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LEON TROTSKY

Nine-Tenths of Our Activities for the Revolution in Spain

On the Maurin Group in Catalonia and the Left Opposition

It would be most harmful, most dangerous and even most disastrous were the idea to sink into the minds of the workers of Catalonia, of Spain and of the whole world that we are solidary with the policy of the Catalanian Federation or that we bear responsibility for it, or, at least, that we are closer to it than to the Centrist grouping. The Stalinists present matters in this way with all their might. Up to now we have not fought against this with sufficient vigor. It is all the more important and urgent to dispel this misunderstanding which compromises us terribly and which hampers the development of the Catalanian and the Spanish workers.

To be sure, the denunciation of the Catalanian Federation is a task which falls in the first place to our supporters in Catalonia itself. They must come forward with a clear, open, precise criticism, a criticism which does not pass over in silence anything in the policy of Maurin, of that concoction of petty bourgeois prejudices, of ignorance, of provincial "science" and of political knavery.

The Federation in the Elections

In the elections to the Cortes, the Federation received nearly 10,000 votes. That is not much. But in a revolutionary epoch, a really revolutionary organization is capable of growing quickly. There is however a circumstance which diminishes the weight of these 10,000 votes: in the elections to the Cortes, the Catalanian Federation received less votes than in the municipal elections in Barcelona, that is, in the most important revolutionary center. This fact, trifling at first sight has an enormous symptomatic significance. It shows that while in the most secluded corners of the country a flow of workers, however feeble, is manifested towards the Federation, in Barcelona, the confusion of Maurin does not attract but repulses the workers. Of course, the inevitable bankruptcy of Macla may aid even Maurin, as a bankrupt of second order. But the impotence of the present leadership of the Federation is demonstrated completely by the elections to the Cortes: really, special "talents" are required to tax one's ingenuity so as not to increase one's influence in Barcelona during the three months of the revolution!

What does the Federation represent in the language of revolutionary politics? Is it a Communist organization? And precisely what kind—of the Right wing, the Center or the Left? It is beyond doubt that they are revolutionary workers, potential Communists who vote for the Federation. But they have as yet no clarity in their minds. And where is it to come from if these workers are led by confusionists? Under these conditions, the most determined, the boldest, the most consistent workers must inevitably rush to the side of the official party. The latter obtained only 170 votes in Barcelona and nearly 1,000 in all of Catalonia. But it must not be thought that these are the worst elements. On the contrary, most of these elements might be with us and they will be when we unfurl our banner.

At the beginning of the 1917 revolution, the majority of the Russian social democratic organizations had a mixed character, including in their ranks Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, conciliators etc. The tendency for unification was so great at the conference of the Bolshevik party at the end of March, that Stalin, a few days before the arrival of Lenin, pronounced himself in favor of the unification with the Mensheviks. Certain provincial organizations remained mixed up to the October revolution. I picture the Catalanian Federation as a sort of similar mixed organization, a not defined organization which includes future Bolsheviks and future Mensheviks. This justifies the policy which seeks to introduce into the ranks of the Federation a political differentiation. The first step in this road is the denunciation of the vulgar policy of Maurinism. Here one must be merciless. The comparison of the Catalanian Federation with the unified organizations of Russia, nevertheless requires essential restrictions. The unified organizations did not exclude any existing social democratic grouping. All of them had the right to fight for their opinions inside the unified organization. The matter is quite different in the Catalanian Federation. There, "Trotskyism" is put on the Index. Every confusionist has the right to defend his confusionism there, but the Bolshevik-Leninist cannot raise his voice openly. Thus, this eclectic mixed unified organization delimits itself from the Left wing at the very outset. But by that very fact it becomes a chaotic bloc of Centrist and Right wing tendencies. Centrist can develop either to the Left or else to the Right. The Centrist of the Catalanian Federation which rejects the Left wing

during the revolution is doomed to a shameful destruction. The task of the Left Opposition consists of precipitating this destruction by its merciless criticism.

Unity a la Maurin

But there is another circumstance to which an exceptional importance must be attributed. The Catalanian Federation is officially for the unification of all the Communist organizations and groupings. It is certain that the rank and file sincerely and loyally desire this unity, even though they attach all sorts of illusions to the slogan. We are entirely alien to these illusions. We are fighting for unity because within the framework of a united party we hope to conduct with success a progressive work of ideological delimitation on the basis of questions and tasks imposed not from without, but flowing from the development of the Spanish revolution itself. But we support in every way the struggle for the unification of the Communists. The fundamental condition for this unification is for us the right to the possibility of fighting for our slogans, for our points of view within the framework of the united organization. We can and we must promise a complete loyalty in this struggle, but the fundamental condition is destroyed at the very outset by the Federation itself: while fighting under the banner of unity, it banishes the Bolshevik-Leninists from its own ranks. Under these conditions, to support the leading role of the Catalanian Federation in the struggle for the unity of the Communist party would be the greatest absurdity on our part. At the unification congress, Maurin is preparing himself to play first fiddle. Can we tolerate in silence this revolting hypocrisy? In fighting against the Left Opposition, Maurin apes the Stalinist bureaucracy so as to win its favors. In reality he says to the Stalinists: Give me your blessing and above all your subsidies, and I promise you to fight against the Bolshevik-Leninists not out of fear but in all sincerity. The unifying activity of Maurin is only a form of blackmail against the Stalinists. Were we to keep quiet about it, we would not be revolutionists, but passive auxiliaries to political blackmail. We must denounce mercilessly the role of Maurin, that is, his "unifying" charlatanism, without for a single instant weakening our struggle for the genuine unification of the Communist ranks and without weakening our struggle for the Communist ranks to range themselves under our banner.

Nine-tenths of the work of the International Left must be concentrated today upon Spain. All expenditures must be restricted so as to have the possibility of establishing a weekly in Spanish and periodic publications in Catalan, at the same time issuing leaflets in great number. The question must be considered of restricting all expenditures for other purposes without exception, in order to lend the greatest aid to the Spanish Opposition.

The International Secretariat in my opinion, must devote nine-tenths of its forces to the questions of the Spanish revolution. We must simply forget that there exists in the world any kind of Landau. We must turn our backs upon all the quarrels, upon all the intrigues and the intrigues, without devoting a single minute to them. The most important documents must be printed without delay and submitted to a necessary criticism. The next number of the International Bulletin must be devoted entirely to the Spanish revolution. We must also take a number of organizational measures. For this we need men and means. Both must be found.

There is not and there cannot be a greater crime than the loss of time. Kadiyok, July 8, 1931.

—LEON TROTSKY.

Silk Revolt Growing

Policies of All Elements under Test of the Struggle in Paterson

Events are developing rapidly in Paterson, center of the silk industry and scene of historical labor revolts. In the glare of the developing class struggle the various contending groups in the labor movement are being shown up in their true character and all policies are being put to the test of life.

Last week we reported the strike called by the National Textile Workers Union and urged upon the Communists who direct this organization the adoption of a united front policy in order to consolidate the workers and disarm the reformists. On Tuesday the Associated and the United Textile Workers called their strike having advanced the date from August first under pressure of the strike action of the N. T. W.

The relation of forces at present appears to favor the reformists. They have an established organization, have made rather extensive preparations and are assured of a fairly strong support among certain sections of the silk workers. The unity effected between the Associated and the United Textile Workers has had a consolidating effect in their favor.

All the developments are taking place under the compulsion of a powerful movement from below. The silk workers, oppressed to the limit of endurance, are determined to strike. No one could hold them back. The question of strike has already been settled in the minds of the workers. The only problem that could arise under the circumstances is: Who will lead the strike, and how will it be conducted?

In this dynamic situation how do the various contending elements and groups reveal themselves?

1. The Communists. The National Textile Workers Union, which is under the leadership of the Communist Party, showed the poorest preparation for the

events, and were prevented from the necessary preliminary growth by incorrect tactics and leadership. They had tried to compensate for these defects and weaknesses by an arbitrary precipitation of the strike before the date set by the reformists. By a militant and aggressive campaign they quickly demonstrated that the National Textile Workers Union represents a real force in the situation, if not at present the strongest force. But their hopes to take the field away from the reformists by this coup met with failure, as could easily have been foreseen. The organization of the Associated and United Textile Workers remained intact and the grip of the reformists upon the members was strengthened by the irresponsible putschist tactics of the Communists.

2. The Musteites. The leadership of the combined Associated and United Textile Workers rests for the most part in the hands of adherents of the C. P. L. A. The timidity, vacillation and fear of struggle which are bred in the very narrow in these come-ons for McMahon have shown themselves in the Passaic situation in full bloom. Their hesitation and delay with the strike are only an advance notice of the speed with which they will endeavor to end it and the terms they will be prepared to accept for its termination. They are jumping now because they are afraid of the Communist union. The fear of the Communists is the principal motivating factor in every step they take which gives the appearance of militancy and aggressiveness.

3. The Lovestonites. The Paterson struggle shows these people up in their true colors more vividly than a thousand arguments. This thoroughly opportunist faction—only yesterday the official leadership of the Communist Party, supported by the Comintern—has flatly turned its back on Communism at Paterson. Giltow appears there as the cover for the Musteites in their fight against the National Textile Workers Union, as the Musteites are the cover for McMahon. The Lovestonites took part in the negotiations to unite the two reformist organizations and are exerting all their efforts now to make it an effective unity against the National Textile Workers Union. In the real test of the class struggle at Paterson, where deeds take the place of words, the Lovestonites have already found their place in the camp of anti-Communism.

The National Textile Workers Union is undoubtedly a force in the situation. Its strength is the strength of the militant spirit of the workers, of their profound and justified hatred of the U. T. W. officials who have sold them to the bosses more than once and their distrust of the field men of these notorious reactionaries and betrayers—the Musteites. The weaknesses of the N. T. W. is the incompetence and the false policy of its leadership—that is to say, the leadership of the Communist Party. They speak against the reformists, but they do not know how to fight them. They speak of a united front of the workers but by their tactics they defeat it. This is the heart of their mistake in Paterson. And by it they are entrenching the position of the C. P. L. A. elements and through them the treacherous bureaucracy of the U. T. W., and through them the bosses.

In last week's Militant we warned the Communists at Paterson that they could not ignore the reformist organization which has a larger membership and a better organizational base. Here we wish to repeat again the most solemn warning to the National Textile Workers Union: You must go to the workers with a

largest possible sum. Money orders and checks should be made payable to comrade A. Gomez, c/o The Militant, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y., who is in charge of the fund in this country. The contributions will be recorded in the Militant. The first contributions are as follows: M. B. G., 25c—Simpson, 1.00—Henry F. 2.00—A. Nacio, 1.00—J. S., 1.00—E. Martinez, 10c—F. Roman, 25c—Anon., 25c—Anon., 25c—Mark, 50c—M. Kallman, 25c—Eddie Wasserman, 25c—H. Martel 15c—B. J. Field, 1.00—Y. Stone, 25c—Wm. von Borstel, 50c—A. Gomez, 50c—Un Communista—50c.—TOTAL TO DATE: \$10.00.

The money has already been forwarded to Spain.

After the London Conference

The Buck Is Passed to Germany

In spite of reassuring statements by Hoover and Stimson, it is clear that the London Conference broke up with no tangible results beside a confession of impotence. German bonds and American stocks declined for several days after the conference, indicating the real feeling of Wall Street. Apart from passing the buck to Germany and the bankers, the conference officially prolonged the \$100,000,000 credit already granted and uncollectible for another three months—as if it were possible to get it back now. Second, it recommended that the bankers work out some way of converting short-term loans which they now have in Germany (estimated between one and one-fourth and one and one-half millions of dollars) into long-term loans. Nothing is simpler—all that needs to be done is for the Germans not to pay their loans and from short-term, with the passing of time, they become long-term.

This is precisely what the American, English and French bankers realize, and that is why it has not been possible for them to find any way of advancing further short-term credits to Germany. They want to keep "liquid" at all costs in view of the development of the crisis in their own countries, that is keep their funds in such position that they can get at them immediately when necessary to meet a run on deposits, to finance government deficits, or other emergency purposes. In order to keep liquid, they are lending money on call at one or one and one-half percent, or buying short-term notes of strong corporations and municipalities at two to three percent, rather than buy the type of securities into which they usually put their surplus funds, to yield four to five percent. The need for liquidity precludes short-term loans and the sharp drop in German bonds has scared investors so that it is out of the question to issue long-term German bonds through regular investment channels.

One result on German economy which may readily be foreseen is a severe pressure to obtain funds by exporting goods, irrespective of price; at the same time, imports will be severely restricted by the difficulty of obtaining foreign exchange with which to pay for them. The standard of living of the German worker will therefore be cut into from both ends—great quantities of goods which he needs will be shipped abroad without regard to profit, and necessary imports will be curtailed. The balance of trade, however, will be increasingly "favorable". The greater the starvation in Germany, the more "favorable" the balance of trade, as the results for the first five months already show:

Total Unemployed, as officially reported on first of month

1930	1931
Jan. 2,895,000	4,439,000
Feb. 3,259,000	4,956,000
Mar. 3,408,000	5,945,000
Apr. 3,691,000	4,830,000
May 2,840,000	4,469,000

Balance of Trade, in millions of marks: — unfavorable, X favorable

1930	1931
-213	X 10
-21	X 113
X 158	X 238
X 36	X 101
X 186	X 147

—J. B. F.

the shock troops of the workers' resistance to the capitalist offensive, and is preparing to deport especially those foreign born workers who are associated with the militant and revolutionary sections of the labor movement.

The Lamont pronouncement, despite all "counter" statements by Doak, cannot fail to have a salutary effect upon workers everywhere, dispelling any remaining illusions about the "fairness" of the government. It must awaken in the workers the feeling that only the sharpest and most unified resistance to the offensive of the bosses can save them from being driven to starvation levels. The movement for the united front, to organize the defensive of the workers on the broadest possible scale, assumes exceptional importance in the face of Lamont's having stripped off the mask of the government. The united front movement is aided further by the announcement of the plan to cut the wages of the steel workers—already down to the ground—ten percent. With the miners already in battle a widespread movement of the steel workers would mean the opening of a big new page of history for American labor. For the Communists to overlook this opportunity to mobilize hundreds of thousands of workers under the slogans of the united front would mean a tragic failure to measure up to the great heights of the possibilities now being offered the revolutionary militants to set labor in motion against the capitalist class and its loyal servitors, the government.

SPAIN

The Revolution Day by Day

IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

Some comrades, internationally, criticize the Spanish Communist Opposition, accusing it of lacking initiative. There is some truth in this criticism but only in part. It must be taken into account that the Spanish Communist Opposition could hold its national conference only recently, and that the best militants were unable to act as they should, being in prison or in flight up to a few months ago. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that certain of the principal militants have lacked in will, which has had the natural consequence of a lack of initiative.

But in general, the S. C. O. has been and is the first to put forth its own correct initiative which are accepted by the ranks of the Spanish C. P. In the question of the Trade Union Reconstruction conference of Seville, the S. C. O. was the first to denounce the danger of the split prepared by the E. C. of the Spanish C. P., and its energetic intervention caused the Batalla and the Catalanian-Balearic Communist Federation, which had pronounced themselves for the conference to change their minds and to accept our thesis, without however admitting it.

At the present moment, a broad current of opinion in all the groups of

(Continued on page 3)

Send Generous Aid to the Spanish Left Opposition!

"Nine-tenths of the work of the International Left must be concentrated today upon Spain," writes comrade Trotsky in the present issue of the Militant. This declaration, which corresponds entirely to the growing importance of the development of the Spanish revolution, will be greeted by every Oppositionist and class conscious militant. Every delay every tendency towards passivity every idea that comes from an under-evaluation of the Spanish revolutionary situation, will bring tenfold harm to the movement. That is why the Left Opposition must enter vigorously into the foreground of the struggle for the victory of the Spanish revolution.

The young Spanish Opposition, which

has already done such splendid work in the face of great handicaps, must receive the most generous and immediate assistance from the international proletariat. Confined to its monthly review, *Comunismo*, it is put at a great disadvantage in the struggle against the Stalinists and the nationalist "Communists" on the one hand, and against the social democrats and the anarcho-syndicalists on the other. A strong weekly paper is of paramount importance immediately. It will be made possible right away if the Opposition everywhere does the elementary duty—with speed. Money is needed to be forwarded right away. Every Oppositionist must do his part. All workers are urged to contribute immediately—

the largest possible sums. Money orders and checks should be made payable to comrade A. Gomez, c/o The Militant, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y., who is in charge of the fund in this country. The contributions will be recorded in the Militant. The first contributions are as follows: M. B. G., 25c—Simpson, 1.00—Henry F. 2.00—A. Nacio, 1.00—J. S., 1.00—E. Martinez, 10c—F. Roman, 25c—Anon., 25c—Anon., 25c—Mark, 50c—M. Kallman, 25c—Eddie Wasserman, 25c—H. Martel 15c—B. J. Field, 1.00—Y. Stone, 25c—Wm. von Borstel, 50c—A. Gomez, 50c—Un Communista—50c.—TOTAL TO DATE: \$10.00.