IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

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FROM MOSCOW & DEPORTATION

From Moscow:

After a fairly long interruption, I have succeeded in passing some time in Moscow. The provisioning is extremely badly assured; it should not be forgotten place of deportation. that in Moscow it is, in any case, much better than in the provinces. The winter was very harsh, the past year was not any better, but the suffering has never before been as it is now. The successes of construction have brought the workers nothing and enthusiasm is demanded of them . . . on an empty stomach, The workers complain about the frightful mess and the bureaucratic regime in the factory, in the trade union, everywhere. The absences have become "per manent". The shock brigades (the workers say, "they are always shocking each other") have no effect. There is no doubt that behind the veil of the official shouting about the uninterrupted successes we are proceedding towards an accelerated accumulation of contradictions. Many are those who see it. The "float- the Hillmans and their helpers in a reto another) still exist. And this in spite Is this statement to be a justification for of the rule according to which the work- evasion of duty? While it indorses er, by changing the factory, has not the Mooney's call in general, it fails entire category: industrial proletariat; the second: non-industrial workers; the third: employees-there are cooperatives close to the living places. There still exists a number of camouflaged provisioners: for the diplomats (without restrictions), for the foreign specialists, for the big bureaucrats etc. All this is differentiated according to the grades and the posts occupied.

Apart from this, they have created, as you know, cooperatives where everything is sold at market prices. Here, everything is from five to ten times dearer: Why, then, do they shirk this responsithe prices are absolutely unapproachable. bilty? This is what every party mem-The Moselpromtorg, one of the enterprises where one can buy everything, but at fantastic prices, is nicknamed the Ramzin (or the Stalin) Museum. "Museum", because the products to be found there are to look at and not to buythey are too dear.

I have spoken to some of the mill tants who at one time criticized many things. Today it is still more difficult than it was last year to speak "with an open heart" with anybody. Most of these comrades were very sympathetic to our criticism during the period of "exaggeration" and "dizziness". They all agree in recognizing that the thought of the party is stifled, that there is no life in the party. This is not an object of discussion. One of these comradesa very important director of economytold me approximately this: there is nothing to do, we must suffer the Stalinist regime. One cannot lead among us except with an iron hand. It is only in this way that the five year plan can be achieved-today that is the most important thing. There is nothing to look for from the C. I. It is weak and lives only by grace of subsidies. There are no leaders; there are not even any parties, with the exception of the German C. P. We know that perfectly well. The C. I will not lead us far; that is why we must develop what is, that is, the Soviet Union. That is a real task. Such a national socialist position is not exceptional and I believe it comes from higher-ups [That is right; it is just what Stalin said to Lominadze in speaking of the Comintern.-Ed.] It is interesting to note that most of them accept the persecutions agains Riazanov with the same passivity: there is nothing to do about it To be sure, my interlocutors reflect only a thin layer of the party, but for this layer the sentiments it expresses it seems to me are symptomatic

* * * A voice from deportation:

Since the Spring I have been living in a new place. During the Winter and the Spring, all the deportees were "shaken up" so that those who, like myself, for example, were not sent into solitary, were transferred to a more "pernicious" locality. As before, things are very bad from the standpoint of provisions and postal service: a message from friends is an extremely rare affair. In spite of this we read not so long ago with great pleasure the booklet "What is the Peranment Revolution?". Christian G. Rakovsky has elaborated theses on "The Laws of the Socialist Dictatorship". which we have received. If you have not the latest works of Rakovsky, I can tell you that they coincide entirely with the works of the Old Man [Trotsky.-

. . . From everywhere, we receive news of a new wave of repression. In May, a number of "recidivists" (former Oppositionists who have come back to the Opposition) were errested in Moscow. Some of them were sent to Solovki, others were condemned to ten years in have proclaimed a hunger strike; their

ed with them.

In the Spring of this year, the term of deportation of many of us should have expired (three years) but the majority were given a "repeater", often even the solitary. Some were arrested all over again a month or even less after the expiration of the deportation term. The aim pursued remains the same: our extermination.

The comrades who were not arrested again received certain "reductions"; in reality, this means a transfer to a new

. . . A great interest exists among us for the Spanish revolution and its perspectives. It would be interesting to know the opinion of the Old Man. None of his works on the Spanish revolution has reached us.

Mooney

(Continued from page 1) alongside of Mooney's call: Do the party leaders intend to emulate the Hillquits. the party leaderships' responsibility.

top with 'leaders' . . . an alliance of what Tom Mooney asks for. In a genuine united front the Communists can have nothing to fear from such "leaders". ber should ask of the leadership!

Through the International Labor Defense there must be inititated the or ganization of a genuine united front, the setting up of Committees to fight for the freedom of Tom Mooney and release of all class war prisoners. The party leadership must give up its miserable evasion and cease begging the issue. It should grasp this as an excellent opportunity for Communists to mobilize a powerful movement. That much every militant worker will demand from it. Our modest forces will stand unreservedly at the disposal of such a movement.

"Tom Mooney is an historical symbol of the American workers-of their weakness and failures of yesterday and today and their potential, dynamic power which alone will bring victory tomorrow." To bring this potential dynamic power into motion is now the task. Throughout the period of the present crisis, the insoluble contradictions of capitalism are intensifying. Throughout the country the signs of sharpened struggles are multiplying. We are facing the begin nings of an upward working class curve It harbors enormous possibilities. In this situation, the ringing call for Tom Mooney's liberation and the release of all class war prisoners must echo and reecho throughout the length and breadth of the country. It must resound in a movement of powerful proportions. The Communists must become its spearhead

-ARNE SWABECK.

IN SPAIN

The Events of a Fortnight

THE INCIDENTS AT SEVILLE

The bourgeois press, formerly monarchist and today republican, has passed over in silence and distorted the truth prison. The government called it a about what happened during the last suicide. general strike in Seville. It confined itself to declaring that the origin of the strike was the assassination (if did not gate what hapened there. Some of these use the expression "assassination") of a striking brewery worker, an assassination carried out by the police. As a proa general strike. During the burial of conceal the authenticity of these manithe assassinated worker, a violent clash festations. It is needless to say that the took place between the police and the injustices and the crimes tolerated by workers caused by the prolongation of the arrest and also by violent fights between the public forces and the workers. THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Four workers were killed and many wounded in the fighting. But the bourgeois press passed over in silence the principal object. In the battles, the

into a jail. A few days after the incidents, when all was already peaceful, he was found assassinated in the floating

The Constituent Cortes sent to Seville a Parliamentary Commission to investiparliamentarians saw the horrible truth, threatened to tell it and to demand judgment upon those responsible. But the test, the Sevillian working class called government has compelled the press to the republican government will go unpunished.

DURING THE RECENT

DISTURBANCES The leadership of the official C. P. has declared pompously and pedantically afworkers defended themselves with bril- ter the Seville disturbances that it took liant heroism and the police received only all the responsibility for the past inciwhat it deserved. Many guardsmen were dents. But unfortunately, we have ob- against Indalecto Prieto, minister of many are those who see it. And a see it against flushed from the served that during the last strike dis-Security Guard. When general Sanjurjo turbances, the C. P. remained complete- labor; and it is precisely because these (monarchist up to the day the republic ly in the shade. Not even a single watch- two gentlemen cause a serious danger was proclaimed), sent by the republic word from the Stalinist bureaucracy, nor to the government, being two ministers right to a higher wage than the one he ly to indicate one single measure, one government to suppress the movement, the smallest gesture made during the in the factory he left (the single step toward the organization of arrived in Seville and ordered the kill- struggle. As for the leaders of the N. size of his wage must be noted a united front. While it does call upon ing of the workers, the police—surprised C. of L., they were afraid of the recent in his booklet) . . . The worker gets the workers, upon the unemployed coun- by the heroic defense of its life con- incidents. The working masses, more provisions in the factory co- cils, etc., for support to the call, it fails ducted by the working class-refused to impetuous and militant than the leaders, operative. Besides these cooperatives, in the most crucial demand—the demand fire, even though it only lasted a few exceeded the limits of the plans projected which has produced an aggravation in divided into three categories—the first for the organization of a united front hours. But the Guardia Civil, a police by the anarcho-reformist leaders and the already difficult Spanish economic movement. The statement attempts to body hated by all Spaniards, launched also left in the background the C. P., situation and has extended the labor cover this failure by the usual base sland- the fight which came to the point of which should have been in the vanguard crisis. Caballero has distinguished himers against the Left Opposition as a the bombardment and the destructon of of the working class. The leaders of self by his anti-labor policy and has means of diverting the issue away from many homes, rendered uninhabitable, in the N. C. of L. of Spain gave the order brought the hatred of the workers upon which some elements friendly to the for the general strike in Seville, and him. The workers arise against those workers had been living up to the time nounced and threated a general strike Why do the party centrist bureaucrats of their imprisonment. Censorship of throughout Spain, but when they see the fear a genuine united front? Not a "so- the press was imposed in order to con- amplitude and the character that the called 'united front' 'arranged' from the ceal the truth. The "republican" gov- Seville movement assumed, the anarchoernment has already committed infamies syndicalist leaders-not knowing what to a few socalled 'leaders'." This is not and crimes which Primo de Rivera did do with the strike, lacking in a program, not dare commit. One of the workers and not knowing what orientation to detained during the incidents was wound- pursue-lest the Sevillian workers in the to fulfill the ministerial functions. In ed and imprisoned in a boat converted lurch. The official C. P. was neither reality, Prieto and Caballero have shown

A Letter from Berlin at Election

were great differences on the plebiscite in the Central Committee of the Communist party. Thaelmann was against, Neumann for: there were extremely violent discussions among them. On July 21, the Rote Fahne being prohibited, the local Communist press issued the slogan: "Against the White plebiscite!" On the 22nd, the Rote Fahne reappeared with the slogan: "For the Red plebiscite!" It should be noted that Pravda has not published a single article on the ques-

A few facts. A rank and file Com-The action was taken without thinking 1929, . . .

meetings, was hardly full in the downstairs seats, and about half empty on outside, in the lobby and, according to opinion replied: the law, evn two police officers, one in uniform, in the hall besides the tribune. just as bad without it." Beaugrand, of the French party, who spoke partly in French and partly in the night, I will write next time. . .

. . . It is insistently claimed that there German aroused considerably sympathy . . After his speech, a dozen Schupos (Defense police) broke into the hall and picked up a young newsboy of the Rot Front, which is prohibited. This provoked only cries, but no clash. The meeting continued after this incident. . . .

Sunday. Berlin presents the usual picture. In the workers quarters (Wedding), large numbers of police, in autos, mounted, afoot. But the streets are calm, no assembling; in the afternoon much fewer police are seen. The Rote Fahne has given the order to hang red flags from the windows. All told, there munist, whom we asked the meaning of are few, except on Koeslinerstrasse the partys activity and its perspectives, which is really red. The tenants of this answered us: "There is nothing to be street are all Communist; that is where disturbed about, they'll never get there." the May First shootings took place in

We visited many voting places; it On the 5th, there was a big party goes on here in saloons. To our quesmeeting in the largest hall in Berlin. It tions, the party placard bearers answered is hard to estimate the number attend that things were not going well. There ing (7000 to 10,000), but the hall which were hopes for the better in the afteris usually absolutely packed during party noon, which brought about no change. plebiscite had flopped in Berlin. A the three balconies. The meeting began Communist placard bearer at the entrance very late. A large police force on the to a voting place, after having heard our

"It's no good with the plebiscite; and

As to the fighting of the evening and

able nor did it dare to put itself at the head of the movement which had already taken on a genuinely insurrectionary and revolutionary character. The working masses had outstripped their leaders and the latter were surprised and demoralized. They lack the basis for the insurrection; the proletariat lacked a guide. Why was the order issued for a general strike? Those who issued it are unable to reply. The workers of Seville, disillusioned were beaten. Their de-

if this is the way we see the proin the coming struggles!

THE SOCIALIST MINISTERS The bourgeois press has begun the

open struggle against two of the three socialist ministers who belong to the present government of the republic: who, together with Maura have lost all prestige and are dishonored. Prieto has carried out a catastrophic job at the head of Spanish finances. The peseta has suffered an enormous depreciation, who, usurping a representation which nobody has conferred upon them, work against the interests of the class. The bourgeois press, taking into account the importance of the matter, proposes the idea of replacing the two socialist ministers by others who will be better able an absolute incompetence at the heads of their respective ministries. The courgeoisie which gave them their post in order to have them confine the lmpetuousness of the workers from these vantage points, sees that that they have done has been to heighten the courage of the workers by their myopic actions and means to remove them. They will succeed. Prieto especially is swamped

in his ministry. THE REPRESSION CONTINUES

Upon going out of a meeting of the International Red Aid in Madrid, the workers were pounced upon by the police who killed one and wounded many. Later, many workers were arrested. Labor meetings are suspended and workers pa pers are seized, correspondence is violated, house raids are conducted, arrested workers without defense have judicial law applied to them, workers are imprisoned and brutalized more and better than during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, just as in the heyday of Martinez Anido. The republic government has assassinated more workers than did Primo de Rivera in the seven years of his government.

Misery, hunger and despair increase incessantly among the workers. The coming Winter threatens to be prodigious in desperate struggles between the work-Before the results, it was clear that the ers who will ask for bread and the police who will mow them down. The present government promises to oe bloody and brutal to a degree exceeding the dictators of the monarchy.

Will the Spanish working class know how to organize itself and to react? Madrid, August 8 1931

---HENRI LACROIX.

The Anarchists in Spain

(Continued from page 1) But the Catalonian big bourgeoisie bas dressed itself directly to the central powdivine right to property. We read in the August letter of the special correspondent of the Paris Temps:

"On July 20, the members of the 'Fomento del Trabajo Nacional' (which embraces the representatives of all the big Barcelona Industries) met 'in order to examine the imminent peril presented to them by the attitude of the laboring masses', and, considering that the cooperation of the government of the Generalidad with the Sindicato Unico had disastrous consequences, they decided to address themselves directly to the central government of Madrid in order to request it to defend them. At the same time, there was held a meeting of seven hundred proprietors of Barcelona Gerona, Tarragona, Lerida, etc., whose tenants demand a 40% reduction in rent. Madrid."

anarcho-syndicalists of the N. C. of L. viewed matters differently. It exercized Macia's trip to Madrid will definitely a pressure upon the government of the consecrate the treason of Macia's party. Generalidad by another means: it ad- The hopes of the Catalonian working harm. While these articles and declaramasses in the national independence and tions were made, the workers, abandoner of Madrid in order to guarantee its social enfranchisement, demagogically ed to themselves, were massacred and promised by Macia will be cruelly disappointed. The duty of the Catalonian Communists is to unmask this doubledealing of Macia and to tear off his apostolic mask. Unfortunately, Catalonian Comunism, at the present time led by the Maurins and Arlandises, is not in a position to accomplish this task. for, instead of severely eriticizing all the treacherous acts of the Catalonist movement, Maurin practises a policy of benevolence and amity towards Macia's party.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists

The conduct of the anarcho-syndicalists also requires a pitiless criticism by the Spanish Communists. Never has the treason of the syndicalist leaders of the N. C. of L. been more cynical, more avowed. The workers of Seville who battled courageously against the armed They also decided to request aid from forces of the provisional government looked in vain to the support and the boss". For, Macia is more the "Barce- The police of Maura-Caballero were still The Cri du Peuple of Monatte and Chan

tionary workers whom they are deceiving ish republic. The arrangement with Zamora and that "nobody can boast of being able to do better than the Spanish republic" and that consequently, they will do it no the trade union organizations sacked.

Only the Spanish Communists, in spite of the absence of a party and a clearsighted leadership, supported the heroic fighters of Seville by revolutionary class! instinct. The Spanish working class will; remember these two differing attitudes of two political currents in the revolutionary proletariat of Spain. The treason of the anarcho-syndicalists and the courageous conduct of the Communists in the Seville events should serve Spanish Communism to enlighten the masses organized in the N. C. of L. on the shameful and ignoble role of the Pestagnas, Uraleses and the other leaders of anarchosyndicalism. With a correct policy in the trade union field, as in all the other fields of proletarian life, the Spanish Communists today could deliver a mortal blow to the anarcho-syndicalist move ment. That is what the friends of the Loyal to his petty bourgeoise nature, solidarity of the strongest trade union or- Spanish syndicalists in France not withconcentration camps. Two comrades Macia has yielded to the "powerful ganization in the country, the N. C. of L. out anguish, are beginning to understand. condition is very grave. We do not lonan agent of the Madrid imperialists" raging through the streets of Seville beliand which only two months ago exknow, unfortunately, what has happen- (Trotsky) than the sincere friend of the when the central organ of the N. C. L., pressed the hope that the Spanish and Paris, August 15, 1931-

Solidaridad Obrero, wrote: "in spite of, archo-syndicalists would oppose to the everything", we have said on many cc-! Bolshevik state a genuine "anarchist" casions that we want nothing against state, is obliged to declare with bitterthe republic. In an official declaration ness that the N. C. of L. "is making a C. P. or the Right? The answer is found of the N. C. of L. its leaders declare in dangerous turn" by submitting body and in the unmistakable indications furnishthe name of the thousands of revolu- soul to the bourgeois state of the Span- ed by the bourgeois wards:

> This "turn" of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism is not a surprise to the Marxists. Anarcho-syndicalism was able to win the confidence of the working masses in the stiffing atmosphere of the dictatorship of the monarchy and thanks to the treason of the socialists who for a long time perverted and discredited the ideas of Revolutionary Marxism. In the revolutionary events, when the activity of all the political parties of the proletariat unfold under the vigilant control of the revolutionary workers, anarcho-syndicalism will be led more and more to demonstrate the inconsistency of its doctrine and the cowardice of its methods. In one of his letters "The Spanish Revolution from Day to Day", comrade Trotsky writes: "The whole fate of world anarchism, or rather what remains of it after the Russian revoluion, is closely bound up with the fate of Spanish anarchosyndicalism. And since anarcho-syndicalism in Spain is setting out towards a shameful and ridiculous bankruptcy, one cannot doubt for an instant that the Spanish revolution will be the grave-stone of anarchism." One could not hope that these lines, written a short time before the Spanish events, would find their confirmation so swiftly.

GERMANY

THE PLEBISCITE'S REAL RESULTS

The press service of the German Communist Party, commenting on the results feat is full of lessons for the future. It of the referendum to dissolve the Prusis necessary to profit by these lessons sian Landtag, seeks to swindle the party and to study them profoundly. The Sev- followers with empty boasts about the ille strike had the advantage of showing alleged victory of the Stalinists in their the great necessity which the Spanish disastrous combination with the Hitlerproletariat has of the organization of a ites: "Yesterday's referendum was a revolutionary vanguard and of the very truly Red referendum . . . The Red refoundation of the revolution-the revolu- ferendum furnished the proof that it is tionary Juntas of the workers and peat possible, by a principled Bolshevik policy, not only to drive back Fascism, but to beat it decisively." The Daily Worker blem, as every Marxist-Leninist must in this country, which paid very little see it, then the struggle of the Sevillian attention to the Prussian referendum at proletariat was not a route but on the all-it is more interested in "Communcontrary, produced a great arsenal of less ism in one country"-chanted the same sons. Let us know how to profit by them song. Pitiful as these claims are, they are properly revealed in all their falsehood and deceit by the final returns which have just reached us.

The Figures Speak

We publish the comparative figures of the votes given in the 20 "verwaltungsbezirke" (roughly equivalent to our wards) of Berlin, first in the referendum of a few yeas ago on the expropriation of the German princes, a campaign led by the Communist party which won the support of the socialist workers, and second, the votes given in the same districts during the recent Prussian referendum which was really led by the

	Finces	russ.
Ward	Referen.	" Referen."
Center	127561	67,329
Tiergarten	111,215	66,469
Wedding	191,579	89,986
Prenzlauer Berg	159,162	72,899
Friedrichschain	175,984	76,094
Kreuzberg	179,742	88,352
Charlottenburg	120 178	79,440
Spandau	48,652	29,003
Wilmersdorf	46,767	47,266
Zehlendorf	8,733	16,932
Schoeneberg	76,261	60,699
Steglitz	42,106	58,863
Templehof	26,969	23,941
Neukoelln	153,905	71,500
Treptow	48,112	21.860
Koepenick	32,156	17,511
Lichtenberg	96 067	53,652
Weissensee	25,683	18,741
Pankow	40,809	31,536
Reinickendorf	48,756	36,536
Thus in such de	octeively	proleteries

Thus in such decisively proletarian wards as Center, Wedding, Friedrichshain and Neukoelln, the "Red" referendum to dissolve the Prussian Landtag, gave only half or less than half the votes cast for the Communist referendum a few years ago to expropriate the princes. In such bourgeois wards as Zehlendorf and Steglitz, the "Red" referendum received more (in one almost double) than it received last time. Red referendum indeed! The fact is that the Fascists brought out almost their maximum forces (very few Fascists failed to vote on account of the Communist party's participation) for the referendum, while the revolutionary workers stayed at home, indifferent or resentful towads the Stalinist capitulation to the nationalist demagogy of the

Hitlerites. Further "Victory" Preof

In proletarian Berlin-Center, 67 329 'For" votes were cast in the "Prussian" referendum. At the last Reichstag elections, the Right wing parties received 61,000 votes and the C. P. 58,872.

In overwhelmingly proletarian Wedding, out of the 279,000 eligible voters, 89 986 "For" votes were cast. In the last elections, the Right parties received 51,936, while the C. P. got 99,273. The 'Red" referendum did not even receive the total C. P. vote of last September 14. In workers' Friedrichshain, 76,094 'For" votes, while the C. P. got 80,000 and the Right parties 74 000 votes last

But how do we know whether the "For" votes in these districts came from the

In overwhelmingly bourgeois Zehlendorf: last September the C. P. got 2,592 votes, the Right parties 20 424 votes. In the present referendum there were 16,-932 "For" votes! The C. P. won over"

. . the bourgeoisie! Take Steglitz, a bourgeois ward. 14,-165 C. P. votes and 69,299 Right votes in September. "For" the "Prussian" referendum: 58,863.

Outside of Berlin, the same picture. In Cologne, which gave 132 557 Right votes and 67,786 C. P. votes, there were 74,358 "For" votes in the referendum, with 540,000 eligible voters. In Aachen, with 113,593 eligible voters, 15,889 voted "For". In September, the C. P. received 14,564 votes, the Right parties got 25,780.

As a final straw to show which may the wind blow-from the workers or from the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie; to the Communists or to the Fascistswe take the characteristic example of the rural, backward, petty bourgeois district of Hessen-Nassau, a "natural" stamping ground for Hitler's cohorts: Eligible to vote: 1,720,210 September C. P. vote: 137,148. September Right vote: 614,393. "For" the referendum: 554,-

A political party-particularly the revolutionary Communist party - cannot stand many more such "victories" without collapsing under the deadly weight of its own folly. . . .