you have forgotten this, friends? Or perhaps this teaching is no longer any good? For Thaelmann, it is very obviously antiquated, Liebknecht is substituted by Scheringer. This is why the title "Under the Banner of Marxism" rings with such bitter irony!

The School of Bureaucratic Centrism as the School of Capitulations

Several years ago, the Left Opposition warned that the "truly Russian" theory of socialism in one country would inevitably lead to the development of social patriotic tendencies in all the sections of the Comintern. At that time, it seemed to be a fantasy, a base invention, a "slander". But ideas have not only their own logic, but also their explosive force. The German Communist Party, in a brief period, has been drawn into the sphere of social patriotism before our very eyes, that is, into those moods and slogans, on the mortal hostility towards which the Comintern was founded. Is it not startling? No, it is only a natural consequence!

The method of ideological imitation of the opponent and of the class enemy—a method which is thoroughly contradictory to the theory and the psychology of Bolshevism—flows quite organically from the essence of Centrism, from its unprincipledness, inconsistency, ideological hollowiness. Thus, for several years the Stalinist bureaucracy carried out the Thermidorean policy in order to take the ground from under the feet of the Thermidoreans. Having been frightened by the Left Opposition, the Stalinist bureaucracy started to imitate the Left platform bit by bit. In order to win the English workers from the domination of trade unionism, the Stalinists conducted a trade unionist instead of a Marxian policy. In order to help the Chinese workers and peasants to emerge upon an

independent road, the Stalinists drove them into the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang. This enumeration can be continued endlessly. In big as well as in small questions, we see one and the same spirit of mimicry, constant imitation of the enemy, a striving to utilize against the enemy not their own weapons—which alas! they do not possess—but the weapons stolen from the arsenal of the enemy.

The present party regime acts in the same direction. We have written and spoken more than once that the absolutism of the apparatus, demoralizing the leading stratum of the Comintern, humiliating and depriving of individuality the advanced workers, crushing and distorting revolutionary character, inevitably weakens the proletarian vanguard in the face of the enemy. Whoever bows his head submissively before every command from above, is a good-for-nothing revolutionary fighter!

The Centrist functionaries were Zinoviev, Bucharinists under Bucharin, Stalinists and Molotovists under Stalin's and Molotov's time came. They even bowed their heads before Manuilsky, Kuusinen and Losovsky. At every one of the stages passed, they repeated the words, the intentions and the gestures of the alternating "leader" according to command, they rejected today what they swore by yesterday, and having two flags in the mouth, whistled at the retiring chief, whom they had borne on their hands only yesterday. Under this disastrous regime, revolutionary courage is emasculated, theoretical consciousness is emptied, the backbone is softened. Only bureaucrats who have gone through the Zinoviev-Stalinist school could so easily substitute the people's revolution for the proletarian, and having proclaimed the Bolshevik-Leninists as renegades, raise upon their shoulders chauvinists of the Scheringer type.

"Revolutionary War" and Pacifism
The Scheringers and the Stenbock-Fermors look favorably upon the cause of the Communist party as the direct continuation of the Hohenzollern war. To them, the victims of the hideous imperialist slaughter remain heroes who have fallen for the freedom of the German people. They are ready to call a new war for Alsace-Lorraine and for Eastern Prussia a "revolutionary" war. They agree to accept—so far, in words—"the people's revolution", if it can serve as a means of mobilizing the workers for their "revolutionary" war. Their whole program lies in the idea of *revanche* [revenge]; if tomorrow it will seem to them that the same aim can be achieved by another road, they will shoot the revolutionary proletariat in the back. This should not be passed over in silence, but revealed. The vigilance of the workers should not be lulled, but aroused. How does the party proceed?

In the Communist *Fanfare* of August 1, in the very heat of the agitation for the referendum, along with the picture of Scheringer, is printed one of his new apostolic messages. Here is what is said there literally: "The cause of the dead of the World War, who have given their life for a free Germany, is betrayed by everyone who comes out today against the people's revolution against the revolutionary war of liberation." You do not believe your own eyes, reading these revelations on the pages of the press called itself Communist. And all this is covered up with the names of Liebknecht and Lenin! What a long whip Lenin would have taken into his hands for the polemical castigation of such Communism. And he would not stop at polemical articles. He would strive for the convocation of a special international congress in order mercilessly to purge the ranks of the proletarian vanguard from the gangrene of chauvinism.

"We are not pacifists", the Thaelmanns, Remmeles and others retort proudly. "We are for revolutionary war in principle." As proof, they are prepared to produce some quotations from Marx and Lenin, selected for them in Moscow by some ignorant "Red Professor". One might really think that Marx and Lenin were the spokesmen of national wars and not of proletarian revolutions! As if the conception of revolutionary war of Marx and Lenin has anything in common with the nationalist ideology of the Fascist officers and the Centrist corporals. By the cheap phrase of revolutionary war, the Stalinist bureaucracy attracts dozens of adventurists, but repulses hundreds of thousands, and millions of social democratic, christian and non-party workers.

—This means that you recommend to us to imitate the pacifism of the social democracy? Some particularly profound theoretician of the new course will object. No, we are least of all inclined to imitation, even the moods of the working class; but we must take them into consideration. Only by correctly estimating the moods of the broad masses of the proletariat can they be brought to the revolution. But the bureaucracy, imitating the phraseology of petty bourgeois nationalism, ignores the actual moods of the workers who do not want war, who cannot want it, and who are repelled by the military fan-farronades of the new firm: Thaelmann, Scheringer, Count Stenbock-Fermor, Heinz Neumann and Co.

The possibility of revolutionary war in the event of the seizure of power by the proletariat, Marxism, of course, cannot fail to take into consideration. But this is far removed from converting an historical probability, which may be forced upon us by the course of events after the seizure of power, into a fighting political slogan prior to the seizure of power. A revolutionary war, as something forced upon us, under certain conditions, as a consequence of the proletarian victory—is one thing. A "people's" revolution, as a means for revolutionary war, is something altogether different, even the direct opposite.

In spite of the recognition in principle of revolutionary war, the government of Soviet Russia signed, as is known, the most onerous Brest-Litovsk peace. Why? Because the peasants and the workers, with the exception of a small advanced section, did not want any war. Later, the same peasants and workers heroically defended the Soviet revolution from innumerable enemies. But when we attempted to transform the harsh defensive war forced upon us by Pilsudsky into an offensive, we suffered a defeat, and this mistake, which grew out of an incorrect estimation of the forces, struck very heavily at the development of the revolution.

The Red Army has been in existence for fourteen years. "We are not pacifists." But why does the Soviet government declare on every occasion its peaceful policy? Why does it propose disarmament and conclude non-aggression pacts? Why doesn't it set into motion the Red Army as a weapon of the world proletarian revolution? Evidently, it is not enough to be for revolutionary war in principle. One must, in addition to that, have a head upon his shoulders. One must take into consideration the circumstances, the relation of forces, and the moods of the masses.

If it is imperative for the workers' government, having in its hands the powerful state apparatus of compulsion, then all the more attentively must a revolutionary party, which can act only by convincing and not by compelling, take into consideration the moods of the workers and of the toilers in general. The revolution to us—is not a subordinate means for war against the West, but on the contrary, a means for avoiding wars, in order to end them once and for all. We fight the social democracy not by ridiculing its striving for peace, which is inherent in every toiler, but by revealing the falsehood of its pacifism, because capitalist society, which is saved every day by the social democracy, is inconceivable without wars. The "national liberation" of Germany lies, to our mind, not in a war with the West, but in a proletarian revolution embracing Central as well as Western Europe, which would unite it with Eastern Europe in the form of the Soviet United States. Only such a way of putting the question can weld the working class and make it the center of attraction for the despairing petty bourgeois masses. In order for the proletariat to be able to dictate its will to modern society, its party must not be ashamed of being a proletarian party and of speaking its own language, not the language of national *revanche*, but the language of international revolution.

How Marxists Should Deliberate

The red referendum did not fall from the skies: it grew out of an advanced ideological degeneration of the party. But because of this, it does not cease to be the most malicious adventure imaginable. The referendum did not at all become the point of departure for a revolutionary struggle for power. It remained fully within the framework of an auxiliary parliamentary maneuver. With its aid, the party succeeded in inflicting upon itself a combined defeat: having strengthened the social democracy and consequently the Brüning government, having covered up the defeat of the Fascists, having repelled the social democratic workers and a considerable portion of its own electorate, the party became, on the day following the referendum, considerably weaker than it was on the eve of it. One could not do a better service to German and world capitalism.

Capitalist society, particularly in Germany, has been on the eve of collapse several times in the last decade and a half. But each time it emerged from the catastrophe. Economic and social pre-requisites for the revolution are insufficient by themselves. The political pre-requisites are required, that is, such a relation of forces which, if it does not assure victory in advance—there are no such situations in history—at least makes it possible and probable. Strategic calculation, boldness, resolution, later transform the probable into the reality. But no strategy can turn the impossible into the possible.

Instead of general phrases about the deepening of the crisis and the "changing situation", the Central Committee was duty bound to point out precisely what the relation of forces is at the present time in the German proletariat, in the trade unions, in the factory committees; what the contacts of the party are with the agricultural workers, etc. These data are open to precise investigation and are not a secret. If Thaelmann had the courage to enumerate openly and weigh all the elements of the political situation, he would be compelled to come to the conclusion: In spite of the monstrous crisis of the capitalist system and the considerable growth of Communism in the past period, the party is still too weak to strive to force a revolutionary solution. On the contrary, it is the Fascists who strive towards this aim. All the bourgeois parties are ready to assist them in this, the social democratic party included. For they all fear the Communists more than they do the Fascists. With the aid of the Prussian plebiscite, the National Socialists want to force the collapse of the extremely unstable state balance, so as to force the vacillating strata of the bourgeoisie to support them, the Fascists, in the cause of a bloody judgment over the workers. For us to assist the Fascists would be the greatest stupidity. This is why we are against the Fascist plebiscite—this is how Thaelmann should have concluded his report, if he had a grain of Marxian conscience left in him.

(To Be Concluded)

War Clouds in Manchuria

(Continued from Page 1)

the way, also offers very telling proof for the contention that only under the leadership of the proletariat can the Chinese revolution, and all the problems it involves, be successfully concluded.

Japanese imperialism, on the other hand, has been hit, together with the rest of the capitalist world, by the deepest economic crisis since the war. Under the strain of the crisis it is only natural that its concern over markets should be made all the more anxious. The occupation of Southern Manchuria by Japanese troops, supposedly "without the consent" of the Tokio authorities, is therefore less surprising than the bourgeois press would have us believe.

Even more significant than the act alone, is the general sanction it is given by capitalist spokesmen the world over. When, in their confusion and panic, the leaders of the servile Chinese bourgeoisie, appeal—as if hanging on to a last straw—to the justice of the Kellogg Pact, Stimson and the state department of the American imperialist government, since

no words in declaring that the greedy seizure of the Japanese militarists is in no way under the jurisdiction of this pact. The whole hypocrisy and deception of the brand of pacifism flourished in the face of its vassals by American imperialism, is revealed in glaring light.

The events in Manchuria and their repercussions, fore-shadow a new and sharpened attack of international imperialism, a new attempt to cast the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the enslaved and oppressed. The working class of the world must be awakened to the new war danger. The solidarity of all the toiling masses, the solidarity of the workers of the capitalist countries with the oppressed colonial peoples must be renewed and strengthened a thousand fold. This can best be done by the absorption of the lessons of the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927, by a thorough understanding of the theory of the Permanent Revolution, which has so long been abused, and of the concrete tasks it implies.

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

EDITORIAL BOARD

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

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; foreign \$2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates, 8 cents per copy.