# IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

THE MILITANT

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

IN SPAIN

### Progress of the Left Opposition

The Spanish Communist Opposition is very grateful for your tremendous assistance. It may be said in all frankness that without your generous demonstration of generosity, it would not have been possible for us to accomplish many of the tasks that we are realizing. This shows conclusively that the International Germany, will say skeptically about such parliamentarism" (Trotsky). Unfortun-Opposition has known how to arouse the prophecies: but the same thing was an- ately, this does not hold for the C. P. spirit of international solidarity which has been annihilated by the Stalinist say the same thing a year ago, after the metal workers in Berlin and the mine bureaucracy. Your solidarity is a lofty example which we will not tire of repeating to the comrades in every country so as to serve to stimulate them. All the comrades of the Spanish Communist Opposition have been notified about the aid lent by you, and we believe we are interpreting their expressions of thanks. We shall soon send a message of greetings and appreciation to all the North tures were conjured up before you at field of the struggle against Fascism, American comrades for publication in that time.\* No, the objective situation the Militant. And now let us proceed did not improve. If the purely econto a brief sketch of the situation of the Opposition in Spain and the work it is carrying on.

The Propaganda Tours

At the present time, comrade Henri bao, Santander, Oviedo, Gijon, Leon and importance of the party. Salamanca. Comrade Fersen is passing through the province of Galicia, embracing Pontevedra, Vigo, Santiago, Lugo, Ferrol and La Coruna. Another comrade will leave one of these days for Extremadura and still another for Andalucia and Levante.

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

Our Weekly Organ

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

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

#### The Spread of Our Literature

Comunismo Publishing House" is get ting on magnificently. Our pamphlets meet with a great reception. In this way, we have decided to intensify the publication of pamphlets. We want to publish two a month. Moreover, we want to give the official party an example did not support the Trotskyists, but that of how the work should be done. While the party is engaged merely in publishing translated pamphlets on Russia, we are publishing pamphlets on timely subjects of Spanish labor, written by Spanish militants. This also gives us a great prestige. . .

We are going to publish the following "What Are the Soviets?", "What Are the Factory Committees?", "What Is the Left Opposition?" by Forsen, "The Leg- in favor of my admittance. I was then end of Trotskyism" by Esteban Bilbao, given the floor for five minutes. "Whither the National Conferedation of I declared that the C. L. of A. uncon-Labor" by Henri Lacroix, and "Communism and Anarcho-yndicalism" by

Juan Andrade. -JUAN ANDRADE.

Madrid, September 24, 1931

# Germany and the Approaching Winter

his social democratic lackeys, who feel streets against Fascism, or if the success themselves hampered by it in their work of the Communists would be more than the Bruening government has long ago Fascism, which rests upon the despairing of deception: Germany is approaching an electoral victory, so that in the face a winter which is the worst time in a of the threatening civil war, nothing questions by decrees. In this way, it logy is pseudo-revolutionary and not concentury. This declaration refers, of would be left to the bourgeoisie but the has cut wages and salaries, diminished servative, like Bruening's its methods course, not only to the economic, but Fascist bloodbath. "A revolutionary

also to the political sphere. Those of our American comrades, who have attentively studied the reports from nounced a year ago. Did not everybody G. In the two large strikes, of the the key to power. outcome of the September elections? workers/in the Ruhr, as a result of its Were not deceptive pictures conjured up false trade union tactic, it was not possibefore us at that time? How was it pos- ble for it to tear the workers away sible, in spite of this, the winter in from the reformists and thus to prevent Germany passed by orderly, without an their betrayal. After these two defeats, attack by Communism or Fascism? Did the will to struggle of the German workthe objective, the economic situation of ers was broken and the question decided Germany improve in this period?

omic development were to be considered, a completely distorted picture of the the social democratic workers and thus situation would be the result. Nothing better demonstrates the incorrectness of all theories of spontaneity and collapse Lacroix is on a propaganda trip. He has than the German development and the gone through Barcelona, Zaragoza, Bil- unshakable truth of the doctrine of the

> . To get a clear picture of the situation then and today, we recommend the reader to look once more into the work ministers quit the government. This was of comrade Trotsky, "The Turn in the nothing but a clever, masked retreat.

> tion in Germany." lies completely in the subjective atti- see in Fascism an anti-capitalist force, tude of the German working class and and therefore ascribe to it a certain in in the policy of the reformist S. P. G. and of the revolutionary C .P. G., which is however misled by the Centrists. There is no other way to introduce an analysis living in reserve, patiently adapting itof the present situation than by a de scription of political history since the September 1930 elections.

The Development of German Fascism After September 14, which produced the tremendous election success of the National Socialists (Fascists), the ques- entirely obedient it is to the call of fintion of the Fascist seizure of power was ance capital, so hated by its supporters, the internal struggle in its ranks; and put on the order of the day. The bour- is best shown by its attiture in the July thereby is determined the policy it will held, the Red Baron had turned Black geoisie itself discussed the question in bank crash, when the power was easy to probably pursue in the next period: to all frankness, it is already obvious from the fact that in certain provinces it agreed to coalitions with the Fascists, that it was making serious preparaions in this direction.

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

The S. P. G. it is true soon swung over to support of the government. In

hunger Chancellor of German imperial- could once more hold the masses in check tem, which is rendered possible by the is false because the Bruening regime, ism, has declared, under the protest of in the economic struggles and on the party, during the crisis of a regime, is stronger in extra-parliamentary mass struggle than within the framework of

for the time for the bourgeoisie. To No, American comrades, no deceptive pic- this is to be added, that also on the everything was lost, for the C. P. G. with its sectarian tactics, did not understand how to create a united front with to drive a wedge into the S. P. G.

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

least to the composition of praliament. The Fascists quit the parliament, their ists, Stennes and Straser, and the for-The key to the German development mer pseudo-Oppositionist, Landau, who dependent role, could see in this the prologue to a Fascist seizure of power. Since then, German Fascism has been same basis, sacred private property, leisure hours with the murder of workers. How lacking in independence and party.

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

The Present Method of Domination and Strategy of the Bourgeoisie

Extra-parliamentarily, the bourgeoisie spite of this, the bourgeoisie made up rules today on the basis of the betrayal its mind on the question of Fascism only of the trade unions. "Parliamentarily", also branded the Bruening government when it was made clear by extra-parlia through the medium of the Bruening gov- without further ado as a Fascist dicta- ment.

agreement of the S. P. G. Based thus which supports itself upon the reformist sent parliament home, and settles all petty bourgeois masses, because its ideounemployment insurance, removed the are terrorist and not pseudo-parliamendemocratic rights (freedom of press, with the aid of reformists. The reformthe regime, their liquidation constitutes gime up to now has been a dictatorship.

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

In reality, the reformists do not fight against Bruening or against wage reductions, because every struggle today would raise the question of the capture of power by the proletariat or of a reaction with relentless sharpness; but the reformists, no matter what the price, want no capture of power by the proletariat, no social revolution, for they have long ago grown into capitalism. The bourgeoisie, for its part, pays the social democracy badly for its services, by humiliating and exposing it on every occasion (armored) Communist International and the Situa- Only fools, like the ultra radical Fasc- line of the bourgeoisie is being complete. any length of time. An example will illy confirmed:

"The bourgeoisie finds that the disciplining of the workers by the social democracy places high expenditures upon it. The bourgeoisie as such needs Fascism in order to hold the social democratic party in check and, if necessary, to push self to all the wishes of the bourgeoisie it aside. Fascism wants to capture power with whom it stands in principle on the and is capable of doing it. After seizing "degalizing" itself and merely filling its power, Fascism will surrender to finance capital. But this is the path of convulsions, which also places high expenditures upon the bourgeoiste. This explains the vacillations of the bourgeoisie, the aid of Fascism, to help reconstruct the constitution in such a way as to combine for the bourgeoisie the advantages of Fascism and democracy, Fascism in essence, democracy in form; in this way of the C. P., which every moment pro- it hopes to free itself of the increased expenditures for democratic reforms and if possible also from the increased expenditures of the Fascist upheaval. Will the bourgeoisie be able to take this road? Certainly not to the very end or for a long period of time." (Trotsky, "The Austrian Crisis, the Social Democracy. and Communism".)

The swindle of the lesser evil is facnitated for the reformists by the fact that the C. P. showed itself incapable of analyzing the situation correctly, and

Even Bruening, the eternally smiling mentary struggles whether the reformists enment and its emergency decree sys- torship. In fact, the Centrist analysis upon a nominal parliamentary majority, workers, has a different social basis from tarian, like Bruening's. With the deself administration, etc.), and all this claration that Bruening is exercizing a dictatorship, nothing is said. For us ists are today, therefore, the basis of Marxist-Leninists, every bourgeois re-It is a question here of the special methods. And these are different with Bruening and MacDonald from those of Hitler and Mussolini. Politicians who set themto their own mistakes, and are worth nothing as strategists of the revolution. (To Be Continued).

Berlin, September 1931 -ERVIN BAUER.

#### The Floating Baron

Almost every other day brings a new indication of the progress which German all the Lieutenant Scheringers whom the semi-nationalistic program of the Stalin cruiser, plebiscite). What comrade ists win to its side, are not an unmixed Trotsky wrote in 1929 about the strategic blessing, nor do they all stay put for luminate the point.

> How many of the other Barons, Counts Lieutenants and Generals the party will gain by its nationalist capitulation, it is hard to say. In fact, it is easier to say, quite confidently, that at least ninetenths of those it wins over on this basis But then again, the permeation of the Communist workers with the illusions and toxins of Stalinism is not helping but postponing the advent of that mo-

Stalinism is making—if not in the ranks of the social democratic workers, at least among the chauvinistic military camarilla and the blue-blooded nobility. But

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

# The Opposition and

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

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

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

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

International Labor Defense. Under the press of our activity, the ranks of the party compelled the bureaucracy to open to us the gates of the International Labor Defense. It is true that they make efforts not to permit the entrance of comrades whom they call leaders and "cadres" and who, they say, are ocuscious traitors while the members are "dewill either poison the life of the party ceived" by their Archio-Fascist leaders. or find their way back to the swamp The aim is to separate the cadres from they came from at the decisive moment, the ranks, but this idea is characteristic only of the feeble-mindedness of Stalinism. In prison, too, they refuse the admission of valuable comrades to the I. L. D. cells, which contain the assassins of our comrades Ladas and Georgopapadakos.

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

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

> agement, the results will be good. Mitylene By-Election. At the Mitylene by-election, our comrades worked hand in hand with the party. Result: 4,700 votes as against 1,300 at the general elections in 1928. The government candidated obtained 10,600 votes

-P. PSAKIS. Athens, August 28, 1931

Why is he the man chosen for the work? Because that is the way imposed upon him to buy back his membership in the strated his baseness in character and

thorough lack of self-respect, Foster and Co. will consider him fit candidate for the party again. What a wretched character one must have to carry out the task assigned to

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

What an infliction upon an organization whose destines, to however small to do their deeds for them. A few words ed a veritable campaign in the New terms that were we to reprint some of an extent, must be guided by such individuals-the only ones fit to carry out policy of the Left Opposition because of revolutionary conscience and honor is the disastrous policy which has been de-

L. D. Expulsion Campaign Begun in New York the party. That we supported the prin-, misled by the "Trotskyist leaders", was we were a "tail to the party", and more (Continued from Page 1)

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

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

A young worker took the floor and made the following statement: that he we had a right to join the I. L. D. and that he was in favor of my admittance; that he was against the expulsion of any one because he was a Trotskyist.

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

Several others took the floor and spoke

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

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

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

The result of the vote can be readily understood, the members present, who had had no opportunity to study the differences between the C. L. and the party, something was wrong and they voted very ing in the I. L. D.

-HARRY MILTON.

Who Is Malkin?

There is no malice-we believe it was Macaulay who wrote it--like the malice of a renegade. Maurice Malkin, who was recently expelled from the Left Opposition in New York, is now touring the branches of the International Labor Defense as the prosecuting attorney in the new campaign of expulsion of the "Trotskyists" from the organization. He is and Hackers. He knows the "insides" of the Left Opposition, and pretends to the ignoble role of informer. The ardor of his defense of the I. L. D. bureaucrats said about the release is to say nothing and their sectarian splitting course is about it . . . He rallied to the Opposiexcelled only by his venom against the tion again, and again his condemnations Opposition, his cynicism, his revolting and attacks upon the Stalinists exceeded falsehoods. By their deeds they shall all bounds. He assumed no less, the be judged. And also by those they choose mantle of the ultra-Leftist. He conduct-

to the expulsion campaign.

ciples and ideas of the I. L. D. and joined one of the first party members to join without end. In the meantime, he did for the purpose of participating in the our ranks, proudly claiming his adherwork of the I. L. D. I then attempted to ence to the views of the Opposition "long answer the slanders made by Malkin but before anybody else". At that time, he was constantly interrupted and prevent- was under indictment in the famous Mineola furriers case, but when he announced his adherence to Opposition, the L. L. D. officials embarked upon a disgraceful course of sabotag of the case. A meeting called to protest the impending imprisonment of Malkin and Franklin was deliberately called off by the I. L. D. so as to keep Malkin from speaking o fthe united agitaion of the labor there. After Malkin had been in prison for some time, he kept writing the most bitter letters of complaint, to us and to the I. L. D., for the latter's neglect. One or two of his prison letters, printed and on the basis of the statements made in the Militant, knew no bounds in thier by Malkin which I was prevented from violent criticism of the party and defense answering, voted for my expulsion. It leaders. Suddenly, we were sturned to was perfectly obvious that they felt, read in the Daily Worker a statement by Malkin repudiating the Opposition and reluctantly. It can certainly be said rallying to the party and its policies that with such methods it is easy to and leadership. Before we could catch understand the sad state of affairs exist- our breath, Malkin wrote to us, telling us that his statement meant nothing. that he was still with the Left Opposition, that he wrote it only because he had virtually been blackmailed by the party leaders, who threatened to cut off relief from himself and his aged parents unless he capitulated; he begged us to gade and a traitor, and to warn the work keep it all quiet, lest his relief and liberation be endangered. Outraged as we felt, we realized that

Malkin, in many respects so irresponsible and impressionable, was undoubtedly demoralized by his prison term, and

Malkin was finally released from prison, and the kindest thing that can be about who Malkin is will give added point York branch against the leadership and his letters, even he, in whom every spark Malkin, who now claims to have been we "would not fight the party", because extinguished, would burn with shame. creed!

his best to discredit us and the move ment in general. The demands he made upon the Industrial Union, because he had served a short term in prison, were literally unspeakable. His shady associations with S. P. spokesmen like Norman Thomas became the talk of the needle trades market. Finally, he committed a crime which not even considerations for his prison service could permit anyone to overlook. At the very height skates and the Lovestoneites to liquidate the Needle Trades Workrs Industrial Union, when it was under the severest fire, Malkin, on his own initiative, went to see Begun, of the A. F. of L. Furriers' Joint Board, abut getting back into the reactionary union, which still has a rule against re-admission of the Communists. The deal Malkin offered to make with Begun may be judged from the fact that Begun promised to take Malkin, a known Communist, back into the union at a low initiation rate. Singularly enough-and yet not so

strangely-his capitulation to the reactionary fakers coincided with a recurrence of capitulationist moods towards Stalinism. The New York branch of the League decided to expel him as a reneers against him. Our public statement to the workers

put a spike in Mr. Malkin's plans. The furriers' union deal did not go through. Our declaration also prevented the party party. When he has sufficiently demonbureaucrats from re-admitting him into rightly or wrongly, we decided to refer the ranks. The Central Control Comto his case ambiguously in the Militant, mission turned down his re-application. the specialist for the Engdahls, Fosters with the promise to tell the full story The party fraction of the furriers in New Yrk, in May 1931, voted unanimously against admitting this unprincipled and treacherous person into the party.

This is the individual selected to de the dirty work of informing on the Opposition and directing their expulsion from the I. L. D., doing the work for the same leaders and policies that Malkin once denounced in such unmeasured

## SPANISH REVOLUTION

The Revolution in Spain . . . . 10c

The Spanish Revolution in Danger . . . 15c

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

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