

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

In Spain

The Struggle Day by Day

THE SUCCESSES IN ANDALUSIA

A few days before the elections, the director of aviation, Major Franco, arrived in Andalusia. The hero of Spanish aviation, the December rebel, is not in agreement with the work which the Provisional government is doing. He thinks that the government of Zamora is betraying the revolution. He has said so although many believe that what separates Franco from the government is a question of personal ambition. From the bourgeois point of view, Franco is right. He made sacrifices, he fought to have the bourgeois republic triumph. In return, he was merely named head of aviation. Franco no doubt thought that he should have been named generalissimo of the army at the same time. It was a mistake of the Zamora government to sacrifice Franco. That is why the major—a deputy today—rebelled. Two days before the elections, he delivered a very violent speech in Seville against the government. Following an accident that occurred at the theater where the meeting was held, Franco was seriously wounded. The following day, for the elections, the minister of the interior sent to Seville General Saujorge—ex-monarchist, chief of the civil guard during the dictatorship—and chief of the civil guard of the republic. He immediately discharged Franco and other military men who were his friends. He imprisoned them and charged them with a conspiracy against the government of the republic. Franco denied the facts and the minister of the interior Maura, released them; Maura declared that it was a question of proclaiming the free republic of Andalusia, while they say that it was an election maneuver by Maura.

In actuality Franco endeavored to employ a radical language and perhaps he was preparing an adventure in order, by captivating the sympathies of the Andalusian workers and peasants, to gain a number of deputy seats for himself and for his friends. Maura, who saw in it a danger for the seats of his own friends, concocted a conspiracy, hoping in this manner to draw to himself the sympathy of public opinion for his alleged zeal.

THE ELECTIONS

The elections to the Constituent have taken place. Its salient feature has been the defeat of the republican liberal Right, the party led by Zamora and Maura. The regionalist elements triumphed in Galicia in Gulpuzca and in Catalonia. The success obtained in Catalonia by Macia's separatists is immense. Macia finds himself placed before the obligation to realize his separatist promises and to attack the Spanish government, or else to betray the interests of the people who supported him.

For many weeks, numerous political conspiracies have been unfolding in Catalonia. The moderate statute which Macia is preparing may be the commencement of the betrayal.

The socialists won 130 seats, more than they hoped for; they are the most numerous group in the chamber. As we foresaw, the petty bourgeoisie voted for the socialists, and some groups of the big bourgeoisie, who see in the socialists a party of order, also voted for the social traitors.

The radical party of the minister of foreign affairs Terroux, was highly successful. The bourgeoisie divided its votes among the "Terrouxists", the socialists, and the republican liberal Right. The socialist radicals, even though divided at the last moment into many groups, each more radical than the other, received a large number of workers' votes, of workers discontented with the socialists and who had no confidence in the divided groups of the Communist party. The socialist radicals were successful, all told, even if less so than they had hoped. Their last minute divisions were one of the reasons for it.

The "official" Communists received more than 50,000 votes, although they have no seat in the chamber. The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc led by Maurin, obtained 10,000 votes at Madrid and Barcelona. It has no influence in the rest of Spain.

Had the Spanish Communist Party presented itself unitedly, it is probable that it would have won many seats. There lies the principal responsibility of the Stalinist bureaucrats and also of the

THE ARTICLE ON BRITAIN

The pressure of space has compelled us to omit from this issue of the Militant the article by comrade Arne Swaback in his series on the situation in England. The article will appear in the next issue.

Catalonian-Balearic Communist Federation which did not seek to propose the united front of Spanish Communism before the elections.
Madrid, June 30, 1931
—HENRI LACROIX.

The Wage Cut Drive

(Continued from page 1)
cluding textiles, clothing, etc., unemployment increased 16.7 per cent and payrolls decreased 24.6 percent. Aggregate figures involving more than 5 million workers, show that between March and April this year alone, payrolls dropped 1.5 percent as compared with a 0.2 percent drop in employment.

Everywhere we see constant growth of joblessness, continual decrease in wages. No matter how great the ravages of unemployment are, or rather because of them, the men on the job suffer the onslaught upon their conditions just as well. Unemployment and wage cuts go hand in hand. The wide disproportion between the figures for employment decreases and payroll drops display this convincingly.

This is how things stand today with the American working class. What of Green's agreement with the bosses at the Hoover Round Table Conference of 1929 the worker in the A. F. of L. is bound to ask himself. And if he considers these figures seriously, there can be no doubt left in his mind, that this whole sorry business of "peaceful" agreements with the bosses is a sham and a fraud and that the only result it achieves is: giving the capitalists a chance to gather their forces and throw the workers off guard.

The workers in the reformist trade unions are confronted today by the burning question: Class collaboration or class struggle? Green's agreement with the bosses, faithfully carried out by himself—he has not raised as much as a finger to put the A. F. of L. workers in motion against the cloud burst of wage-slashing threatening them—and quite naturally disregarded by the bosses, should teach them a sound lesson in class politics. That they will awaken from the dark years of lethargy, brought about by the "prosperity" ruse is certain. Can they be harnessed together with the rest of the workers for effective class action—this depends upon another important factor: Upon the ability of the Communists, the front rank fighters of the proletariat, properly to size up the situation and to act accordingly.

We know that the bosses in the steel industry are prepared to cut the pay of every one of the hundreds of thousands of workers in their employ. But they are wary. The company (U. S. Steel Corporation), we read in the Times, on July 30, 1931, "does not contemplate any movement for the reduction of wage scales covered by contracts with organized labor at this stage." Notice: "with organized labor" and "at this stage" The wages of the unorganized have already undergone a good cut, that is visible from the figures we quoted above. And why not "at this stage"? Because the steel bosses know the sentiment of struggle among the workers only too well. Because the coal industry, in which a fierce struggle, extending over Pennsylvania and Ohio, the steel centers, a strike struggle led by the militant National Miners' Union, is already on. Because the steel kings fear the solidarity of the steel workers with the striking miners and because it is well known that a steel strike will be the signal for strikes on a nation-wide scale.

The exploiters in the C. S. Steel and Bethlehem corporations are waiting for the collapse of the miners' strike. They know their strategy. And if the leaders of the National Miners' Union and of the official Communist party know their's, they will strive with might and main to extend the strike and to stop sabotaging the Leninist united front tactic.

We ask again: Will the party leaders continue to miss opportunities, or will they begin to employ the united front tactic which drives the fakery out of the labor movement and unites the fighting masses with their Communist vanguard? The time to decide is today.

—SAM GORDON.

GERMANY

The Impotence of the Communist Party in Face of the Crisis

Hardly ten days have passed since the announcement of the Hoover moratorium and already a violent accentuation of the political and economic crisis in Germany has manifested itself. All the prophecies of the bourgeois and social democratic press on the advent of a new era—diminution of the economic crisis and a new rise in a short time—not only in Germany but throughout the world, have vanished.

The crash of one of the largest banks—the Danat—gave the signal to the financial bankruptcy of Germany. All the attempts of the Brüning government to stop the financial catastrophe by international loans have up to now had no success. Up to now Luther's mission has fulfilled but one object: to hold back for three months the payment of the 100,000,000 in credit payable on July 15. The French bourgeoisie which has deliberately prolonged the negotiations on the moratorium in order to deliver a heavy blow to the German bourgeoisie in exchange for the suspension of reparations payments, is obviously far from ready to consent to loans to Germany without political guarantees. The near future will show if the German bourgeoisie will once more be forced to give up its imperialist attempts. The renunciation of the customs union, of the construction of the armored cruiser means to push the German bourgeoisie back in its imperialist endeavors.

Among the working masses, panic has taken the place of discounted illusions. The small savers start a run on the savings banks and other bank, which a Brüning decree had closed until Thursday. The experiences of the inflation days are still very vivid in the minds of all. Every worker who has made little economies out of his wages or allotments, knows that he will be expropriated just as in the inflation time up to 1923. The warnings of the bourgeois and social democratic press, seeking to prevent the workers from withdrawing their savings, have had no success. The feeling of insecurity towards the dominant system recalls 1923.

What Is the Party Doing?

The Rote Fahne is prohibited, the headquarters of the party, the Karl Liebknecht House is occupied by the police. The bourgeoisie is afraid of a reactionary insurrection, it takes its measures—the reactionary pressure against the party grows more acute. What is the party doing?

The present situation in Germany, the domination of the Brüning government, resembles, if one wishes to make a historical parallel, the situation at the time of the Cuno government. It is clear that the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, as compared with 1923, is not in favor of the proletariat. Nevertheless, the confusion and the insecurity of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie the loss of confidence in the miracles and magic means of democracy on the part of the social democratic workers, shows us a strong resemblance to 1923. Still more, the social democratic workers have gone through a great number of experiences which prove to them that the democratic republic will not lead them to socialism. Since the epoch of the Müller government, their standard of living has been falling rapidly. And the coming perspective shows them not the resurrection of the Weimar constitution, but the advance of Fascism, the eventuality of a victory from this side. The last hopes of the social democratic workers inspired by the Hoover moratorium, have vanished much more quickly than might have been foreseen. The social democratic worker begins to understand that in this republic he has only his chains to lose.

Fascism which, in 1923, hastened to go over to the insurrection, hesitates today. It is uncertain about the issue of the struggle. The elections to the factory councils and the proletarian manifestation on May 1 have proved to it that the German working class is not at all prepared as yet to suffer its domination. Today, Fascism would prefer to see itself represented by a coalition government.

The only force that could utilize the present situation is the Communist party. And yet it is doing nothing for the moment. Where is the political strike about which the Centrists babbled for years? Why can't our party organize and proclaim today the political strike, drive out the Brüning government and lead the working class to struggle? Here come to light the deplorable results of the "third period", which certain capitalists of the youngest generation would like to forget so quickly. We are face to face with a historically tragic fact, that, on the one hand, there is indeed a strongly rising radicalization of the social democratic workers and of the working class as a whole, while on the other hand, there still exists the great distrust of the social democratic workers towards the party, egged on by "social fascism". But the present policy of the Central Committee of our party contributes very

little towards mending the mistakes of the past, towards winning the social democratic workers to the common struggle.

The Party and the "Left" Socialist Leaders

The Rosenfelds, Seydewitzes and Stroebels are exploiting the fighting moods of the socialist workers. The "Left" socialist leaders have issued an "exhortation to the party" in which they take up a position against the tolerance policy of their Central Committee. The Right winger, Solimann, replied to them in Vorwärts by saying that one must finally "speak in a clear tongue" to the leaders of this faction. The general political and economic crisis of Germany is reflected in the sharpened contrast between the social democratic bureaucracy and its workers. It is in this situation which the "Left" wing leaders exploit in order to halt the departure of the socialist workers towards Communism. What is the Central Committee of our party doing? Instead of making proposals for a united front to Rosenfeld, Seydewitz and Stroebel on the basis of fighting demands, in order to put them against the wall, to unmask their real position before the eyes of the workers, Thaelmann conducts secret negotiations with the leaders of the "Left", he invites them to come to the Communist party, he promises them . . . internal democracy and places in the Central Committee and even a unity congress if they are ready to join the party.

There is the real face of Centristism. It has forgotten how to pose the political problems openly before the working class. Proposals for the united front to lead the masses to struggle are too much to the "Right" for it; on the contrary, negotiations behind the scenes appear to it

to be the tested method. But it is not in this way that the workers still in the ranks of the Social Democratic party will come to Communism. It is the duty of our party to approach the Left wing socialist workers. Let us give them the opportunity to recognize by experience their Left wing leaders.

The party must address itself to the leaders of the "Left" with a program of struggle. They claim to fight against the Brüning government, they must prove that they agree with the program of struggle in which their slogan "Down with the Brüning government!" is put forward side by side with a series of slogans understandable by all the workers and touching their vital interests. Such a program cannot become the object of secret negotiations, but it must become in the factories, in the trade unions and in all the proletarian meetings, the axis of the discussion and the organization of the common struggle.

If the Central Committee of our party intended under present circumstances to launch the party alone into an isolated and hopeless struggle, it would mean the ruin of the party, the complete enfeeblement of the revolutionary vanguard for years.

The class contradictions will grow even more acute in Germany. The bourgeoisie will go over openly to the oppression of the revolutionary working class. The prohibition of our party is more than ever in the order of possibilities. We know that the Centrists have already spoken for three years about the coming prohibition of the Communist party. They will now be able to say that they were right. But that is not what is involved. All measures must be taken for the passing over into illegality. The party must not be caught unawares.

Whatever may be the maneuvers undertaken by the German bourgeoisie in order to maintain its positions, one thing is incontestable: It is laughing at the masses now. The policy of brigandage will continue. It will not be so easy for the social democratic and the national socialist parties to hold back the masses. Our party must be ready for battle.

In Greece

Repression Against the Opposition

Tuesday evening, from 7 to 12:30 the trials of comrade Oreozil (Anna Carsl) and comrade Tsomdas took place. After the questioning of the witnesses, mainly agents of the police, who heaped up slanders and lies without end, the tribunal listened, amid interruptions, to comrade Oreozil, who flung back the accusation of propaganda that had been charged to her by saying that as a member of the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists, she had the obligation and the duty to work with all her power for the liberation of the proletariat. In the same spirit spoke comrade Tsomdas emphasizing his devotion to the proletarian cause.

Thereupon, the prosecutor of the republic took the floor and spoke at length about the Archio-Marxist organization and of the danger the bourgeois is running if it is allowed to progress in the formation of cadres. "This organization," he added, "is the real enemy of capitalism, because it is constituted out of conscious and devoted revolutionists, capable of giving their last drop of blood for the cause they embrace and as such, you must condemn the accused very severely. What the Communist party has not done and is unable to do, lacking absolutely in ideological level, will be done by the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists."

The defense attorneys then spoke showing that the accused only did their duty as Communists and that they hold their heads high before the class tribunal.

Our comrades were each sentenced to a year and a half in prison and 2 years of exile.

The courtroom was filled with young comrades of our organization which forced the police and the detectives to intensify the terror and the police measures.

Anti-Semitic Disturbances in Salonika

Greek capitalism, reduced to extremities, is falling upon the minorities. At the present moment, it is the Jewish minority which gets the role of scapegoat. The "patriotic" fury of the nationalist organizations was unleashed against the Jewish element of Salonika which is accused of being in connivance with the Bulgarian Macedonian Committee for the autonomy of Macedonia.

In actuality, a Jewish sport organization, the Maccabees, had sent a certain person as representative of the Greek Maccabees to Sofia last year to the congress of the Maccabees. It seems that at the end of the congress, a Bulgarian officer, of Jewish origin delivered a patriotic speech showing the need of autonomy for Macedonia. And our representative applauded, although he understood nothing, not knowing Bulgarian.

Recently, certain bourgeois journals of Salonika alluded to the last congress, asserting that the Maccabees are Bulgarian agents and that the whole Jewish minority is of about the same caliber. This was the tocsin. A band of reactionary students distributed leaflets inviting the Greeks to boycott the Jews. Pretty soon, it came to blows and the police did all within their power to arrest the Jews and let the students escape.

In the meantime, a violent campaign of the bourgeois papers, aimed to sow dissension among the two elements in order to distract their attention from the economic crisis, was opened up. First there was the looting and destruction by a band of madmen of the Maccabee hall. Then, attacks by veritable gangs of common criminals upon the Israellite suburbs, inhabited by poor families and bread-winners. Veritable scenes of fury unfolded, with many wounded on both sides. The police who usually show a remarkable zeal in the pursuit and assassination of revolutionary workers, always arrived at the last moment. Monday evening, numerous nationalist gangs led by a monstrous attack upon the suburb of Campbell, at the eastern end of the city. After looting, this fire to the institution inhabited by widows and orphans. As usual, the police and the army were unable to re-establish "order" until after the event.

The reactionary leaders of the Jewish community only urged the Jews to a "laudable calm and passivity". Counting upon their natural allies, the Hellenic bourgeoisie and the authorities, they did not permit the Jews to defend themselves.

Salonika, July 3, 1931

—OPPOSITIONIST.

they have completely obscured the goal and the ideological physiognomy of the Left wing for fear of being disclosed as a Communist movement. Their new policy of "no politics" in the trade unions is bound to doom them to impotence. Besides, the Rank and File Committee will not be able to grapple with any great movement given its own weak forces. This serious error must be corrected. But more about this and about the class fights in the Amalgamated in my article.

—ALBERT ORLA*

PICNIC AND RALLY

For the Spanish Revolutionary Movement

The heroic and militant battle which the Spanish workers are carrying on today will be celebrated at a picnic organized by the New York branch of the Communist League (Opposition). All New York militants are invited to join with it at the picnic and rally to aid the Spanish Left Opposition to carry on more effectively its struggle for the Spanish proletarian revolution. The affair will take place on

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, 1931

at TIBBETTS BROOK PARK

Speaker on the Left Opposition and the Spanish Revolution

Games — Races — Rowing — Ball Playing

Directions: Jerome Avenue—Woodlawn subway to end of the line. Hike or take street car or bus to the Park. Picnic is at Plot No. 3.