IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

Revolt Brewing in India

Ghandi Holds Masses in Check by Reformist Maneuvers the near future. The lathi, after all,

plece goods, the seed and the stock ex- ently expecting serious trouble. changes in Bombay and other cities have been closed. The boycott against Bri-

India. Strikes of workers are, as yet, not on the order of the day. The Hindu hartal or patriotic strike, still dominates the political scene. For the time being, the nationalist bourgeoisie still holds the reins firmly. The revolutionary masses are still spell-bound by the shrewd and soothing voice of the "Mahatma". And it cannot be doubted that the personality of Ghandi still represents an enormous factor in the political life ance historic in the annals of Canadian ed by a powerful press, and every means ity a powerful contact could have been along the Ganges.

A Shrewd Mahatma

newspapermen, Ghandi expréssed the an"; they do not officially run on a party block put out Simpson as the man to sentiment in the working class. opinion that in the event of "sudden" ticket) all agreed upon the fact that no look after their interests during the emancipation, a free India would not major issues existed; that whoever was present period. very well be able to dispense with a elected to sit at the City Hall would be regular standing army. Yes, the Mah- on a program of better sidewalks, more as dull and dirty as capitalism itself. atma said this. The newspapermen show- sidewalks, and the insistence on string- A continual rain kept back many people ered questions on the saintly man and cut economy (naturally at the expense from the polls, and especially destitute he answered nearly all with saintly pa- of working class relief measures). That workers who could not clothe themselves tience and serenity. There was one quest there were 50,000 unemployed in the city, properly. tion, however, which he evaded with the well, so long as they were keeping quiet | Simpson, the labor faker, headed the sleekness of an eel. That question was in at the soup kitchens and not demanding list. Although the total number of votes regard to his attitude toward the Rus- unemployment relief, they were not an polled was lower than last year, the sian revolution. "I am too humble", the issue. If 6,000 bailiff's notices of evic- vote of Buck doubled; the reactionary Mahatma replied to this question, "to tions were issued, that was a sign that press lamented that "Tim Buck Compretend to omniscience. Consequently I prosperity was around the corner. Wages munist, was the only one of nine candimust declare that I do not know what to being slashed, and factories closing dates who increased his vote over last think of the Russian revolution". The down, throwing workers and their fam- year. Despite his recent conviction on "Mahatma" did not appear pleased at liles upon the mercy of charity, that charges of membership in an illegal asall by the suggestion of a comparison be- was not an issue for the civic fathers. sociation and seditious conspiracy, he tween the Indian revolution and the Rus- As long as the working class and the polled 5,974 votes, 2941 over his last sian.

of Oriental ethics-non-violence-is in were quite content with the status quo, votes each, both being higher than last the last analysis, only a cloak for the and intended to further confuse the year. fear the Hindu bourgeoisie has of the masses with the spirit of civic duty. armed masses? Hardly. The Russian bourgeoisie (and the Spanish bourgeoisie less" and covered its fear of the people with less effective, to be sure, but nevertheless just as guarded ideological ceremoniousness. The Russian bourgeoisie faced with war times that accelerated the march of events and with a resolute and firmly established working class party. Its end came rather swiftly. The course of the Indian bourgeoisie, which kowtows no less to the foreign imperalists, will probably, considering the times and more than that-the geographical situation of the country-be a much lengthier one.

The colonial character of India makes its revolution dependent to a large extent, upon the attitude, the aid rendered it by the British working class. In the course of events, the attachment between the seasoned proletariat of Great Britain, and the youthful proletariat of India, which is historically inevitable, will no doubt develop into the determining in fluence in that country's future. For the present, however, both the British as well as the Indian workers are still to be found in the background of the scene. The further progress of the German revolutionary movement in Europe and of the Chinese in the Far East will, sooner or later, serve to set the former two into

Signs of Militancy

In the meantime, a few signs of rising militancy are already visible on the periphery of the new movement. At Srinigar, a crowd estimated at 12,000 persons attacked the police station and liberated three prisoners. Despite the manifold assurances by the nationalist leaders that the masses would abstain from violent action, the British police forces have taken all possible precautions. The viceroy of India, Lord Willingdon, has un-

Just how soon the activity of the masswithout any influence at all. The Garni to come.

Kamgar textile workers and the railroad workers of the G. I. P., who have already made Indian history in the past, have not yet been heard from. But they are sure-to figure more prominently in does not distinguish between the masses, Ghandi, V. Patel, J. Nehru have been; British soldiery have recently been in- it strikes and hurts them all. But it arrested by the Indian authorities. As creased to fully 68,000 men, the native is not likely that the workers of India as a result of the Menshevik policies of cellent opportunity to approach the moods in the party that it is frequently line correctly. On the surface, the above incidents Stalin-Bucharin in the Far East up to masses, to build up their cadres and to considered absolutely necessary at the give a fairly comprehensive character- 1927 and due to the entire loss of rev- consolidate their influence and their fol- top to undertake a "turn" This is thereization of the present situation in British olutionary perspective since, is almost lowing for the more decisive struggles upon motivated "theoretically" by the

Thaelmann's Belated Self-Criticism

The Leader of the German Communist Party «Examines» Some of Its Mistakes

-S. G. highest instances, and naturally a good

The Party Program

tary rights of free speech, press and

is centered around the movement for

repeal of Section 98, and it is upon this

ployment insurance should have been

and fight for its demands.

mittee of the Communist Party of Ger- vik self-criticism" with which it is done, pelled to come out openly against these a protest, the cotton, the bullion, the to more than 175,000. They are appar- will long be fascinated by whatever many has been considering itself as in- The result which the "theoreticians" of ideas only shows the extent to which it is that "Mahatma" Ghandi is spinning fallible in its political decisions. But the Central Committee then attain is such defeatist moods were already wide -in his cell or out of it. The workers, since a mistake remains a mistake whe- usually this: The policy of the party spread in the party. es will rise above the heads of their once they are started, will act, and act ther it is recognized or not, the effects leadership is entirely right, but subortish goods is in full swing. Civil dis- nationalist leaders, it is hard to tell. forcefully. For the Communists, the pre- of the party leader- dinate party instances have not under- is concerned with the too well known obedience is the slogan of the nationalist The Communist party, young and weak sent situation in India represents an ex- ship frequently lead to such dangerous stood how to carry out the errorless

Thaelmann's Self-Criticism

Entirely of this type is the "selfember double number of the Internationale, where he writes to "establish a series of ideological deviations and political weakness, aye, even political mistakes in our revolutionary mass work" pearance of wanting to criticize the line of the C. C. itself, he immediately adds committed by the whole party but were of agitation he was sure of election. To made with the working class, but the based upon an "insufficient political education of individual comrades and functionaries" or upon an "inadequate comprehension of the decisions adopted at international and German party congress-The election programme of the party es". These remarks of Thaelmann was not centralized in its demands, but alone already adequately characterize the type of this "Bolshevik self-criticism". diffused over a host of "municipal" is-But let us now examine more closely sues. The fight to-day is for the elemen-

> assemblage for the working class, which concretely in his article of 30 pages. Thaelmann discovers here that the struggle against the Prussian government issue that all efforts should have been has up to now not been conducted sharp-

what the "leader of the C. P. G." says

concentrated. The struggle for unem- ly enough: "We must go further beyond this to linked up in the fight against Section the declaration that even in the ranks of 98, explaining how this section was for the revolutionary proletariat, not without the purpose of gagging the vanguard of our being to blame, there were present the working class. We detand its re- at least sub-conscious moods to the efpeal not merely for the sake of repeal, feet that Braun-Severing were neverthebut as the removal of a band of oppres- less perhaps a 'lesser evil' than a Hitlersion so the working class can propagate Goebbels government in Prussia. Such an influencing of the revolutionary work-The party mobilized its forces for an ers by the deceitful social democratic energetic election campaign, one in which ideology, such remnants of social demthe comrades of the Left Opposition took ocratic thought in our ranks, are, howan active part in the canvassing, scrut- ever, as we must declare in complete inizing and general propaganda work agreement with the decisions of the XI to which we were assigned. This cam- Plenum, the worst danger for the Compaign was a means of rallying the party munist party."

Obviously, therefore, certain C. P. G. workers, and the election should not be comrades arrived at the idea that a proletarian revolution it is primarily a beginning anew of the struggle for ele- Hitler government in Prussia would act mentary working class rights, in which in an even more reactionary and anti- strata for the proletarian revolution or we shall be found with the party in the working class manner than the then at least of neutralizing them." Braun-Severing government. The party comrades in question surely did not mean by this that the S. P. policy of the lesser, revolution" then advocated by the C. C. evil in parliament . was correct. But and established officially as late as they were of the opinion that the more January 1931. Now-Thaelmann needed dangerous enemy today is Hitler and a whole year for this acknowledgmentthat the party must therefore lead the it is suddenly established that the main attack against him. For Thaelmann; quoted conception of A. E. "has nothing however, such an opinion is "the worst danger for the Communist party"!

> to admit that in the attitude of the party towards Fascism, great shortcomings came to light. He writes:

"We yielded at least in part to the false theory of the 'inevitability' of the ished as an Oppositionist in Russia. In Fascist dictatorship under monopoly cap. the German party, after a probation ialism, or at all events, we did not al. period of a year, he sought to earn his ways develop a sufficiently sharp strug- spurs by expressly separating himself gle against this false theory, a theory from Trotsky's views at every opportunwhich leads us off the road."

quotes from the September 1931 number one whom the Great Thaelmann has of the C. P. G. paper, Der Propagandist, now sought out as the whipping boy!) the following passage:

"A social democratic coalition governagainst a class conscious proletariat, determined to struggle and united in its Thaelmann writes:

By this is completely confirmed what consider the seizure of power by the dom, from the fundamentals of Marxismdesirable under certain circumstances.

EXPIRATION OF SUBSCRIPTION If the number of your wrapper is 99 much too far. Terror can only be broken or under, your subscription has expired, by terror and it is just the "leader of To ensure that you do not miss a single the C. P. G." who should understand issue of The Militant, send in your re- that under the conditions created by newal immediately to The Militant, 84 the Fascist acts of violence, one cannot East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

Minneapolis Open Forum

Among the lecture arranged for forthcoming weeks at the Minneapolis Forum are the following:

All meetings, unless otherwise men

Sunday, January 24, 1932: DEBATE: "Socialism versus Communism". Speak-

The Admission is free.

For years the Stalinist Central Com-| deal of noise is made about the "Bolshe-| That the party leadership is now com-

A whole section of Thaelmann's article "theory" of the people's revolution, as invented by the party leadership in connection with the teachings on the "national and social emancipation". These slogans were raised in their day in order criticism" with which Ernst Thaclmann to win the petty bourgeois strata for occupies himself in the November-Dec- Communism, in connection with which to mention nothing else, it was completely overlooked that the most immediate task of the C. P. G. must be not the winning of the middle classes but the winning of the majority of the pro-But in order to avoid even the ap- eltariat. And it is precisely here that a slogan like that of the "people's revolution" is not only worthless but directly that the mistakes were of course not harmful, since it does not sufficiently emphasize the class standpoint.

Thaclmann himself is slowly beginning to perceive this when he writes in his article:

"Only when we win the proletarian majority for Communism can we realize the further tasks of drawing the allies of the proletariat from the middle classes into the anti-capitalist united front and thereby create the premises for the people's revolution of Marx and Lenin. Every smearing up of these fundamentals, every abandonment of the preliminary need of the struggle for our own class is a break with Marxism, a break with Leninism!"

But who raised this "break with Leninism" to the point of a "theory"? Nobody but the Central Committee of the C. P. G. itself, which, for example, in a resolution of January 1931, established the "people's revolution" as the "main strategical slogan of the party". Is it then to be wondered at if subordinate functionaries of the party thereupon apply this slogan as it should be understood according to this C. C. conception? Such a thoroughly good-believer of a functionary was A. E. who wrote, as far back as December 1930, in the paper Der Propagandist that

"for the strategy and tactics of the matter of winning the petty bourgeois

This was entirely in harmony with the line of the conceptions of the "people's more in common with Marxism and Leninism". Which is of course correct Further in the course of his "self- to the extent that the corresponding line criticism", Thaelman himself is obliged of the C. C. really had not much more to do with Leninism.

(In passing: For A. E. to be treated as a scapegoat is especially harsh. Alexander Emel was at one time punity, most recently in the question of the As an example of this, Thaelmann Spanish revolution. And he is just the

Finally, we cannot let pass unchallenged what Thaelmann has to say in ment, which confronted an incapacitated, his article on the question of individual split-up, confused proletariat, would be a terror. It would undoubtedly be correct thousandfold greater evil than an open for the C. C. to disassociate itself pub-Fasist dictatorship, which came forward licly from individual terror, but it is to fall into the other extreme when

> 'Those workers who let themselves be misguided by the planned Nazi-provoca-

Taken literally, this means that henceforth the C. P. G. members are to be prohibited even from forcible defense from Fascist assaults. This is going act in accordance with the principles of the sermon on the mount.

In conclusion, let, us point to still another observation Thaelmann made at the end of his lengthy article and which we can join with heartily:

"It appears that in spite of the great successes of our party, its theoretical level, the ideolgical-political level of our party work, is inadequate, and absolutely requires a fundamental improvement." But the very next sentence, which qualifies the decisions of the leadership as "unobjectionable and correct", indicates that Thaelmann is not at all the man to undertake a genuine, serious selfcriticism. Bureaucratic superficiality and fakers' autocratism are the essence of Thaelmann's article. There can be no talk whatsoever of a turn for the better. Such a one can, in general, not proceed from above; it must result from the pressure of the members themselves. The Left Opposition will support with all its strength every step of the party members

Berlin, January 1932 -W. M.

he Results of the Toronto Elections

Election day, January 1st, was a day

The recent municipal elections held in choice. After working his way on the partly aroused by the recent trial, and Toronto have, in the shade of events of backs of the working class, he was no not yet crystallized into a working class the past few months, gained a signific- longer interested in its problems. Back- expression. With a campaign of public-

The bourgeois candidates (in civic offset the influence of the Communist vote was, insofar as elections are a In a recent interview with Parisian elections all candidates are "non-partis- program the bourgeois concentration; criterion, a consciousness of a Leftward dispossessed elements of the petty bour- year's figure of 3,033-an increase of 97 Would it be too rash to assume on the geoisie did not organize for the better- per cent." The two other Communist basis of all this that the great principle ment of their conditions, the bourgeoisie alderman candidates polled 505 and 758

The Communist Ticket

But the Dominion and Provincial au- those whose taxes were in arrear were in its turn today) shouted at the top of thorities were more considerate of the deprived of the privilege of democracy; interests of the hard working capitalists, and had taken measures a few months able to vote. The votes for Tim Buck before by the arrest of the eight Communist leaders, and their trial and conviction to 5 years in the penitentiary. After overcoming the legal red tape they were released on bail until their appeal, and to the dismay of the authorities Tim Buck was nominated for the Board of Control, and John Boychuck (another of the defendants, with another comrade, were nominated for alderman. The Communist party now being an outlawed organization in Ontario, they ran as candidates of the Toronto Workers' United Front Conference. The main campaign was centered around Buck, the controllership necessitating a city-wide cam-

paign and vote. Buck, as the Communist candidate, bring out the working class issues; the Buenos Aires, but a naturalized Spanish demanded my immediate return from need for relief and insurance at the ex- citizen. The Argentine police expelled Valencia. I was forced to take the first Buck was received with tremendous en- up for his ideas. First he is arrested tions such as the bourgeois candidates The governor of Cadiz promises him his did not receive. The press religiously release on the condition that he return

A Safe and Sane Candidate

But there was a "labor" candidate in leashed a savage system of repression the field, and a very popular one. The all over the country. Police and soldiery social democracy may be proud of its have been armed to the teeth. An ordi- sons; the Toronto branch, known as James nance has been issued outlawing all Simpson, and the backing of all the meetings of groups of more than five newspapers and he received plaudits persons, The gentlemanly Willingdon, from all sections of the capitalist class quite a hand with a cricket bat himself for his wisdom, and especially his "safe (the papers say) seems of late to have and sane" labor policies. For him but become an enthusiast of the native one issue existed—to be re-elected to the "lathi", applied by his troops with utter Board of Control and taste further of abandon to the skulls and bodies of de- the fruits of office. On the slate of the monstrants in the public squares. The reactionary Orange Order he was first

even Primo de Rivera and Berenger under the name Henri Lacroix, they benever dared to resort to. Spaniards are lieved that I was a Frenchman and had

The qualifications for voting demanded

that one be a tenant or householder;

thus the dispossessed workers were no

were votes of protest against capitalist

reaction and for immediate unemploy-

ment relief. The thousands of people

who applauded him, did not all vote for struggles.

him; it was a spontaneous enthusiasm, Toronto

Jose Ramos Lopez is, to be sure, Spanish ed chief of police of Valencia know that -the son of Spanish parents born at Henri Lacroix is really a Spaniard and pense of the state, and the fight against him from that country as a revolutionist Section 98 of the Criminal Code, which and as a Spaniard. Ramos came to suppressed the rights of free speech and Spain, to Sujo to live with his family. assemblage. At every election meeting He is a Communist and one who stands thusiasm; a Communist candidate was at Sujo, then at Cadiz, where he is held receiving sympathetic hearings and ova- a government prisoner for three months. kept a strict silence on the Communist to Sujo. A few days later, several campaign, not a word of publicity did "Civic Guards" and gendarmes come to they give it. A contract was entered the prison at six o'clock in the morning into with the Daily Star, a Liberal (!) and seize our comrade. His protests are paper, to let Buck speak over its radio of no avail. The governor had promised station, but after the Star realized they him his release on that very day. But were acting as liberals in allowing this, instead, he is thrown on board the the contract was immediately broken, the steamer "Uruguay", leaving a few min money returned, and an excuse offered utes later for the Argentina. No one that "under the circumstances, etc., etc." was informed of anything until our Cadiz comrades came to the prison on their daily visit to comrade Ramos.

The bourgeois, reactionary Republic What sort of fate will Uriburu have in here: store for our comrade?

The bourgeois press has refused publication to our protests. The cynicism of the reactionaries is becoming more detestable and more criminal under the Republic than it ever was under the

Liberty and Equality Under the Republic A short time ago, the Spanish Catholics met at Valenica and held a mass meeting you can later reproduce in the pages of and demonstrations against the Republic. The workers who wanted to demonstrate against Catholic and monarchist reaction found the "Republican" authorities on the side of the latter. The Catholics and monarchists can speak and act believe this, but when I saw how they against the Spanish people, only we are denied the right to propagate our ideas.

December 14, which had been announced that only a proletarian party can lead in advance. The governor refused per- the revolution. mission to announce the meeting as one masse. We had excellent success.

comrades in the various provinces. But in Spain) and with the solidarity of the when I had completed my lecture in international sections, we can arrive Valencia, I was called before the chief swiftly at the unity of the Spanish Comof police who informed me that he would munists on a revolutionary line with not authorize any more of my lectures the goal of the proletarian dictatorship. held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 and that I had committed an offense com- Yours for the victory of Bolshevism, | East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. | in this irrection. CITY STATE...... parable to libel against Largo Caballero

Government Repression in Republican Spain The repression being carried on by the (the minister) and against the Republic Republican leaders takes on forms that Since my lecture had been announced being expelled from Spain. We of the no doubt taken preparations to deport Left Opposition are the favored victims. me from the country when the Police A very striking example: Our comrade Department of Madrid let the misinformtrain out and to escape to Galicia, where the Republic also "governs".

—S. GREEN.

-HENRI LACROIX. Before leaving the United States for Spain, after the proclamation of the Republic, comrade Ramos was an active militant among the Spanish-speaking groups of the anarchist and I. W. W. movement in New York. Our movement attracted him to the extent of engaging for quite a time in friendly discussions between him and some of our comrades. Upon his arrival in Spain he joined the Communist party and became an adherent in it of the views of the Opposi- mass." brought about his imprisonment and the the Left Opposition and particularly tions by defending themselves with the tion. His revolutionary activity in Cadiz recent decision-entirely arbitrary-to de Trotsky have criticized most sharply same methods of individual terror, are port him to the Argentine. While in for months: namely, that there are forces moving away, with regard to the meth-Spain recently, comrade Shachtman es- at work in the C. P. G. which not only ods of the proletarian struggle for freetablished contact with comrade Ramos in prison, from whom he subsequently Fascists as inevitable, but as downright Leninism" has committed another abominable crime. received the letter which we reprint

Cadiz Prison, 11-17-1931 Dear comrade Shachtman:

I received your letter and was glad to hear from you. How are you getting along. I was surprised to hear of your arrival in Madrid. I believe you can gather some notes about the Spanish revolution and the forces of the workers throughout the country, notes which the Militant.

You can see how my old friends, the anarcho-syndicalists, are playing the game of-the bourgeoisie. If you remember, when I was in New York, I didn't cooperated in the establishment of the Republic and fought together with the In Valencia also, I gave a lecture on bourgeois forces, I woke up and learned

The official party does not want to bearing a political Communist character carry on a serious work and give a poland it had to be announced as an educa- itical education to the proletariat. It tional affair. The workers attended en rather wants to fight against the "Trotskyists", but now I think that under Other lectures were organized by the the flag of the O. C. E. (Left Opposition

RAMOS.

tioned are at 3 P. M .:

ers: O. P. Victorian, representing the Socialist Party against Carl Cowl representing Communist League of America (Opposition).

Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Proposed Ballroad Wage Reductions" Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

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