IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The Situation in Italy and the C. P

The Fascist Dictatorship in the Throes of the Economic Crisis

dictions deriving therefrom which threatens to break out openly.

riveting such shackles for the working masses that it was possible for it throughsystematic reduction of the workers' wages and equally systematic spoiliation dle strata in general. Thanks to such a policy, it was possible during the former and landowners.

Letter From a Polish Comrade

We publish below excerpts from a letter of a Polish party comrade. At the same time we take great pleasure to greet the appearance of the first number of the Polish organ of the Left Opposition Proletariat. Polish speaking workers in this country can obtain more detailed information with regard to Proletariat by getting in touch with the office of The Mili-

Warsaw, May 18, 1932

. . . The last coal strike has proved to me our whole helplessness. It showed the fruits of an irresponsible, "rah-rah" revolutionary tactic. In important moments of serious and highly fateful events, we witnessed the inability of the party to influence the struggles, let alone lead them. I do not wish to go into detail at present on all the crimes and stupidities we committed in the course of this gigantic struggle, which lasted these are not original or new methods and "capabilities", but everyday actions which we display always under such con- are so great, that other, similar, "volun-

solutely and firmly, when Fascism brut- The intensification of the objective only party that struggles in the interest party, "that one must not forget that sion." after all sorts of maneuvers, but never- fest itself among the working masses. selves.

in advance about certain treachery and the regime. two or three days with strikes that are the categories of the working population, democracy and the "Justice and Liberty" that "sections of the middle class can called by the trade unions (with the ex- and the sudden and even violent exploscancer by the trade unions (with the cases, we never succeeded ions arising from this discontent with party will play quite a secondary role, pensant masses and hinder their political Our position on the past of the C. P. in doing this) and in this manner to a growing persistence in all the regions create an abyss between ourselves and of Italy bring about in the bourgeois the masses, who unfortunately still lend class those concerns and uncertainties the crisis will have burst. their trust to the P. P. S. . . .

A few words about the first of May. In the coal basin this was a day of broad, strong and stormy demonstrations, which strong and stormy demonstrations, which strong and stormy demonstrations, which is courage to change it for fear of insti- ultra-Leftist ideology, of which it is only in the country." (Theses ness of our position on trade union work of the liquidated at the country." in many places, like Sembovagura, Sosnovice Tcheladz, etc., brought together as many as from 5 to 7 thousand participants who offered obstinate resistance to the powerful mobilized police. There were many bitter struggles, which took on the forms of actual, hours long battles. Results: two comrades dead, dozens of workers and police wounded. On the other hand, in Warsaw and the rest of the country only negligible forces, of the case of the country, a mass characseveral hundred workers at the highest, ter. could be mobilized and these were very easily scattered. . . .

But even in the coal basin, in places like Dombrova, we did not in spite of through their movement of "Justice and the great masses that filled the streets Liberty" attempt to intervene in the (10,000 workers) organize a demonstra- Italian situation with the purpose of ortion of our own, but trotted along behind the P. P. S. One thing is certain, festations the discontentment of the however, that the P. P. S. has in the working masses in order to exert a prescourse of the last period, carried through a series of mas actions like the general of the bourgeoisie, in order to win them strike of Mach 16, the agarian strike of over to their cause and thereby provoke April 18 and due to this, could organize the open political crisis from which they strong May Day demonstrations in places hope to emerge victorious. where it did not even exist before, as Saviertche and vicinity . . . I want to ers to resolve upon a change in the form take this occasion to call attention of government derives principally from to the fact that I have only lately read the fact that ten years of Fascist dic-What Next?, The Permanent Revolution, tatorship have so much enlarged, so and The International Revolution and the Communist International. It was like have raised such a high barrier between a flood of light. The works mentioned the labouring population and the capihad a collossal, shaking effect on me.

fused me, but on the contrary, conducted Fascist Concentration" have been forced me out of the blind alley in which I to move from the moral ground of the was and showed me the way that must anti-Fascist struggle on to the ground of be tread. . . .

Against the background of the world ism into a blind alley. Indeed, the tatorship to control them will become economic crisis which shows a marked sharpening of the world economic crisis more clearly manifest, the displacement tendency toward accentuation, there pre- has reduced and limits continually the of these strata towards the solution of sents itself a grave appearance, and in possibilities of exportation to the foreign the crises foreseen by the "Anti-Fascist spite of the ferocious dictatorship of markets for the agrarians and indus- Concentratio" will manifest itself to a Fascism, of the explosion of the contra- trialists at the same time that the absorptive capacity of the internal market has been reduced to the last limit. The Fascist government succeeded in Since this problem which is interlinked with others of the greatest importance has attained an intolerable acuteness and out long years to carry out a policy of as the Fascist government is not in a position to be able to solve it by the habitual police methods, the Italian of the working peasants and of the mid- bourgeoisie manifests signs of a profound uneasiness.

years to satisfy to a sufficiently large of production if wages have already been extent its own requirements and the re- slashed to the barest limit, beyond which quirements of the large industrialists it is impossible to go? How is the state to meet its payments inside and outside But a systematic policy of unlimited of the country if the provisions of the

these questions there developed heated agricultural conferences which in conof the whole working population to such a degree that it will gain nothing or almost nothing more than at present, while its own requirements (armaments, enormous army, police, spies, provoca- live. teurs, militia, bureaucracy, etc.) are constantly increasing. As a result of this, not only is it unable to grant further large credits, but it is forced to address itself to its capitalist masters for aid. The last national loan of four billions floated by the government, which tary" loans appear to become indispens-But it is tragic and deplorable that able, and within the capitalist class the under such favorable circumstances, contrasts will sharpen, the uncertainity when the masses enter the struggle re and panic will beat a path for themselves.

ally attacks and attempts to nip the rev- situation contributes to the growth of olutionary action in the bud and when the discomfort and the problems existing crates only on the condition that the whom we are as yet far from leading." the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) and in the bourgeoisie, the determination not other reformist organizations are forced to endure the infernal situation created to join in the struggle iresolutely and by Fascism which is beginning to mani-

theless, forced to fight-that in such sit- The orientation of the middle strata nations, we do not pursue the events sys- together with the persistent and tenacetematically and attempt to shape their ous anti-Fascist attitude of the workers development by a sincere united front creates an entirely new situation where tactic, so as to push aside the P. P. S. the outbreak of an open political crisis trous zig-zags of the international lead- Fascism (disbursement and renewing of and to take over the leadership our- presents itself as a very probable eventuality in spite of the efforts of the Fasclusing in space of the efforts of the Fase.

Instead, our role is limited to shout ist press to bellow about the solidity of radical change in the present roller warred the leadership that the leadership th

> tuting something worse. On the other a caricature). hand the class which stands opposed to it, the proletariat, is not yet conscious Stalinist political leadership in the C. of its force to assume the initiative of P. S. U., which was made the leading the recolutionary struggle against the bourgeois regime. It is in connection with such a situation and its duration that. the middle classes may succeed in taking the initiative of the anti-Fascist struggle which assumes already especially in

Thus we can explain the efforts made at present by the democratic parties of the "anti-Fascist Concentration" which ganizing successfully in collective manisure on these doubtful and worried strata

The hesitation of these bourgeois laygreatly exasperated the class contrast, talist class, have so radicalized the sit-They have not discrientated, not con- uation that even the parties of the "Antithe revolutionary struggle, having as its tendency to overturn together the Fasc-GET A FREE COPY OF THE PRO- ist dictatorship, the monarchy also. But BLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLU. there can be no doubt that to the extent TION .WITH A YEAR SUB TO THE that the mass movements will develop, and the incapability of the Fascist dic-

continually larger extent.

istic of the "Anti-Fascist Concentration" is exactly that of seeking to exploit the compromise based on the security of the capitalist class. But in the eyes of the broad masses the reactionary character of the "Concentration" is not yet clear, and consequently it would be a very ser-How is it possible to reduce the costs lous error to underestimate the still large possibilities for it to deceive the labouring masses.

going through a sharp crisis, if the state of the banks, and republican Constituent longer had any role to play in Italy. discussions in the various industrial and the fact that in the course of the last be useful in leading it. And we, Opposi- you the number of pamphlets and news- mass strike. It was a healthy elementfive years the exceptional laws have re- tionists, who wanted to restore a small clusion demand instantly from their duced the workers to a condition of Fascist government which in controlling atrocious misery and of intolerable pol- heated themselves-in the frost, we have and in intervening, largely holds the en- itical slavery. Cornered in such a sit- been branded as counter-revolutionists. tire economic life of the country has uation the broad working masses are inalready lowered the standard of living clined to follow the political movement which in their opinion has the largest possibilities and probabilities of freeing them as soon as possible from the tragic situation in which they are forced to

> There is no doubt that between the and the present the Italian situation has exists a number of infinitely greater pos sibilities than in the Matteotti period, in

Communist Party can convince the mass-

After the deah of Lenin followed the gress.)

center of the C. I., a mere supplement to its disastrous policy of bureaucratization in the heart of the C. I. and the Communist parties. They had already led our party to grave errors in the struggle against the "Trotskyist" Opposition in the C. P. S. U. And they wanted the logic of bueaucratization to be continued GELSENGIRCHEN .-in the ranks of the C. P. I. to the utmost degree of servility towards the present the C. P. I. have although with understandable hesitations, arrived at the exceptance of the theories of the "third One of the more especially character- period" with all that flows from them, One must recognize that once they crossed the rubicon, our leaders showed an mass movements in order to accelerate inimitable agility. In fact, in order to its compromise with the bourgeoisie, a catch the ear of Moscow, they cried very loudly that until an hour ago, they were skylst pamphlets and you defend Trot. against the working class, against wages, deceived into not seeing that Italy also presented the peculiar characteristics of the third period; better still, that Italy was in the vanguard of the revolutionary upsurge This, in such a way that all at once the passive masses have been presented as active; the social democracy, The program of action with which the an opposing force to Fascism, has been 'Anti-Fascist Concentration" through the presented as social-Fascist; the large movement of "Justice and Liberty" seeks section of the toiling population, who, starvation of the entire working popula- budget have not been realized and in to influence and to mobilize the working they only a day before said, were bound tion could not but lead Italian capital- place of a surplus one finds for the past masses against the Fascist dictatorship to be influenced by the social democracy. year a deficit of approximately two bil- is able to arouse broad sympathies among was presented as having already passed lions, the large mass of the taxpayers the Italian working class. The dema- under the banner of Communism. They being constantly less able to pay? How gogic demands set forth by this program, affirmed that everything was represented can one meet the growing requirements as for example land to the peasant, con- by the formula: Fascism or Communism. of industry and agriculture which are trol over the industries, nationalization Consequently the social democracy no Factional activity and spreading Trot-Assembly elected by universal suffrage, They further maintained that the pro-These questions are raised by pretty directly and by secret ballot, cannot but letarian revolution struck so loudly on and the newspapers of comrade Trotsky nearly every one in Italy. And over exercise a large influence in the working the door that our leaders did not know and the Left Opposition. (Not seeing

> About one year after our expulsion the C. C. convoked the Fourth Congress of the C. P. according to the usual bureaucratic precedure. This congress met in the beginning of the year 1931 when in the C. I. another turn was already in operabe reckoned with.

measure of reason to those who over-

of all the toiling population; but it op- there still exists a large passive mass BERLIN .-. . . and what is more "it is necessary es that it is, in actual fact, the only party. to note that if it is true that the party The conquest of the leadership of the has resisted the reaction and has conmasses by the party is consequently tinued to struggle, it is also true that its policy. Unfortunately the leadership blows inflicted on it by the class enemy ership than with the real situation in the cadres, weakness in the industrial Italy. Also, if the rank and file comrades centers, temporary interruption of mass

(Continued on page 4)

PAPER

\$1.00

The Organizational Progress of the German Left Opposition

Secretariat: "We communicate to you class." Signed: District Leadership of arguments of our comrade worker. the Ruhr. We publish several extracts from the reply of our comrades:

"From the accusations made in your letter: 'Disintegration of the Party', skyist pamphlets', the only one that is true is that we spread the pamphlets masses if one takes into consideration what to do in order to arrive in time to any reason to hide what is we will give the outbreak of the North Bohemian papers distributed since the tenth of ary mass movement. Shortly after the February. They amount to seven hun- outbreak of the strike the Communist dred copies).

"The letter speaks of openly counterrevolutionary knaves', who can no long- nothing to do with the strike but excluer be tolerated in the ranks of the party. sively in the sense of the "demagogy of Does this signify that double-faced, sec- party politic ". The Red Trade Unions ret and hidden knaves are less dangerous gave to the movement no orientation, i. and because of that, can still be toler- e., whatever demands were formulated

"In the 'motive', you counsel us about tion and that no one spoke any more of persuing 'our counter-revolutionary path.' time of the bankruptcy of the Aventin the third period. In the congress, the If this manner of absurd speaking deleadership of the C. P. I. recognized hav- notes the political and spiritual horizon been enormously radicalized: this is also ing committed several errors. The Ital- of the district leadership or of the writer proved by the changes that have super- ian situation was in reality not as ad- of the letter, we have every reason to vened in the Concentrationist program of vanced as they had judged it to be; the admit that the Secretariat does not know was covered in several days, proves how action. This fact is of great importance social democracy has not only not ceased what the word counter-revolutionary' the Fascist government hesitated charily for the Communist Party because there to exist, but still is a political force to means. To encourage comrades who have without exception worked for many years superficially—that a mighty political The Congress condemned considering in the party, to follow a path that you quirements of the Fascist government order to win the leadership of the mass this fundamental strategical object ac- consider dangerous and injurious—one complished; the conquest of the masses cannot in all truth imagine anything But the conquest of the leadership of influenced by the social-democracy bas- more counter-revolutionary. Above all, the mass movements by the Communist ing themselves on the disappearance of if you think that up to the present time Party does not operate naturally, due to the other anti-Fascist parties In these comrades have demanded and tried the fact that the Communist party is the the same way, the Congress warned the in vain to engage in a serious discus-

Meeting of the Members of the Northwest District

be taken up. But, the report of Peuke ies of the "red union." This was irreclosely connected with the correctness of it has suffered the consequences of the as well as that of the leader of the or- parable right up to the end of the strugganization reached such a low level that gle. In addition, the whole conduct of of the C. P. I. is more concerned with and also the fact that the whole working in the grant left the most of the concerned with and also the fact that the whole working in the grant left the most in the concerned with and also the fact that the whole working in the grant left the most in the concerned with and also the fact that the whole working in the grant left the most in the concerned with and also the fact that the whole working in the grant left the most in the concerned with a second concerned wi is to say, left the meeting. The reporter lesque speeches of Zapotocky, invites was often interrupted towards the end. the conclusion that the C. P. did not in From all the districts that communicate the least desire this extension of the with us now similar manifestations of struggle. a radical change in the present policy warned the leadership that the "dem-The extension of the discontent to all pursued by the party toward the social ocratic danger" that is to say, the danger of which they are well aware of which they are well aware.

in the period of preparation preceding solidarity with the proletarian movein the period of preparation preceding solidarity with the proletarian move the crisis as well as in the period when ment, is in fact particularly serious in R. T. U. O. (revolutionary trade union so openly as henchmen of the (Despite the scandalous campaign car- to think that they will be eliminated opposition) and of the "Red United which are characteristic of the moment when the ruling class is no longer cerwhen the ruling class is no longer cerried on at the present time against Bormerely by objective factors. The revolutionary bloc of the workers and peasants ticles and theses in the Permanente Revnorth are characteristic of the moment work of the old Austria and the present
ticles and theses in the Permanente Revnorth are characteristic of the moment. when the ruling class is no longer cerried on at the present time against Bormerely by objective factors. The recording ticles and theses in the Permanente Revtain of the possibility of its governing diga in the party, the policy of the leadtionary bloc of the workers and peasants ticles and theses in the Permanente Revparty of the yellow strike breakers. It courage to change it for fear of insti- ultra-Leftist ideology, of which it is only tion of the party in the country." (Theses ness of our position on trade union work and Resolutions of the Fourth Con- in the practical realization of a true election in the German arena ends with tions. Our comrades are registering successes in their interventions in the trade while the C. P. can only point to entirely union bodies. The discontent against re- weak advances or direct losses. In the formism is favorable for the conquest of united front of the C. P. with the yellow the masses, on the condition that we use forces it was affirmed by the C.

> The trade union of the maintainance workers organized a functionary meeting on March 8th, where they dealt with the subject of the "iron front" and where Borkert, general president of Berlin, was present as the reporter. In a report front" and the candicacy of Hindenburg

New Issue of Greek Paper

The fifth issue of Communistes appeared last Saturday with a variety of local and international material.

A main editorial is devoted to an analysis of the politico-economic conditions which brought about the fall of the famous imperialist lackey Venizelos and an explanation of the pseudo-radical Papanastassiou and his militarists that always serve the Greek bourgeoisis in a semi-Fascist role.

Germany, Spain, etc.

were the methods of proletarian struggle Gelsengirchen: Our comrades, Weber, against Fascism. Our comrade, Buech-Klayberg and Meyer of Gelsenkirchen her spoke first in the discussion. He leaders of the C. I. Thus the leaders of have received the following letter from spoke for half an hour before two hunthe district leadership (C. P.) of the dred workers. He demonstrated to the workers in an underestandable manner that the policy of the A. D. G. B. (United that you are expelled from the Commun. German Trade Union Alliance-reformist party for disintegrating work and ist union) has led to the strengthening factional activity. Motive: Despite the of the reaction, that the leaders of the repeated warnings of the secretariat of iron front are the same ones who supthe sub district you openly spread Trot. port all the attacks of the bourgeoisie skyism which is the vanguard of the against social "rights", etc. That the counter-revolution. The leading party of moment imposes upon the workers unity the proletariat cannot tolerate such in an extra-parliamentary struggle openly counter-revolutionary knaves in against Fascism and that the candicacy its ranks. Continue on this counter, of Thaelmann for the presidency of the revolutionary path and one day you will Reich should signify the mobilization of find yourself on the other side of the the conscious proletariat for the extrabarricade with all the counter-revolu- parliamentary struggle which approachtionists in the struggle against the pro- es. Vigorous applause demonstrated the letariat, in the struggle against your sympathy of the meeting for the political

Coal Miners Strike Czechoslovakia

All the parties, included also the Communist party, were taken by surprise by party very ably utilized the circumstance that the reformist leaders would have were purely reformist-"social Fascist" demands. It was Zapotocky, this practical man, trained in all the dodges and artifices of Bubnikism* who was suddenly chosen as leader of the movement. Smeral stood behind him, made a programmatic speech before the large conference of miners at Revier. An oldtime, Right-wing trade union bureaucrat could not pass over the question more struggle had broken out, that above all made it a duty of the Communist leaders to further it towards a goal whereby the opportunity presented itself to raise its political character.

A miners' strike in Czechoslovakia has the greatest significance only if the miners of the Ostrau-District participate in the struggle. The Ostran mines and not those of North Bohemia are of vital importance for transportation and industry. However, the first ones who retreated in The results of the elections was to Ostrau and Klaude were the functionar-

> once is formed not by the "Lefts" but the Stalinists themselves. In the leadership of the strike the Communists and reaction, as formerly within the framean unexpected victory of the Fascists, P, that the latter were not yellow strike-breakers but worthy comrades of revolutionary fighters.

The whole argument becomes more valid when one regards the numerical strength of the trade unions. In the German and Czech trade union organiwhich lasted for two hours he tried to zations and in the National Socialist make the workers believe that the "iron trade unions there is approximately 1,000,000 workers. (The Czech National Socialist trade unions are pure workers organizations; they are basically different from the German National Socialists in their composition and tendencies). In the reformist miners' organizations there is said to be 60,000 workers. The trade unions of the German Fascists number all in all several thousand members. Of these there are at least seventy percent who are confirmed strike-breakers. One might say that the red trade unions are no stronger. That is correct. But the fact is that the Facists within the large trade unions have not the least influence; nor have they ever had, and on the contrary, the sentiment Also, the conclusion of the thesis and for Communism, for the Soviet Union, the proposals of the Greek Bureau of for everything that has a genuine revthe Communist League concerning the olutionary ring to it becomes strengthenline, methods and ways through which ed day by day. So that the red trade the problems of the Greek workers must unions should have had a thousand fold be approached by the Communists in more favorable position. And the reorder to avoid in the future the repeti- sults of the mass struggle? an astounding tion of the gross opportunistic errors of rise of the party of the yellow strikethe Greek Stalinists, and articles about breakers, liquidation of the mass struggle on the basis of the most negligible Send all bundle orders to 84 East 10th "agreements", while the united strike leadership was not recognized.

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Stalin and the Chinese Revolution

Problems of the Chinese Revolution

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