# IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

## Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

In Sp<u>ain</u>

### 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 hourgeois republic triumph. In rolls decreased 24.6 percent. Aggregate return, he was merely named head of aviation. Franco no doubt thought that workers, show that between March and 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 joblessness, continual decrease in wages. days before the elections, he delivered No matter how great the ravages of una very violent speech in Seville against employment are, or rather because of the government. Following an accident them, the men on the job suffer the onthat occurred at the theater where the slaught upon their conditions just as meeting was held, Franco was seriously well. Unemployment and wage cuts go wounded. The following day, for the hand in hand. The wide disproportion elections, the minister of the interior between the figures for employment desent to Seville General Saujurge-ex- creases and payroll drops display this monarchist, chief of the civil guard dur- convincingly. ing the dictatorship-and chief of the civil guard of the republic. He imme- the American working class. What of diately discharged Franco and other mili- Green's agreement with the bosses at tary men who were his friends. He im- the Hoover Round Table Conference of prisoned 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 Andaulsia, while they say that it was an election maneuver by Maura.

In actuality Franco endeavored to employ a radical language and perhaps he off guard. was preparing an adventure in order, by captivating the sympathies of the Andal- ions are confronted today by the burning usian workers and peasants, to gain a question: Class collaboration or class number of deputy's seats for himself and struggle? Green's agreement with the for his friends. Maura, who saw in it bosses, faithfully carried out by hima danger for the seats of his own friends, self-he has not raised as much as a democratic press, seeking to prevent the concocted a conspiracy, hoping in this finger to put the A. F. of L. workers in workers from withdrawing their savmanner to draw to himself the sympathy motion against the cloud burst of wage. ings, have had no success. The feeling 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 Guipuzcea 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 Times, on July 30, 1931," does not con-

The socialists won 130 seats, more than they hoped for; they are the most numerous group in the chamber. As we foresaw, the petty hourgeoisle 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

The radical party of the minister of cessful. The bourgeoisie divided its votes among the "Lerrouxists", 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 succe sfu , all told, even if less so than they had hoped. Their last minute divisions were one of the reasons for it.

"official" Communists received more than 50 000 votes, although they have no seat in the chamber. The Work- extend the strike and to stop sabotaging ers' and Peasants' Bloc led by Maurin, obtained 10,000 votes at Madrid and Baroelona. It has no influence in the rest of Spain.

that it would have won many seats. There lies the principal responsibility of The time to decide is today. 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 Swabeck 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 rfom page 1) cluding textiles, clothing, etc., unemployment increased 16.7 per cent and pay figures involving more than 5 million April this year alone, payrolls dropped 1.5 percent as compared with a 0.2 per-

cent drop in employment. Everywhere we see constant growth of

This is how things stand today with 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 The small savers start a run on the savfraud and that the only result it achieves is: giving the capitalists a chance to gather their forces and throw the workers day. The experiences of the inflation

The workers in the reformist trade unslashing threatening them-and quite of insecurity towards the dominant sys 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 cerclass 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 template 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 foreign affairs Lerroux, was highly suc- 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 of the National Miners' Union and of the to lose. official Communist party know their's, they will strive with might and main to 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 Had the Spanish Communist Party tactic which drives the fakers out of the presented itself unitedly, it is probable labor movement and unites the fighting masses with their Communist vanguard?

—SAM GORDON.

### 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 militanta 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. 8.

### GERMANY

## The Impotence of the Communist Party in Face of the Crisis

of the political and economic crists in gle. 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 fitancial bankruptcy of Germany. All the attempts of the Bruening 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 bourgeoisle 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. ing banks and other bank, which a Bruening decree had closed until Thursdays are still very vivid in the minds of all. Every worker who has made little economics 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

### What Is the Party Doing?

The Rote Fahne is prohibited, the headquarters of the party, the Karl Liebknecht House is occupied by the police tain. Can they be harnessed together The bourgeoisie is afraid of a reaction with the rest of the workers for effective ary insurrection, it takes its measuresthe reactionary pressure against the party grows more acute. What is the party doing?

The present situation in Germany, the domination of the Bruening 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, a compared with 1923, is not in favor o the proletariat. Nevertheless, the con fusion 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 Mueller government, their standard of living has been falling rapidly. And the coming perspective shows them not the resurretion of the Weimar constituton, but the a victory from this side. The last hopes in the end. Those who will lose are adopted by the officialdom. They, thereof the social democratic workers in- the clothing workers who have been sys- fore, voted for the strike in the hope spired by the Hoover moratorium, have tematically betrayed by the Hillman bur-, that they would get back their wage vanished much more quickly than might Bethlehem corporations are waiting for have been foreseen. The social demknow their strategy. And if the leaders in this republic he has only his chains

> 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 dom-

government.

Hardly ten days have passed since the little towards mending the mistakes of announcement of the Hoover morator- the past, towards winning the social ium and already a violent accentuation democratic workers to the common strug-

#### The Party and the "Left" Socialist Leaders

The Rosenfelds, Scydewitzes and Stroebels are exploiting the fighting moods of the socialist workers. The "Left" soctalist 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, Sollmann, replied to them in Vorwaerts 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 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 hoing? Instead of making proposals for a united front to Rosenfeld, Seydowitz 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 Centrism. It tiations behind the scenes appear to it battle.

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 ers and touching their vital interests. Such a program cannot become the obbecome 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 enfor years.

The class contradictions will grow even more acute in Germany. The bour- tion", he added, "is the real enemy of genisic will go over openly to the op- capitalism, because it is constituted out pression of the revolutionary working of conscious and devoted revolutionists, class. The prohibition of our party is capable of giving their last drop of blood more than ever in the order of possi- for the cause they embrace and as such, bilities. We know that the Centrists you must condemn the accused very sevhave already spoken for three years erely. What the Communist party has about the coming prohibition of the Com- not done and is unable to do, lacking munist party. They will now be able to absolutely in ideological level, will be say that they were right. But that is done by the organization of the Bolshenot what is involved. All measures must vik-Leninists." be taken for the passing over into illegality. The party must not be caught

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 has forgotten how to pose the political masses now. The policy of brigandage problems openly before the working class, will continue. It will not be so easy Proposals for the united front to lead for the social democratic and the nationthe masses to struggle are too much to al socialist parties to hold back the forced the police and the detectives to the "Right" for it; on the centrary, nego- masses. Our party must be ready for

to be the tested method. But it is not In Greece

## Repression Against the Opposition

Tuesday evening, from 7 to 12:30 the trials of comrade Oreozil (Anna Carsi) the Bruening government, they must and comrade Tsonndas took place. Afprove that they agree with the program ter the questioning of the witnesses, of struggle in which their slogan "Down mainly agents of the police, who heaped with the Bruening government!" is put up slanders and lies without end, the forward side by side with a series of tribunal listened, amid interruptions, to slogans understandable by all the work- comrade Oreozil, who flung back the accusation of propaganda that had been parged to her by saying that as a ject of secret negotiations, but it must 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 Tsonndas 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 feeblement of the revolutionary vanguard and of the danger the bourgeois is running if it is allowed to progress in the formation of cadres. "This organiza-

> 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 tribun-

> Our comrades were each sentenced to a year and a half in prison and 2 years

> The courtroom was filled with young constades of our organization which intensify the terror and the police mea-

#### Anti-Semitic Disturbances in Salonika

Greek capitalism, reduced to extremities, is falling upon the minorites. 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 presentative of the Greek Maccabees to Sofia last year to the congress of the Maccabiad. 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 noth-

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 leastets invited 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 es-

In the meantime, a violent campaign of the bourgeois papers, simed 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 Israelite 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 arived at the last moment. Monday evening, numerous nationalist gange led by a monstrous attack upon the suburb of Campbell, at the eastern end of the city. After looting, this people caliing themselves "patriots" put 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 them-

Salonika, July 3, 1931

-- OPPOSITIONIST.

"strike", it has not succeeded to any de- bound to doom them to impotence. Be-

# Hillman Ends the Strike

(Continued rfom page 1) stoppages at the conferences with the manufacturers:

"President Hillman expressed himself as quite in agreement with the exchange that stoppages should not occur and industrial processes should not be interrupted while an agreement is in force and while machinery exists for the adchecking of employers' attempts to dis- the A. C. W. regard the stipulations of the existing

contracts." of all possible difficulties and disputes Their conditions in the shops are de by a machinery established for that pur- plorable. Unemployment is rampant pose. In the absence of minimum scales of wages and under the prevailing com- is then taken out of their shops to be petition among the different sections, the workers have no guarantees whatsoever against adverse settlements and even cent standards. The officialdom, openly unrestricted and unlimited lowering of or by consivance with the bosses, is intheir conditions. It is no wonder that troducing the most intricate schemes of the New York Clothing Manufaturcers rationalization. The workers are sub-Exchange has been giving its heartiest jected to abject slavery. A real strike cooperation in Hillman's "strike" and held out a great promise for them. They in his other campaigns. They the manu- have had no strike for over a decade, advance of Fascism, the eventuality of facturers, will be the ones to benefit since the policy of cooperation has been

the collapse of the miners' strike. They ocratic worker begins to understand that have been interfering with Hillman's cent increase in wages, of bringing the plans for the unionization of the New! York market has been given prominent Fascism which, in 1923, hastened to place in the present "strike". But the York shops. True, they had little conground on which this "fight" has been carried on has somewhat shifted. Hillman does not speak any more of the racketeering inside the union and is confining his attacks on the outside racketeers who protect the non-union shops. But even in regards to these his fervor ination. Today, Fascism would prefer seemed to have been greatly modified. to see itself represented by a coalition He does not foresee any immediate sweeping "victory" over the racketeers, The only force that could utilize the but leaves it rather to the slow process gible. Due to the numerous errors of present situation is the Communist party. of evolution. After all, racketeering is the party leadership and the unwarrant-And yet it is doing nothing for the mom- a business and as such is subject to ed changes of policies the organization ent. Where is the political strike about principles governing all business enter- of the Left wing forces in the Amalgamwhich the Centrists babbled for years? prises and can only be combatted on ated has not yet even begun. It was not Why can't our party organize and pro- that ground. It is evident that the rac- possible to expect any results for the claim today the political strike, drive out keteers are in a position to compete with Left wing in this "strike". But the the Bruening government and lead the the A. C. W. in the business of supply- Left wing could have exerted a great working class to struggle? Here come ing cheap labor to manufacture. The ideological influence, laid a foundation to light the deplorable results of the result is-loss of ground for the union. for a wide movement in the A. C. W. "third period", which certain capitula. A way must be found to put the racket- and regained the lost confidence of the they have completely obscured the goal tors of the youngest generation would eers out of business. True, it is not bo masses. This opportunity, however, has and the ideological physiognomy of the like to forget so quickly. We are face easy. Racketeering is well organized been missed. Despite the favorable ob- Left wing for fear of being disclosed as a to face with a historically tragic fact and protected by politicians and uphold- jective conditions and the Rank and File Communist movement. Their new policy that, on the one hand, there is indeed a ers of the law. It is next to impossible Committee'e correct slogans in this of "no politics" in the trade unions is strongly rising radicalization of the soc- to get rid of them. They are not even to ial democratic workers and of the work- be reached. But the gangsters that are gree to develop a rank and file move- sides, the Rank and File Committee will ing class as a whole, while on the other in their employ can be arrested and pro- ment in the A. C. W. In some respects not be able to grapple with any great hand, there still exists the great distrust secuted. That will increase the cost of their policies are not correct even now. movement given its own weak forces. of the social democratic workers towards racketeering and manufacturers will not In their reversal of the old "third per- This serious error must be corrected. the party, egged on by "social fascism" be in a position to enjoy its "services". iod" policy the party leadership hit the But more about this and about the clique But the present policy of the Central It will simply "not pay". It will be other extreme. In their endeavor to fights in the Amalgamated in my

Union. This wisdom has been set forth in an article in the Advance of July 31 and flows from the pen of the editor Hardman-Salutsky, the thoretician Hillman's "efficiency unionism" and de serves therefore, our recognition.

It is clear from this that Hillman's role in the fight against the racketeers has greatly diminished. Mayor Walker justments of all possible difficulties and will receive most of the credit. Hillman disputes (underlined by me. A O.) He lost his chance for another medal. That is even willing to conceive of the feasi- explains the diminished vigor of his bility of disciplining union officers for "fight" against the racketeers. As re willfully interfering with the industrial gards the racketeers inside the union, routine, provided however there were let us hope the fight is not over yet. ing, not knowing Bulgarian. effective provisions for the checking of These racketeers will some day have to employers' attempts to disregard the give an account to the membership of What did the workers expect from

this "strike"? The workers had very The agreement provides for settlement good reasons to welcome a real strike. Wage cuts are a daily occurence. Work made up at lower prices. Competition between union shops has ruined all de cuts and improve their conditions. Hill-The fight against the racketeers who man made them promises of a 10 per-"bundles" back from the out of town shops and establish control in the New fidence in the Hillman bureaucracy, but knowing no other power that could help them in their distress they vaguely hoped for some relief from the strike. But they were disappointed. They will now have to do a bit of thinking.

What part did the Left wing play in the "strike"? The influence of the Left wing organized in the Rank and File Committee in the "strike" has been negli-Committee of our party contributes very cheaper to deal with the Amalgamated pose as a pure rank and file movement article.